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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Nos. 1 and 2.

	PAGE		PAGE
J. G. FRAZER. Swallows in the house .	1	W. F. Allen's Annals of Tacitus. S.	
F. CARTER and M. W. HUMPHREYS. On		HART	58
some uses of the Aorist Participle .	3	W. F. Allen's Roman History. S. HART	59
A. PALMER. Catulliana	7	Hime's Introduction to the Latin	
W. M. LINDSAY. Notes on Festus and		Language. J. E. NIXON	59
Nonius	9	Peck's Latin Pronunciation. F. D.	
T. K. ABBOTT. On the quotations from		ALLEN	60
the Old Testament in the Fourth		R. Fisch on Latin Personals in -O. H.	
Gospel	11	N.	61
P. SCHWENKE. Apparatus Criticus to		Commentationes Fleckeisenianae. J. B.	
Cicero De Natura Deorum	12	BURY	62
F. F. ABBOTT. Notes upon Latin Hybrids	18	Meister's Greek Dialects. H. W. SMYTH	62
Westcott's Epistle to the Hebrews. J.		Seger's Nikephoros Bryennios. J. B.	
H. THAYER	18	BURY	63
Hude's Thucydides VI.—VIII. E. C.		C. E. Bishop on verbals in -τος in Aes-	
MARCHANT	22	chylus. A. FAIRBANKS	63
Westermann's Demosthenes, Vol. III.		Correspondence.	
W. WAYTE	24	A. Sidgwick on Mr. Page's Review of	
Headlam's Meleager. H. BABINGTON		Papillon and Haigh's Aeneid . .	64
SMITH	26	Verse Translations by E. D. S., F. HAVER-	
Melber's Dio Cassius, Vol. I. G. Mc. N.		FIELD and C. E. S. HEADLAM . .	65 & 66
RUSHFORTH	27	Notes.	
Kaibel's Athenaeus. J. B. BURY . . .	29	καὶ θήλη. W. LORING	66
Schmid on the Later Atticism. J. E.		Soph. Aj. 651. R. WHITELAW . . .	66
SANDYS	31	Thuc. II. 11. F. HAVERFIELD . . .	67
Fierville's Quintilian. W. PETERSON .	32	Tragic Tribachs. F. HAVERFIELD .	67
Bauer's Silius Italicus. W. E. HEITLAND	36	The Latin Aorist Subjunctive. F. A.	
De Vries' Studies in Palaeography.		KIRKPATRICK, W. H. BOCOCK . .	67
ROBINSON ELLIS	38	Spartian. Vit. Hadr. XI. E. N.	
Peck's Suetonius. A. T. MURRAY . .	38	BENNETT	68
Otto's Roman Proverbs. W. RHYS		Res = ἰμάτια. J. B. M.	69
ROBERTS	41	The Upright Stone at Kilmalkedar .	69
Schwabe's edition of Teuffel's Roman		The Newly-discovered Treatise of Aris-	
Literature. G. C. WARR	42	totle	69
Two Books on the Rigveda. E. V. ARNOLD	43	Monthly Record	72
Frazer's Golden Bough. W. W. FOWLER	48	Archaeology.	
Schmidt's Corcyrean Studies. H. F.		Ephemeris Epigraphica. H. F. PEL-	
TOZER	53	HAM	74
Rhode on the Tunny Fish. H. F. TOZER	54	Müllenhoff's Deutsche Altertums-	
Mahaffy's Greek Pictures. H. F. TOZER	55	kunde. C. W. BOASE	75
Mahaffy's Greek World under Roman		An early Graeco-Egyptian bilingual	
Sway. C. TORR	56	dedication. C. SMITH	77
New Editions of Kraner's Caesar. F.		Aus der Anomia. C. SMITH	79
HAVERFIELD	58	Summaries	80
Oehler's Illustrations to Caesar Bell.		Bibliography	85
Gall. F. H.	58		

No. 3.

	PAGE
The New Aristotle Papyrus in its bearing on Textual Criticism. W. G. RUTHERFORD	89
Ovidiana. A. PALMER	92
Etymology of Osteria. F. F. ABBOTT	95
Dr. Dörpfeld on the Greek Stage. H. RICHARDS	97
Verrall's Ion. A. GOODWIN	97
Shuckburgh's Herodotus V. EV. ABBOTT	99
Tyrrell and Purser's Letters of Cicero. G. E. JEANS	100
Palaiphatos, a Rationalist of the Fourth Century B.C. J. B. BURY	102
Schubert's Ajax. E. B. ENGLAND	103
Usener's Theodosius. A. PLUMMER	103
Dübner's Sulpicius Severus. J. H. LUPTON	103
Collectio Juris Antejustiniani. E. C. CLARK	104
Bousfield's Latin Verse. H. KYNASTON	104
Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens :—	
Emendations, pp. 105–119 :	
Notes by C. TORR, L. CAMPBELL, J. E. SANDYS, J. E. B. MAYOR, H. JACKSON, H. RICHARDS, W. WYSE	119–122

	PAGE
Un-Aristotelian Words and Phrases in, J. B. MAYOR	122
The New Antiope Fragments	123
Emendations by W. G. RUTHERFORD and L. CAMPBELL	124
Notes.	
Leucon's Liberality to Athens. W. HOBHOUSE and C. TORR	127
Eur. Bacch. 506. J. B. BURY	127
Eur. El. 797. C. H. KEENE	127
Thuc. II. 4, 4. E. C. MARCHANT	128
Cic. ad Att. I. 16	128
Verg. Aen. X. 1. W. J. EVANS	128
Caper p. 103. W. M. LINDSAY	128
Μετεμψύχωσις. J. H. SWAINSON	129
Stanko. J. H. ABRAHALL	129
Monthly Record.	
Archaeology.	
The House at Delos. F. B. TARBELL	130
Reinach's Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés, Vol. II.	131
A Stèle in the British Museum. A. S. M.	132
Excavations at Chester	132
Summaries.	133
Bibliography.	135

No. 4.

G. S. SALE: Notes on Horace	137
A. PALMER: Horatiana	139
J. A. CROSS: Quotations in the Fourth Gospel	142
P. SCHWENKE: Apparatus Criticus to Cicero. N.D.	143
Jebb's Philoctetes. A. S.	147
Gwatkin and Shuckburgh's Edition of 'Aeschines in Ctesiphonta.' J. H. WRIGHT	149
Bywater's Ethics. H. RICHARDS	152
Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. W. L. NEWMAN	155
C. 53. The <i>diatyrāx</i> . W. R. HARDIE	164
C. 44. The Deposition of Pericles. E. C. MARCHANT	165
C. 4. Constitution of Draco. J. W. HEADLAM	166
C. 22, 23, 28. L. WHIBLEY	168
C. 25. Themistocles. G. F. HILL	169
C. 52. The Eleven	169

Wickham's Horace, Vol. II. R. Y. TYRRELL	169
Eton Latin Grammar, Ed. 2. E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN	172
Notes on the Constitution of Athens.	
Emendations, pp. 175–182 :	
Alphabet, p. 183 :	
Un-Aristotelian Words and Phrases.	
H. RICHARDS, J. B. MAYOR, A. PLATT	184
New Fragments of the Antiope. W. HEADLAM, J. E. SANDYS, R. GARNETT	185
Notes.	
Aen. VI. 743. R. WHITELAW	186
Soph. Aj. 651. G. E. MARINDIN	186
Correspondence.	
J. P. MAHAFFY	186
Monthly Record	187
Summaries	189
Bibliography	191

INDEX.

Note.—In the General Index names of actual contributors, in the Index Locorum references to passages discussed, are printed in heavy type.

I.—GENERAL AND LATIN INDEX.¹

A.

-*ā*, in neuter plurals, 297*a*.
a, as connecting vowel in certain Sanscrit words, 451*a*.
a, preposition, use of, in Livy, 326*a*.
-as, accent of adjectives in, 375*a*.
Abbott (E.), notice of Shuckburgh's ed. of Herodotus, Book V., 99*a. f.*
Abbott (F. F.), on etymology of *osteria*, 95*a. f.*
 notes on Latin hybrids, 18*a. b.*
 notice of Montague's *Selected Letters of Cicero*, 266*a. b.*
Abbott (T. K.), on the quotations from the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel, 11*a. f.*
 ablative, in *e* and *i*, 173*b.*
 of comparison, 59*b.*
ābodhisham (*ईदेईषा*), 452*a*.
 accent, in Attic and Byzantine Greek, 216*a*.
 in Plautus and Terence, 373*b. f.*
 in Romance languages, 374*b.*
 of pronouns in Latin, 402*a*.
 accentuation of Latin, discussed, 373*a. f.*, 402*a. f.*
accerso, spelling of, 323*b.*
 accretions, in MSS., 455*a*.
 accusative suffixes, 452*a*.
acheter = *adcapture*, 96*b.*
acies = battle, 41*a*.
acupedius, in Paulus, 9*b.*
Adam (J.), discussion of the myth in Plato's *Politicus*, 445*a. f.*
Adamson (C. S.), note on Aristotle, 231*b.*
adcapture = *acheter*, 96*b.*
adco = 'especially,' 484*b.*
 adjectives, coupled with adjectives, 40*b.*
 in *-bundus*, origin of, 298*a. b.*
 neuter, used substantively, 205*b.*
 verbal, in Aeschylus, 63*b.*
 adscripts, in Greek authors, 89*a*.
 adverbs, accent of, in Latin, 403*a*.
Adversaria Orthographica, 293*a. f.*
 Aeolic verbs in *-μ*, 216*b.*
 Aeschines, date of speech on the Embassy, 151*a*.
 Gwatkin and Shuckburgh's *In Ctesiphonta*, noticed, 149*a. f.*
 use of *ἵπδ* in, 260*b.*
 Aeschylus, Campbell's translation, noticed, 255*a. f.*
 Dr. Verrall on the fire-signals of the *Agamemnon*, 269*a. b.*

Aeschylus, continued—

 notes on *Agamemnon*, 388*a. b.*
 notes on *Supplices*, 388*b.*
 verbal adjectives in, 63*b.*
 Aesop, Jacobs' ed. of *Fables*, noticed, 212*a. f.*
alapa, derivation of, 263*b.*
 Aldrich (Thomas B.), translation of *A Petition* into Greek verse, 331*a. b.*
alius, special use of in Livy, 326*a*.
Allen (F. D.), notice of Peck's *Latin Pronunciation*, 60*a. f.*
 Allen (T. W.), *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries*, noticed, 387*b.*
 Allen (W. F.), ed. of *Annals* of Tacitus, noticed, 58*b.*
 Short History of the Roman people, noticed, 59*a*.
 allusive language, in Greek lyric poetry, 193*a. f.*
 alphabet, in MS. of *Atheniensium Respublica*, 185*b.*
amarier, formation of, 198*a*.
 amber, Pytheas' account of, 76*b.*
ambulare, etymology of, 377*a. f.*
amoenus, derivation of, 263*a*.
 Amyklæ, excavations at, 73*b.*
 analogy, in Philology, 219*a*.
 Anaxinus of Oreos, affair of, 151*a*.
Ancient Greek, Pronunciation of, by Blass, noticed, 217*a. b.*
 Ancients, Telegraphing among the, 220*a. b.*, 338*a. b.*
 Androtion, and *Atheniensium Respublica*, 158*a*.
Anglo-Saxon Glossary, by Hessels, noticed, 382*a. f.*
anneal, meaning of, 67*a*.
Antiope, notes on fragments of, 123*a. f.*, 185*a. b.*, 232*a.*, 401*a. f.*
 myth of, as given by Hyginus, 124*a*.
 Antipater, changes in Athenian constitution, 158*b.*
 Antiphon, deprived of citizenship, 150*b.*
 use of *ἵπδ* in, 260*a*.
antiquare, meaning of, 326*b.*
Antiquities, Dictionary of, by Smith, new ed., noticed, 425*a. f.*
Antiquities, Dictionary of Classical, noticed, 384*a. f.*
Antiquities of Germany, 75*b. f.*
 aorist, and perfect tenses, confused, 31*a*.
 Greek, in New Testament, rendering of into English, 267*b.*
 Greek, discussed, 446*a. f.*
 infinitive after *φῆναι*, 5*b.*
 participle, some uses of, 3*a. f.*, 248*a. b.*

¹ The Index is by S. Clay, B.A., formerly Exhibitioner of St. John's College, Cambridge.

- aorist, *continued*—
 ingressive use of, 252*a*.
 participle, instrumental use of, 4*a*.
 substantival use of, 5*a*.
 participle, after *περιορᾶν*, 5*a*.
 in Homer, 5*b*.
 subjunctive, in Latin, note on, 67*b*.
 Aphrodite, Greek aspect of, 473*b*.
Apparatus Criticus ad Ciceronis Libros De Natura
Deorum, by Schwenke, 12*a*. *f.*, 143*a*. *f.*, 200*a*. *f.*,
 302*a*. *f.*, 408*a*. *f.*, 458*a*. *f.*
 Appian, account of harbours of Carthage, 280*a*. *f.*
 Apuleius, Foerster's essay on *Physiognomia* of,
 noticed, 429*b*.
ar, Sanscrit = Gk. *ap*, 453*a*.
 arbitration, at Athens, procedure of, 164*b*.
arcesso, spelling of, 323*b*.
 Archaeology, 74*a*. *f.*, 130*a*. *f.*, 237*a*. *f.*, 280*a*. *f.*,
 339*a*. *f.*, 390*a*. *f.*, 434*a*. *f.*, 455*a*. *f.*
 Archon-Basileus, residence of, 119*b*.
 archonship, property qualification of, 167*b*.
 Areopagus, and Themistocles, 157*a*, 169*b*.
 overthrow of, 72*a*.
Argei, rite of, 52*a*.
 Arician rite, explained, 50*b*.
 Arisch, instrumental plurals in, 254*a*.
 Aristarchus, text of Homer, 476*b*.
 Aristides, policy of, in *Atheniensium Respublica*,
 162*b*.
 the rhetorician, vocabulary of, 31*b*.
 quotation from Demosthenes, 311*a*.
 authenticity of *Apology* of, 469*a*.
 Aristonikos, *Scholia* of, 413*a*.
 Aristophanes, adscripts in, 89*a*. *b*.
De praepositionum usu Aristophanico, noticed,
 258*a*. *f.*
 Merry's ed. of *Aves*, noticed, 309*a*. *b*.
 note on *Acharn.*, 484*b*.
 note on *Itanac*, 278*b*.
 Aristotle, *Atheniensium Respublica*, antiquity of,
 158*b*.
 as historical authority, 162*b*.
 asyndeton in, 160*b*.
 authenticity of, 158*a*, 271*a*, 332*a*.
 authorship of, 70*b*, 223*a*. *b*.
 bearing of the new papyrus on textual criticism,
 89*a*. *f.*
 compared with the *Politics*, 332*a*.
 date of, 119*a*.
 chronological precision of, 161*b*.
 contents of, 157*a*.
 in conflict with the *Politics*, 162*a*.
 lacunae in, 163*b*.
 Kenyon's ed., noticed, 155*a*. *f.*
 new words in, 159*a*, cf. 333*a*. *b*.
 notes on, 106*a*. *f.*, 119*a*. *f.*, 175*a*. *f.*, 221*a*. *f.*,
 224*a*. *f.*, 269*a*. *f.*, 332*a*. *f.*
 on *γένος* and *φρατρία*, 221*b*.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ, in, 223*b*.
 papyrus of, 157*a*.
 preliminary notice of, 69*a*. *f.*
 quotations in, 311*b*.
 recent literature on, 332*a*. *f.*, 465*a*. *b*.
 references to Plato and Isocrates, 160*b*.
 style of, 159*b*.
 un-Aristotelian words and phrases in, 122*a*. *f.*,
 123*a*, 184*a*. *f.*, 229*a*. *f.*, 272*b*. *f.*
 use of hiatus, 270*a*. *f.*
 vocabulary of, 159*a*.
 Bywater's ed. of the *Nicomachean Ethics*,
 noticed, 153*a*. *f.*
 definition of tragedy, discussed, 62*a*.
 Arnold (E. V.), notice of two books on the *Rigveda*,
 43*a*. *f.*
 arsenal, of Philo, 57*a*.
 Asia Minor, antiquarian discoveries in, 237*a*.
 computation of hours in, 247*b*.
Assumption of Moses, date of, 415*a*.
 aspirated perfect, 449*a*.
 asyndeton, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 160*b*.
 Athenaeus, Kaibel's ed., noticed, 29*a*. *f.*
 Athenion, and Palaiphatos, 102*b*.
 Athens, antiquarian discoveries at, 73*b*, 288*a*.
Stadtgeschichte, by Curtius, noticed, 486*a*. *f.*
γένος at, 222*b*.
 Aristotle's Constitution of, 70*b*. *f.*, 105*a*. *f.*,
 155*a*. *f.*, 221*a*. *f.*, 269*a*. *f.*, 332*a*. *f.*, 465*a*. *f.*
 [v. Aristotle.]
atque adeo = 'nay rather,' 484*b*.
 Attic Phratry, and Decelion Inscription, 221*a*. *f.*
Atticism of Dionysius, noticed, 31*a*. *f.*
 'attraction,' of accent by enclitics, 377*a*.
Aus der Anomia, noticed, 79*a*. *f.*
 'Australis' = 'Augustalis,' 75*a*.
 Austria, antiquarian discoveries in, 390*b*.
autem, contracted in MSS., 129*a*.
 Hiberno-Saxon symbol for, 232*b*.
 Autenrieth (Dr. G.). *Wörterbuch zu den Homerischen*
Gedichten, noticed, 328*a*.
 authorship, of *Atheniensium Respublica*, 70*b*, 271*a*.
autumo, derivation of, 263*b*.
 Avenches, antiquarian discoveries at, 187*b*.
 Avienus, *Ora Maritima* of, 76*a*.

B.

- b=g, 448*a*.
 Babrius, fables of, 212*b*.
 Barlaam and Josaphat, Greek romance of, 469*b*.
 Bath, inscription found at, 74*b*.
 Bauer (L.), ed. of Silius Italicus, noticed, 36*a*. *f.*
Bauerkultus, 49*b*.
 Bayfield (M. A.), on conditions contrary to fact con-
 troverted, 397*a*. *f.*
 ed. of *Alcestis* of Euripides, noticed, 387*b*.
 beacons, in the *Agamemnon*, 220*a*.
 beans, as a charm, 52*a*.
 beast-tales in folk-love, 212*a*. *f.*
bellum belle, 205*b*.
 Bennett (E. N.), note on Spartian, 68*b*.
 Benoist (E.), ed. of Virgil, noticed, 208*a*. *f.*
 Benson (E. F.), note on Pliny, *N.H.*, 486*a*.
 Bentley, and Manilius, 380*a*.
 corrections of Menander, 400*a*. *b*.
 bibliography, 85*a*. *f.*, 135*a*. *f.*, 191*a*. *f.*, 243*a*. *f.*,
 290*a*. *f.*, 347*a*. *f.*, 396*a*. *f.*, 440*a*. *f.*, 490*a*. *f.*
Bilder-Atlas zu Caesars Büchern de bello Gallico, by
 Oehler, noticed, 58*b*.
 Bishop (C. E.), on verbal adjectives in Aeschylus,
 noticed, 63*b*.
 Blass (F.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
 Blass (F.), ed. of *De Corona* of Demosthenes, noticed,
 309*a*. *f.*
Pronunciation of Ancient Greek, noticed, 217*a*. *b*.
 on Silius Italicus, 36*a*.
 Boase (C. W.), notice of Müllenhoff's *Deutsche*
Altertumskunde, 75*b*. *f.*
 Boccoek (W. H.), note on Kirkpatrick on Latin
 Aorist Subjunctive, 68*b*.
 Boeckh, view of Solon's property classification, dis-
 cussed, 224*a*.
 Bohemia, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2*a*.
 Bologna, antiquarian discoveries at, 73*a*.
 Bousfield (C. H.), *Latin Verse*, noticed, 104*b*.
brachium, derivation of, 219*b*.
 Brennan (C. J.), note on Aristophanes' *Acharn.*,
 484*b*.
 note on *Supplices* of Aeschylus, 388*b*.

- British Museum, acquisitions of, 241*a.*, 341*a.* *f.*
Brooks (E. H.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
 Brough, inscription found at, 74*b.*
 Brugmann, theory of gerundive, discussed, 297*a.*
 theory of Ind.-Eur. *nasalis sonans*, discussed, 451*a.* *f.*
 Büchels, and library of Graevius, 366*a.* *f.*
 -*bundus*, adjectives in, origin of, 298*a.*
Burial Customs of the Ancient Greeks, noticed, 431*b.*
Burnet (J.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
Bury (J. B.), notice of *Commentationes Fleckeisenianae*, 62*a.* *b.*
 emendation of *Bacchae* of Euripides, 127*a.*
 notice of Festa's tract on Palaiphatos, 102*a.* *f.*
 notice of Kaibel's *Athenaeus*, 29*a.* *f.*
 notice of Krumbacher's *History of Byzantine Literature*, 318*a.* *f.*
 notice of Seger's *Byzantinische Historiker des zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts*, 63*a.*
 on derivation of *vepó*, 232*b.*
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
 Bury (J. B.), *Nemean Odes* of Pindar, noticed, 305*a.* *f.*
Butcher (S. H.), notice of Blass' ed. of *De Corona* of Demosthenes, 309*a.* *f.*
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
Bywater (I.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
 Bywater (I.), ed. of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, noticed, 153*a.* *f.*
 Byzantine Greek, accent in, 216*a.*
Byzantine Literature, History of, by Krumbacher, noticed, 318*a.* *f.*
Byzantinische Historiker des zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts, noticed, 63*a.*
- C.
- c*, accent of words ending in, 375*b.*
 Caelius Rufus, characteristics of letters of, 101*a.*
caeremonia, derivation of, 263*a.*
 Caesar, account of the waves in the Channel, 58*a.*
 Kraner's ed., noticed, 58*a.*
 prodigies on death of, 40*a.*
 Pesket's ed. of Book I. of *B. C.*, noticed, 324*a.* *f.*
Cambridge Texts and Studies, noticed, 468*a.* *f.*
Campbell (L.), notes on the papyrus fragment of the *Phaedo*, 363*a.* *f.*, 454*a.* *f.*
 translation of Aldrich's *A Petition* into Greek Verse, 331*a.* *b.*
 lines written in the visitors' book at Voulcano, 331*a.* *b.*
 notes on Aristotle's *Atheniensium Respublica*, 119*b.*
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
 on the *Antiope* fragments of Euripides, 125*a.* *f.*, 401*a.* *f.*
 Campbell (L.), translation of Aeschylus, noticed, 255*a.* *f.*
 Caper, note on, 129*a.*
Caprotina, 385*a.*
 Carlisle, antiquarian discoveries at, 233*a.*
carmen, as applied to metre, 138*a.*
Carter (F.), notes on Thucydides iv., 195*a.* *f.*
 on some uses of the aorist participle, 3*a.* *f.*, 249*a.* *f.*
 Carthage, harbours of, 280*a.* *f.*
 Carthaginian ambassador, in a Greek inscription, 242*b.*, cf. 278*a.*
 cases, names of, in Greek, 216*b.*
castigare, meaning of, 64*a.*
Catulliana, by Palmer, 7*a.* *f.*
 Catullus, praenomen of, 7*a.*, 385*a.*
- Cauer (Dr. F.), pamphlet on authorship of *Athen. Resp.*, noticed, 332*a.* *b.*
cecidit, explained, 450*b.*
 Celsus, and *Apology* of Aristides, 469*b.*
 Cephisophon, archon, 158*b.*
 Chester, inscriptions found at, 75*a.*, 339*a.*
 antiquarian discoveries at, 287*a.*
 sepulchral stones found at, 485*a.* *b.*
Chinnoek (E. J.), on rare words in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*a.* *f.*
 Christodorus, *Ephrasis* of, 103*b.*
 Christians, and *collegia*, 422*a.*
 chronographers) (historians, in Byzantine literature, 319*b.*
Chronologie de l'Empire Romain, by Goyau, noticed, 329*a.*
 Cicero, *Apparatus criticus ad libros de Natura Deorum*, by Schwenke, 12*a.* *f.*, 143*a.* *f.*, 200*a.* *f.*, 302*a.* *f.*, 408*a.* *f.*, 458*a.* *f.*
 hybrid words in, 18*a.*
 Opera Rhetorica, by Friedrich, noticed, 475*a.* *f.*
 MSS. of 475*a.* *b.*
 Selected Letters of, by Montague, noticed, 266*a.*
 Tyrrell and Purser's ed. of *Letters*, noticed, 100*a.* *f.*
 Cilicia, antiquarian discoveries in, 129*b.*
Clapp (E. B.), on conditions 'contrary to fact,' 397*a.* *f.*
Clark (A. C.), account of library of J. G. Graevius, 365*a.* *f.*
Clark (E. C.), notice of *Collectio Librorum Juris Antejustiniani*, 104*a.* *b.*
 Clarke (H.), ed. of *Eragoras* of Isocrates, noticed, 429*b.*
 citation, in ancient times, 310*b.* *f.*
Classical Antiquities, Dictionary of, noticed, 384*a.* *f.*
 classical study in France, 209*a.*
 Cleanthes and Zeno, Pearson's ed. of fragments, noticed, 479*a.* *f.*
 Cleisthenes, and γένη and phraties, 221*b.*
Clement (W. K.), note on date of birth of Lucilius, 279*b.*, cf. 338*a.*
 Cleon and Pericles, 165*a.*
Collectio Librorum Juris Antejustiniani, noticed, 104*a.* *b.*
collegia, development of, 420*b.*
 imperial policy towards, 421*a.*
 Roman, History of, by Liebenam, noticed, 420*a.* *f.*
 sodalicia, explained, 422*a.*
 tenuiorum, meaning of, 422*a.*
collegium illicitum, meaning of, 421*b.*
colonus, etymology of, 297*b.*
 comedy, middle, so-called, 102*b.*
comitatus, 175*b.*
Commentationes Fleckeisenianae, noticed, 62*a.* *b.*
commissa piacula, 64*b.*
Comparative Grammar for Greek and Latin, by Henry, noticed, 387*a.*
 compound verbs, accent of in Latin, 407*b.*
 conditions 'contrary to fact,' discussed, 397*a.* *f.*
 conjunctions, accent of, 403*b.*
consobrinus, contractions of, 407*a.*
Constitution of Athens, Aristotle on, Kenyon's ed., noticed, 70*b.* *f.*, 105*a.* *f.*, 155*a.* *f.*, 175*a.* *f.*, 221*a.* *f.*, 269*a.* *f.*, 332*a.* *f.*, 465*a.* *f.*
 [v. Aristotle.]
 constitution of Draco, 166*a.* *f.*, 336*a.* *b.*
 constructions, unusual, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a.*, 184*a.* *f.*, 229*a.* *f.*, 272*a.* *f.*
Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, Vol. I., noticed, 468*a.* *f.*
Conway (R. S.), on origin of Latin gerund and gerundive, 296*a.* *f.*

Cooke (A. H.), notice of Dowdall's *Hellenica* of Xenophon, 478b.
 copyists of MSS., 262b.
Corax, referred to, in Pindar, 195a.
Corcyraean Studies, by Schmidt, noticed, 53a. f.
Corinth, plan of cutting through Isthmus, 57a.
corollaria=garlands, 40b.
 correspondence, **J. P. Mahaffy**, in answer to Mr. Torr's criticism, 186a. f., cf. 233a. b.
Verrall (A. W.), on the fire-signals in the *Agamemnon*, 269a. b.
 corruptions in manuscripts, 89a. f., 400a. b.
 cosmology, of Plato, 445a.
Cothon, at Carthage, 281b.
Coy (E. G.), notice of Holden's ed. of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, 478a. b.
 creed, nucleus of, in *Apology* of Aristides, 469a.
Crete, antiquarian discoveries in, 188b.
 statue discovered at, 392a.
Crinagoras, life of, 317b.
 Rubensohn's ed. of *Epigrams*, noticed, 317a. f.
 criticism, textual and the new papyrus, 89a. f.
Cross (J. A.), on the hours of the day in the Fourth Gospel, 245a. f.
 on the quotations from the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel, 142a. f.
Culx, authorship of, 42a.
 cult of Dionysus, 472b.
-cundo-, forms in, 300b.
 cursive writing, in MSS., 418a.
Curtius (E.), *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, noticed, 486a. f.
 theory of gerundive discussed, 297a.
 customs, old Italian and Indian compared, 51b.
Cyprus, antiquarian discoveries in, 392a.
Cyril of Scythopolis, life of Theodosius, noticed, 103a.

D.

d, final, pronunciation of, 60a.
Dakyns (H. G.), *Translation of Xenophon*, noticed, 257a. f.
Daniel, early version of, 142b.
Darbishire (H. D.), notice of Wharton's *Elyma Latina*, 217a. f.
 notice of Strong's translation of Paul's *Principles of the History of Language*, 387b.
Scrupuli, 485b., cf. 434 b.
 datives in -ā as origin of future infinitive, 301a.
 day, commencement of, in Vergil, 128b.
 day, hours of the, in Fourth Gospel, 245a. f.
De adjectivorum verbalium -ros terminatione insignum usu Aeschyleo, noticed, 63b.
 Decelean Inscription and Attic Phratries, 221a. f.
 Dedication, a Graeco-Egyptian, described, 77b.
Deipnosophists of Athenaeus, 30a.
 deliberative construction in Sophocles, 148b.
 deliberative subjunctive in Greek relative clauses, 302a. b.
Delos, alleged house at, 130a. f.
 intervals of festivals at, 277b.
Demeter and **Persephone**, myth of, 52b.
Demosthenes, Blass' ed. of *De Corona*, noticed, 309a. f.
 corruptions in, 310a.
 rhythm in, 311b.
 short syllables in, 313b.
 date of birth, 150a.
 date of speech *de falsa leg.*, 151a.
 use of ὅτῳ in, 260b.
 Westermann's ed., noticed, 24a. f.
Demotionidae, at Athens, 221a., 222b.

deponent participles in passive sense, 175b.
 deposition of Pericles, 165a. f.
De praepositionum usu Aristophanco, noticed, 258a. f.
Descriptio Orbis Romani, by George of Cyprus, noticed, 328b.
Deutsche Altertumskunde, by Müllenhoff, noticed, 75b. f.
De Vries (S. G.), *Studies in Palaeography*, noticed, 38a. b.
 dialects, Greek, Meister's work on, noticed, 63a.
Dictionary of Antiquities, by Dr. Smith, new ed., noticed 425a. f.
Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, by Seyffert, Eng. ed., noticed, 384a. f.
Dictionary to Homer, by Autenrieth, noticed, 328a.
dicturum, infinitival, origin of, 198a.
Die Hymnen des Rigveda, by Oldenburg, noticed, 43a. f.
Die Lateinischen Nomina Personalia auf -o, -onis, by Fisch, noticed, 61b. f.
Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer, by Otto, noticed, 41a. f.
Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen, by Curtius, noticed 486a. f.
Dinarchus, use of ὅτῳ in, 260b.
Dio Cassius, Melber's ed. noticed, 27a. f.
 MSS. of, 28a.
Dio Chrysostom, Atticism of, 31a.
 on the story of *Philoctetes*, 147a.
Dionysius, Atticism of, Schmid, noticed, 31a. f.
Dionysus, cult of, 472b.
dispenite, in Plautus, 299b.
distennite, in Plautus, 299b.
Dittenberger (W.), ed. of Kraner's *Caesar's Gallic War*, noticed, 58a.
dius, 9b.
dochmiae, analysis of, 321b.
Dörpfeld (Dr.), statement concerning theatre at Megalopolis, 284b.
 theory of the Greek stage, criticized, 97a. b.
Dowdall (L. H.), ed. of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, Bk. i., noticed, 478b.
Draco, reforms of, 71b., 157a., 336a. b.
 constitution of, discussed, 166a. f., 336a. b.
 dual, vocative in, 216a.
 feminine, 216a.
Dübner (Fr.), ed. of *Sulpicii Severi Liber de Vita Sancti Martini*, noticed, 103 b.
Dunkle Wörter, by Stowasser, noticed, 263a. f.
Dunwell, view on hours of the day in St. John, 246b.
Dyer (L.), summary of Dr. Dörpfeld's article on Greek theatre, 283b. f.
Dyer (L.), *Studies of the Gods in Greece*, noticed, 470a. f.

E.

ecfertis, spelling of, 295b.
 echoes, in Pindar, 305b.
Ecloques of Calpurnius, translated by Scott, noticed 327b.
 editorial, 349.
Edwards (G. M.), ed. of *Iliad* Bk. xxiii., noticed, 476a. f.
Egypt, antiquarian discoveries in, 130a.
 inscription found in, 483a.
 split totems in, 339a. b.
Eighteenth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary, noticed, 382a. f.
 elision, in old Latin, 265a.
Elliott (R. T.), translation of Henry's *Short Comparative Grammar for Greek and Latin*, noticed, 387a.

- Ellis (R.)**, emendations of Herodas, 360*a. f.*
 in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
 note on epoch of Herodas, 457*a. b.*
 notice of De Vries' *Studies in Palaeography*, 38*a. b.*
 notice of Sonnenschein's ed. of *Rudens* of Plautus, 205*a. f.*
 Ellis (R.), *Noctes Manilianae*, noticed, 379*a. f.*
em, in old Latin, 265*b.*
 emendations:—
 Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 388*a. b.*
 Supplices, 388*b.*
 Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 278*b.*
 Acharn. 484*b.*
 Aristotle, *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, 106*a. f.*, 156*b. f.*, 175*a. f.*, 224*a. f.*, 269*a. f.*, 334*a. f.*
 Athenaeus, 30*b.*
 Catullus, 7*a. f.*
 Cicero, *Epp. ad Att.* i., 128*a.*
 Euripides, *Antiope* fragments, 123*a. f.*, 185*a. b.*, 232*a. f.*
 Bacchae, 127*a.*
 Electra, 127*a.*
 Herodas, 350*a. f.*, 389*b.*, 482*b. f.*
 Horace, *Odes* ii. (11. 21—24), 139*a. f.*
 iii. (8. 25—28), 140*a.*
 iii. (24. 1—8), 140*a.*
 iv. (13. 17—22), 141*a.*
 Carm. Sacc. (25—23), 141*b.*
 Ep. i. (2. 31), 278*b.*
 Manilius, *Astronomica*, 381*a. f.*
 Ovid, *Heroides*, 93*b. f.*
 Plautus, *Rudens*, 206*b.*
 Pliny, *N. H.* xxxv., 486*a.*
 empire, Roman, continuity of, 318*b.*
 enclitics, accent of, in Latin, 405*a.*
 effect of, on accent, 376*b.*
 -endo, origin of, 297*b.*
England (E. B.), notice of Schubert's ed. of *Ajax* of Sophocles, 103*a.*
 Engyon = modern Gangi (?), 423*b.*
enim, in Virgil, 211*a.*
enimvero, use of, in Livy, 326*a.*
 -ensis, adjectives in, derivation of, 297*b.*
Ephemeris Epigraphica, noticed, 74*a. f.*
 Ephialtes and the Areopagus, 72*a.*
 Ephoros, the historian, 103*a.*
Epistle to the Hebrews, Westcott's ed., noticed, 18*a. f.*
 rhythmical transpositions in, 21*a.*
 epoch of Herodas, 457*a. b.*
 Eretria, theatre excavated at, 288*b.*
 -es stems, instrumental-plural of, 254*b.*
 Etienne (E.), *La langue française depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du xiv^e siècle*, noticed, 329*a. b.*
Etym Latin Grammar, by Rawlins and Inge, noticed, 172*a. f.*
Ethyma Latina, by Wharton, noticed, 217*a. f.*
 etymology of Latin words, 263*a. f.*
 use of, in philology, 220*a.*
eu, in old Latin, 265*b.*
 Euëmeros, 102*a.*
 eurhythmy, in Greek metre, 321*a.*
 Euripides, allusive language in, 193*a.*
 Alceste, Bayfield's ed., noticed, 387*b.*
 Bacchae, emendation of, 127*a.*
 Electra, emendation of, 127*a.*
 and *Phoenician Maidens*, 62*b.*
 identification of the *Antiope*, 124*a.*
 MS. of the *Antiope*, 124*b.*
 notes on the *Antiope* fragments, 123*a. f.*, 185*a. b.*, 232*a.*, 401*a. f.*
 Ion, Verrall's ed., noticed, 97*a. b.*
 note on Scholia of *Electra*, 432*a. f.*
 Euripides, continued—
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's ed. of *Heracles*, noticed, 461*a. f.*
 date of production of *Heracles*, 463*b.*
 treatment of legend of *Heracles*, 463*b.*
Evans (W. J.), note on Virgil *Aen.* x., 128*a.*
exagmen = *examen*, 294*b.*
 exclamatory particles, in old Latin, 265*b.*
Ex-eter = *Isca*, 129*b.*
 exile of Juvenal, 279*a.*
eximius, 299*a.*
 F.
fā, root = speak, 300*b.*
 fable, origin of in Greece and India, 212*a. f.*
 among Jews, 213*a.*
Fables of Aesop, Jacobs' ed., noticed, 212*a. f.*
Facsimiles of Greek MSS. in Spain, by Graux, noticed, 419*a. f.*
Facsimiles des Manuscrits Grecs, noticed, 261*a. f.*
facteon, 18*a.*
Fairbanks (A.), notice of Bishop on verbal adjectives in Aeschylus, 63*b.*
 Fair Cape, site of, 62*b.*
farcio and *φάρσσω*, 447*a.*
fartus, 11*b.*
fastigium, origin of, 253*b.*
fē, root = make, 300*b.*
feci, 447*a.*
fecundus, origin of, 300*b.*
Fennell (C. A. M.), discussion of Brugmann's theory of Ind.-Eur. *Nasalis Sonans*, 451*a. f.*
 Ferguson, *Aid to Greek at Sight*, noticed, 220*b.*
 Ferrini (C.), translation of *Respublica Atheniensium*, noticed, 465*a. f.*
 Festa (N.), tract on Palaiphatos, noticed, 102*a. f.*
 festivals, at Delos, intervals of, 277*b.*
 Festus and Nonius, notes on, 9*a. f.*
fidius, 299*a.*
fio for **fyo*, 299*b.*
 Fierville (Ch.), ed. of Quintilian, noticed, 32*a. f.*
 fire-signals, in the *Agamemnon*, 269*a. b.*
 Fisch (E.), *Die Lateinischen Nomina Personalia auf -o, -onis*, noticed, 61*b. f.*
Flinders Petrie papyri, preliminary notice of, 350*a. f.*
 Foerster (R.), essay on *Physiognomia* of Apuleius, noticed, 429*b.*
 folk-lore, beast-tales in, 212*a. f.*
 Fourth Gospel, hours of the day in, 245*a. f.*
 translation of Hebrew in, 142*a.*
 fox, in beast-tales, 214*a.*
Fowler (H. N.), notice of Pearson's *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, 479*a. f.*
Fowler (W. W.), notice of Dyer's *Studies of the Gods in Greece*, 470*a. f.*
 notice of Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 48*a. f.*
Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes, by Pearson, noticed, 479*a. f.*
 fragments of the *Antiope*, notes on, 123*a. f.*, 185*a. b.*, 232*a.*, 401*a. f.*
 France, classical teaching in, 209*a.*
Frazer (J. G.), on swallows in the house, 1*a. f.*, 230*b.*
 Frazer (J. G.), *The Golden Bough*, noticed, 48*a. f.*
 Freeman (E. A.), *History of Sicily*, noticed, 423*a. f.*
 French books on Palaeography, noticed, 261*a. f.*
 Friedrich (W.), ed. of Cicero's *Opera Rhetorica*, noticed, 475*a. f.*
frigus, origin of, 253*b.*
fundā, origin of, 300*a.*
fundito, derivation of, 264*a.*
 future, infinitive in -*turum*, 301*a. b.*
 perfect subjunctive, in Latin, 175*a.*

G.

- g₂ = b, 448a.
 Gangi = Eugyion (?), 423b.
Gardner (E. A.), statement concerning theatre at Megalopolis, 284b.
Garnett (R.), note on *Antiope* fragments, 185b.
 Geldner (K. F.) and Pischel (R.), *Vedische Studien*, noticed, 43a. f.
 Gelzer (H.), ed. of *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani*, noticed, 328b.
 genders, names of in Greek, 216b.
General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, edited by Plummer, noticed, 414a. f.
 genitive, definition of, 59b.
 of pronouns in old Latin, 264b.
Gennadios, emendations of *Atheniensium Respublica*, 274a.
 Georges (Professor), *Lexicon der Lateinischen Wortformen*, noticed, 431b.
Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani, noticed, 328b.
 Germany, early antiquities of, 75b. f.
 antiquarian discoveries in 233b., 390b.
 gerund and gerundive, origin of, 296a. f.
Geschichte der Byzantinische Litteratur, by Krumbacher, noticed, 318a. f.
Geschichte der Röm. Litteratur, by Teuffel, noticed, 42a. f.
 Giesing, on *Oedipus Rex*, 62a.
Giles (P.), notice of Henry's *Short Comparative Grammar for Greek and Latin*, 387a.
Glossary, Latin—Anglo-Saxon, noticed, 382a. f.
 glosses in manuscripts, 89a. f.
Gods in Greece, Studies of, by Dyer, noticed, 470a. f.
 Goethe, on Aristotle's definition of tragedy, 62a.
 Goetz (G.), ed. of *Miles Gloriosus*, noticed, 206a. f.
Golden Bough, by Frazer, noticed, 48a. f.
 Gomperz on *Ath. Resp.*, noticed, 338a. f.
Goodwin (A.), notice of Verrall's *Ion* of Euripides, 97a. b.
 Gospel, quotations from Old Testament in Fourth, 11a. f., 142a. f.
 Goyau (G.), *Chronologie de l'Empire Romain*, noticed, 329a.
Græco-Egyptian Bilingual Dedication, noticed, 77b.
 Graevius (J. G.), account of his library, 365a. f.
Grammar, Comparative, for Greek and Latin, by Henry, noticed, 387a.
 Eton Latin, by Rawlins and Inge, noticed, 172a. f.
 Grammarians, Latin, on accent, 373a.
Grammatici Graeci Recogniti et Apparatu Critico Instructi, by Hilgard, noticed, 215a. f.
 Graux (C.), *Facsimiles of Greek MSS. in Spain*, noticed, 419a. f.
 Graves (F. P.), *Burial Customs of Ancient Greeks*, noticed, 431b.
 Greece, fables in, 212a.
 popular beliefs about swallows in, 1b.
 antiquarian discoveries in, 236a., 340b., 436b.
 Studies of Gods in, by Dyer, noticed, 470a. f.
 Greek and Latin, some negative forms in, 378a. f.
 aorists, discussed, 446a. f.
 cases and genders (names of), 216b.
 conditional sentences in, 397a. f.
 dialects, Meister's work on, noticed, 63a.
 Grammarians, by Hilgard, noticed, 215a. f.
 Literature, History of, by Perry, noticed, 330a. f.
 literature, continuity of, 318a.
 lyric poetry, allusive language in, 193a. f.
 Manuscripts in Italian libraries notes on, noticed, 387b.
 metres, by Rossbach and Westphal, noticed, 320a. f.

Greek and Latin, continued—

- MSS. in Spain, facsimiles of*, noticed, 419a. f.
Palaeography, by Wilcken, noticed, 417a. f.
Pictures, drawn with Pen and Pencil, by Mahaffy, noticed, 55a. f.
Pronunciation of, by Blass, noticed, 217a. b.
 prose, under Early Empire, 31a.
 relative clauses, deliberative subjunctive in, 302a. b.
 spelling, 148a.
 stage, Dörpfeld's theory on, 97a. b.
 theatre, Dörpfeld on, 238b. f.
World under Roman Sway, by Mahaffy, noticed, 56a. f.
Griffith (F. Ll.), on a Graeco-Egyptian dedication, 77b.
 Gilbert, view of Pericles' deposition, 165a.
 Gruppe, theory of the fable, compared with that of Jacobs, 213b.
gurdonicus, 104a.
 Gwatkin (T.) and Shuckburgh (E. S.), ed. of *Aeschines in Ctesiphonta*, noticed, 149f.

H.

- Hadley (W. S.)**, notice of Bayfield's *Alcectis*, 387b.
 Hadrumetum, harbour at, 281b.
 harbours of Carthage, 280a. f.
Hardie (W. R.), on allusive language in Greek lyric poetry, 193a. f.
 note on διατρηταί, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 164a. b.
Hardy (E. G.), notice of Goyau's *Chronologie de l'Empire Romain*, 329a.
 notice of Weidner's ed. of Juvenal, 385a. f.
 notice of Liebenam's *History and Organization of Roman Collegia*, 420a. f.
 Hardy (E. G.), ed. of Plutarch's *Lives of Otho and Galba*, noticed, 315a. f.
Harper (C.), on διαί of houses, 231b.
Hart (S.), notice of Allen's ed. of *Annals of Tacitus*, 58b.
 notice of Allen's *Short History of the Roman People*, 59a.
Haskins (C. E.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
Haverfield (F.), note on Thucydides, 67a.
 note on tragic tribrachs, 67b.
 notice of Kraner's ed. of Caesar's *Gallie and Civil Wars*, 58a.
 notice of *Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani*, 328b.
 translation of a passage of *Erechtheus* into Greek verse, 65a. f.
 Haverfield (F.), *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, noticed, 74a. f.
Headlam (C. E. S.), translation of a passage of Lander into Greek verse, 66a. f.
Headlam (James W.), on constitution of Draco, 166a. f., cf. 336a. b.
 on use of hiatus in *Athen. Respublica*, 270a. f.
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
Headlam (Walter), notes on the *Antiope* fragments, 185a.
 Headlam (Walter), *Poems of Meleager*, noticed, 26a. f.
Heberden (C. B.), notice of Rossbach and Westphal's *Greek Metres*, 320a. f.
 Hebrew, translation of the, in Fourth Gospel, 142a.
Hebrews, Epistle to, Westcott's ed. noticed, 18a. f.
Heitland (W. E.), notice of Bauer's *Silius Italicus*, 36a. f.
Hellenotamiae, 119b.
hem, in old Latin, 265b.

- Henry (V.), *Short Comparative Grammar for Greek and Latin*, Eng. ed., noticed, 387a.
- Heracleides of Clazomenae, *στρατηγός* at Athens, 122b.
- Heraclēs, legend of, 463a.
- Heraclides Ponticus and *Atheniensium Respublica*, 158a.
- Heracum*, site of, in Coreyra, 54a.
- Hercules, as a patron of literature, 433a.
- Herodas, poems of, 349a. b.
 emendations of, 350a. f.
 epoch of, 457a. b.
 additional fragments of, 480a. .
 notes on, 389b., 483a. f.
 similarity to Vergil and Catullus, 457a.
 spelling of name, 483a.
- Herodian, scholia of, 413b.
- Herodotus, Shuckburgh's ed. of Book v., noticed, 99a. f.
 Stein's ed. of Book vii., noticed, 477a. b.
 note on, 434b.
- Hervaeus Burgidolensis, commentator on *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 20b.
- Herwerden (H. van)**, emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
- Hessels (J. H.), ed. of *An Eighth Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, noticed, 382a. f.
- Hesse, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2a.
- hiatus, in papyrus fragment of *Phaedo*, 454a.
 use of, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 270a. f.
- Hiberno-Saxon symbol for *autem*, 232b.
- Hicks (E. L.)**, emendations of Herodas, 350a. f.
- Hicks (R. D.)**, emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
- Hild (J. A.), ed. of *Seventh Satire of Juvenal*, noticed, 429 b.
- Hildgard (A.), *Grammatici Graeci Recogniti et Apparatu Critico instructi*, noticed, 215a. f.
- Hill (G. F.)**, note on Themistocles and Areopagus, 169b.
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
- Hime (M. C.), *Introduction to the Latin Language*, noticed, 59a. b.
- hiscē* in Plautus, 173b.
- Hissarlik, antiquarian discoveries at, 188a.
- historians)(chronographers, in Byzantine literature, 319b.
- History of Byzantine Literature*, by Krumbacher, noticed, 318a. f.
- History of Greek Literature*, by Perry, noticed 330a. f.
- History of Language, Principles of*, by Paul, noticed, 387b.
- History and Organization of Roman Collegia*, by Liebenam, noticed, 420a. f.
- History of Roman Literature*, by Teuffel, noticed, 42a. f.
- History of the Roman People*, by Allen, noticed, 59a.
- History of Sicily*, by Freeman, noticed, 423a. f.
- Hobhouse (W.)**, on Mr. Torr's review of Mahaffy's *Greek World under Roman Sway*, 127a.
- Hoffmann (Fr.), ed. of Kraner's *Caesar's Civil War*, noticed, 58a.
- notice of Oehler's *Bilder-Atlas zu Caesar's Büchern de bello Gallico*, 58b.
- Holden (H. A.)**, notice of Hardy's ed. of Plutarch's *Lives of Otho and Galba*, 315a. f.
- Holden (H. A.), ed. of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* noticed, 478a. b.
- Holm (A.)**, notice of Freeman's *History of Sicily*, 423a. f.
- Homer, Autenrieth's Wörterbuch, noticed, 328a.
 Edward's ed. of *Iliad* xxiii., noticed, 476a. f.
- Homeric Scholia*, noticed, 412a. b.
- Horace, notes on, 137a. f., 337b.
 Wickham's ed. vol. ii., noticed, 169a. f.
- Horatiana*, by A. Palmer, 139a. f.
- Hoskyns-Abrahall (J.)**, note on the upright stone at Kilmalkedar, 69b.
 note on 'Stanko,' 129b.
 on a Carthaginian ambassador in a Greek inscription, 242b, cf. 278a.
- hospes*, changes of, 96b.
- hostis*, early meaning of, 95a. f.
- hours of the day in Fourth Gospel, 245a. f.
- house, swallows in the, 1a. f., 230b. f.
- Housman (A. E.)**, *Adversaria Orthographica*, 293a. f.
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
- Hude (C.), ed. of Thucydides vi.-vii., noticed, 22a. f.
- Humphreys (M. W.)**, note on aorist participle, 7a. b.
 note on πολλοί καὶ ἄλλοι, 431a. f.
- hybrids, Latin, notes on, 18a. b.
- Hyginus, and myth of *Antiope*, 124a.
- Hymnen des Rigveda*, by Oldenberg, noticed, 43a. f.
- Hypericides, MS. of, 157a.

I, J.

- i*, as an ablative termination, 173b.
- jackal, in beast-tales, 214a.
- Jackson, (H.)**, emendations of Herodas, 358a. f.
 note on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 122b.
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
- Jacobs (J.), ed. of the *Fables of Aesop*, noticed, 212a. f.
- iambic trimeter, 138b.
 in Latin, 374a.
- James (M. R.)**, note on *Antiope* of Euripides, 232a.
- James (Saint), *General Epistle of*, by Plummer, noticed, 414a. f.
 authenticity of, 414b.
- Japan, beliefs about swallows in, 230b.
- icinus*, adjectives in, 263a.
- identification of *Tisidium*, 433b.
- Jeans (G. E.)**, notice of Tyrrell and Purser's ed. of Cicero's letters, 100a. f.
 on the danger of quoting from memory, 279b.
- Jebb (R. C.), ed. of *Philoctetes*, noticed, 147a. f.
- jeci*, 447a.
- Jevons (F. B.)**, notice of Jacobs' ed. of *Aesop's Fables*, 212a. f.
- Jews, origin of fables among, 213b.
- Iliad*, notice of scholia on, 413a. f.
- illius*, pronunciation of, in old Latin, 264b.
- ima vox* = *νήτη χορδή*, 137a.
- ina-*, as a suffix, 453b.
- India, fables in, 212a.
- Indian customs, compared with old Italian, 51b.
- Indo-European *nasalis sonans*, Brugmann's theory, discussed, 451a. f.
 the existence of *z* in, 253a. f.
- infinitive, Latin future in -turum, 301a. b.
 passive, in Latin, 198a. f.
- Inge (W. R.) and Rawlins (F. H.), *Eton Latin Grammar*, noticed, 172a. f.
- ingressive use of participle, 249b.
- inquinatus* for **in-queleto-s*, 297b.
- Inscription, Deceleian and Attic Phratryies 221a. f.
- inscriptions, discovered in Britain, 71a. f.
 found at Chester, 485a. b.
- instrumental plural of -es stems, 254b.
 use of aorist participle, 4a.
 use of participle, 249a
- intercā*, 297a.

interjections, accent of, 406*b*.
 interpolations in Thucydides, 24*b*.
Introduction to the Latin Language, by Hime, noticed, 59*a. b*.
 -*io*, the meaning of nouns ending in, 61*b*.
 -*io*-, derivations in, 299*a*.
 John, (St.), Gospel of, quotations from Old Testament in, 142*a. f*.
 hours of day in, 245*a. f*.
 Ionisms in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 184*b*.
ipsius, pronunciation of, in old Latin, 264*b*.
 Ireland, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2*b*.
 Isaacus, use of $\epsilon\pi\delta$ in, 260*b*.
Islands of the Aegean, by Tozer, noticed, 237*a. f*.
 Isocrates, Clarke's ed. of *Evagoras*, noticed, 429*b*.
 references to, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 160*b*.
 use of $\epsilon\pi\delta$ in, 260*a. b*.
 Isthmus of Corinth, plan of cutting, 57*a*.
istius, pronunciation of, in old Latin, 264*b*.
 Italy, antiquarian discoveries in, 233*b*, 340*a. b*, 435*a*.
iucundus, 300*b*.
 Jude (Saint), *General Epistle of*, by Plummer, noticed, 414*a. f*.
 -*ium*, genitive plurals in, 173*a*.
 Juvenal, exile of, 279*a*.
 Lindsay's ed. of *Satires*, noticed, 326*b. f*.
 note on Sat. xi., 485*a*.
 Satira Septima, Hild's ed., noticed, 429*b*.
 Weidner's ed., noticed, 385*a. f*.
juvenis, as applied to Augustus, 210*a*.

K.

Kaibel (G.) and Kiessling (A.), translation of *Respublica Atheniensium*, noticed, 465*a. f*.
 Kaibel (G.), ed. of *Athenaeus*, noticed, 29*a. f*.
Keene (C. H.), emendations in *Electra* of Euripides, 127*b*.
 note on scholia of *Electra* of Euripides, 432*a. f*.
 Kiel (H.), ed. of Varro's *Res Rusticae*, noticed, 474*a. f*.
 Kempf (G.), ed. of Valerius Maximus, noticed, 428*a. f*.
Kenyon (F. G.), on additional fragments of Herodas, 480*a. f*.
 notes on text of *Atheniensium Respublica*, 269*a. f*.
 on recent literature of *Atheniensium Respublica*, 332*a. f*.
 Kenyon (F. G.), ed. of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, noticed, 155*a. f*.
 translation of *Resp. Ath.*, noticed, 465*a. f*.
 ed. of Herodas, preliminary notice of, 349*a. b*.
Kirkpatrick (F. A.), note on Latin Aorist Subjunctive, 67*b*.
 Kilmalkedar, stone found at, 69*b*.
 Kinnamos, 319*b*.
Korkyraische Studien, by Schmidt, noticed, 53*a. f*.
 Kraner (Fr.), ed. of Caesar's *Civil and Gallic Wars*, noticed, 58*a*.
 Krumbacher (K.), *History of Byzantine Literature*, noticed, 318*a. f*.
Kynaston (H.), notice of Bousfield's *Latin Verse*, 104*b*.

L.

La langue française depuis les origines, jusqu'à la fin du XI. siècle, by Etienne, noticed, 329*a. b*.
 Lancashire, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2*a*.

Landor, translation of a passage into Greek Verse, 66*a. f*.
 language, allusive, in Greek lyric poetry, 193*a. f*.
 of *Vedas*, 48*a. b*.
Language, Principles of History of, by Paul, noticed, 387*b*.
 Latin accentuation, discussed, 373*a. f*, 402*a. f*.
 and Greek, some negative forms in, 378*a. f*.
 aorist subjunctive, note on, 67*b*.
 future infinitive in -*turum*, 301*a. b*.
 gerund and gerundive, origin of, 296*a. f*.
 grammarians, unreliable character of, 373*a*.
 hybrids, notes on, 18*a. b*.
 locative in, 199*a*.
 old, pronouns in, 264*b*.
 exclamatory particles in, 265*b*.
 passive infinitive, 198*a. f*.
Latin Language, Introduction to, by Hime, noticed, 59*a. b*.
 **Latin—Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, noticed, 382*a. f*.
Latin Grammar, Eton, by Rawlinson and Inge, noticed, 172*a. f*.
Latin Pronunciation, by Peck, noticed, 60*a. f*.
Latin Verse, by Bousfield, noticed, 104*b*.
Leaf (W.), note on *vep*, 338*a*.
 notice of *Homer's Scholia*, 412*a. f*.
Leeuwen (J. van), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 224 foll.
 Lesbos, antiquarian discoveries in, 129*a*.
 lekythos, Mr. Lloyd on, 486*a*.
 Leucon, and Athenians, 56*b*.
Lexicon der Lateinischen Wortformen, by Georges, noticed, 431*b*.
 library of J. G. Graevius, account of, 365*a. f*.
 Liebenam (W.), *Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens*, noticed, 420*a. f*.
 Lincoln, antiquarian discoveries at, 287*a*, 390*a*.
Lindsay (W. M.), note on contraction of *autem* in manuscripts, 129*a*.
 notes on Festus and Nonius, 9*a. f*.
 on Latin accentuation, 373*a. f*, 402*a. f*.
 Lindsay (T. B.), ed. of Juvenal, noticed, 326*b. f*.
 literature, Greek, continuity of, 318*a*.
Literature, Byzantine, History of, by Krumbacher, noticed, 318*a. f*.
Literature, Greek, History of, by Perry, noticed, 330*a. f*.
Literature, Teuffel's History of Roman, noticed, 42*a. f*.
 literary reminiscence in Greek Lyric poetry, 193*a*.
 Livy, Stephenson's ed. of Book xxvii., noticed, 266*b*.
 Whibley's ed. of Book v., noticed, 325*a. f*.
lixa, 10*b*.
Lloyd (W. W.), on the vase-painting 'Alcmena on the pyre,' 241*b. f*.
 on the 'Maemillan Lekythos,' 486*a*.
 locative, in Latin, 199*a*.
 in Sanskrit, 199*a*.
 Loeri, position of women at, 424*b*.
Loring (W.), note on $\kappa\alpha\theta\eta\lambda\eta$, 66*a*.
 statement concerning theatre at Megalopolis, 284*b. f*.
 Luchs, on pronouns in old Latin, 264*b*.
 Lucian, diction of, 31*b*.
 Lucianus, translated into Latin Verse, 65*a. b*.
 Lucilius, date of birth, 279*b*, cf. 338*a*.
 Lucretius, suicide of, 42*a*.
Lupton (J. H.), notice of Dübner's *Sulpicius Severus*, 103*b*.
 lyre, strings of, 137*a*.
 lyric poetry, Greek, allusive language in, 193*a. f*.
 Lysias, use of $\epsilon\pi\delta$ in, 260*a*.

K.

κ, confused with γ, 253*b*.
 -κα, perfects and aorists in, discussed, 446*a*.*f*.
 καθαίρειν = 'to prove' (?), 314*a*.
 κάθαρσις, in tragedy, 62*a*.
 καί, omitted in phrase πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, 431*a*.
 κατοπράγμονας, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 185*a*.
 κανθήλη, note on, 6*a*.
 κασσίτερος, 76*a*.
 καταβιβάζειν, as grammatical term, 216*b*.
 καταφατίζω, 123*a*.
 κατέχειν, 197*b*.
 κίβισις, 206*b*.
 κληρωτήριον, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*b*.
 κοινὸν Δυναλέων, 223*a*.
 κόσμος = 'totality' (?), 416*a*.
 κρίβανος, conn. with *carbo*, 253*a*.
 κρωβύλος, 152*b*.
 κυνάπαιδες, new word, 414*a*.
 κύριος, with participle in Aristotle, 273*a*.
 κυρίως, in Aristotle, 184*a*.

Λ.

λαθὼν ἐποίησε, sense of, 248*b*.
 λευκός, force of, 337*a*.
 λογισμός, in depreciatory sense, 197*b*.

M.

μανιάω, 123*a*.
 μάρτυς, meaning of, 21*b*.
 μέγας, formation of, 454*a*.
 μέλλω, construction of in Aristotle, 185*b*.
 μεμψιμοιρία, 123*a*.
 μετεμψύχωσις, authority for, 129*a*.
 μετρονόμοι, number of, 120*a*.
 μή, instead of οὐ in Dio Chrysostom, 31*a*.
 representing strong assurance, 149*a*.
 -μι, Aeolic verbs in, 216*b*.
 μοῖρα = μέρος, 184*b*.
 μονοχίτων, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.

N.

νέκταρ, derivation of, 379*b*.
 νεοπολίται, at Athens, 222*b*, 338*a*.
 νερό, derivation of, 232*b*, 338*a*.
 νήδυμος, derivation of, 219*a*.
 νητή χορδή = *ima vox*, 137*a*.
 νομοφυλακεῖν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 159*a*.
 νάδυνος, derivation of, 379*b*.

O.

ὁ μὲν εἶς, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 185*a*.
 ὁ τῶν κρηῶν ἐπιμελητής, 163*a*.
 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν, 163*a*.
 οἴκοι, as division of phratry, 222*b*.
 οἰκτῖρω, spelling of, 148*a*.
 ὁμογάλακτες, sense of, 222*b*.
 ὁμολογῶ, constructions with, 259*b*.
 ὁμοφρονήσαντες, in Aristotle, 272*b*.
 ὁπαί, of Greek houses, 231*b*.
 ὀργεῶνες, sense of, 222*b*.
 ὅσαπερ ἑάν for ὅσαπερ ἄν, 123*b*.
 ὅς ἑάν for ὅς ἄν, 123*b*.
 ὅς μὲν...ὅς δὲ for ὁ μὲν...ὁ δὲ, 313*a*.
 ὁστρακοφορία, 123*a*.

ὅτε μὲν...ὅτε δὲ, not in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 185*b*.
 οὐ μὴν ἄλλα, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 223*b*.
 οὐχί, in Aristotle, 272*b*.

Π.

παρανήτη, 137*a*.
 παραστρατηγηθῆναι διὰ τῶν φίλων, 133*a*.
 παροργίζειν, in active, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 159*a*.
 παροργίσαντας, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230 *a*.
 παρυπάτη, 137*a*.
 παρωνύμιον, in Aristotle, 272*b*.
 παρώχλει, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*b*.
 πέτομφα, formation of, 449*a*.
 περιορᾶν, with aorist participle, 5*a*.
 ποεῖν, spelling of, 148*a*.
 ποιεῖσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ, in Aristotle, 272*b*.
 πολιτεία, meaning of, 119*b*.
 πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, note on, 431*a*. *b*.
 πολύσπλαγχνος, in St. James, 417*a*.
 πός, derivation of, 63*a*.
 πον, in quotations, 20*a*.
 πρὶν ἢ with infinitive, in Aristotle, 273*a*.
 προδανείζω, 123*a*.
 προδιασπείρω, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
 προδραμεύω, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
 προεδρικός, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
 πρόεδροι, 152*a*.
 προναία, form of, 152*a*.
 προπύλον, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 159*a*, 272*b*.
 πρὸς, derivation of, 63*a*.
 προσαναζητέω, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
 πρόσγονος, new word, 414*a*.
 προσέχω, absolute use of, 456*a*.
 πρόσρυσιν = a pendent, 101*b*.
 προσοργισθέντες, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 159*a*.
 προσμειζαί, spelling of, 148*a*.
 προσπαράγιννομαι, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
 προφέρειν, in Aristotle, 184*b*.
 πύλαι = 'channels,' 283*b*.

Ρ.

ρίς, analysis of, 254*b*.

Σ.

σέλινον, identification of, 308*b*.
 σιτικόν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.
 σκάριφος, connections of, 253*a*.
 σκηνή, meaning of, 97*a*.
 σπουδάζειν with infinitive, 185*a*.
 στοχάζεσθαι, in Aristotle, 184*b*.
 στρατήγημα = 'a ruse,' 101*b*.
 στρατηγοί, at Athens, 119*a*, 166.
 στρώμα, note on, 390*a*.
 συναρέσκεσθαι, 123*a*.
 σφᾶς αὐτοῦς = *εαυτοῦς* in Aristotle, 272*b*.
 σφῶ, spelling of, 148*a*.

Τ.

τὰ πραγματα = 'fortune, position,' 184*a*.
 ταμίς στρατιωτικῶν, 163*a*.
 τάξις, 167*a*.
 ταρίχος, 253*b*.
 τε καί, in Aristotle, 273*a*.
 τείσω, spelling of, 148*a*.

-τος, verbals ending in, in Aeschylus, 63*b*.
 τραχηλίζειν, 19*b*.
 τριακοντόριον, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.

Γ.

ὑπάτη χορδή = *summa vox*, discussed, 137*a*.
 ὑπὸ, use of, in Aristophanes, 260*a*.
 in Thucydides and the Orators, 260*b*.
 ὑπώροφα, meaning of, 1*a*, cf. 231*b*.

Φ.

φ, in perfects, 449*a*.
 φέγγος, sense of, in Pindar, 194*b*.
 φημί, with aorist infinitive, 5*b*.
 φοίνιος, origin of, 300*a*.
 φράσσω and *farcio*, 447*a*.
 φρήκα, 447*a*.
 φρίζ, φοίσσω, etymology of, 253*b*.

φυλοβασιλείς, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*a*.
 number of, 428*a*.
 φυλοκρινεῖν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*b*.
 φύσις, in Aristotle, 184*a*.

Χ.

χάριν, use of in Aristotle, 273*a*.
 χιλός, 254*a*.
 χιτών, derivation of, 263*b*.
 χρηστηριάζεσθαι, in Aristotle, 184*b*.
 χρόμος, in Pindar, 307*a*.

Ψ.

ψευδομαρτύρια, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.

Ω.

ὥς ἄν, use of in Aristotle with participle, 272*b*.
 ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, in Aristotle, 185*b*.

III.—INDEX LOCORUM.

Note.—References to the Orators are given by number of speech and section, to Aristotle by the paging of the Berlin edition, to Cicero by section, to Plato by Stephanus' paging, to Plautus and Terence by the continuous numeration where such exists. It will materially assist subsequent readers of the 'Review' if contributors will in future conform as far as possible to this system.

A.

Aelian :—

- Nat. An.* x. (34), 1b., 231b.
V. H. ii. (43), 112b.; iii. (17), 112b., 275a.;
 v. (17), 231a.; vi. (10), 121b.; viii. (16), 158b.;
 xi. (9), 112b.

Aeschines :—

- I [*In Timarch.*] (41), 334b.; (77), 151a.; (90), 260b.; (113), 224b.; III. [*In Ctes.*] (2), 152a.; (7), 150a., 260b.; (34), 152a.; (47), 121a.; (55), 152a.; (59), 314a.; (76), 152a.; (108), 152a.; (118), 152b.; (120), 152b.; (123), 152b.; (124), 151a.; (132), 152b., (150), 152b.; (154), 152b.; (166), 150a.; (187), 152b.; (207), 260b.; (219), 151b.; (225), 153a.; (232), 260b.; (245), 153b.; XV. (19), 171a.

Aeschylus :—

- Agam.* (272—307), 220a.; (324), 5a.; (557), 388a.; (1020), 231a.; (1118, 1125, 1227), 388a.; (1316—1329), 62a.
Eum. (21), 152a.; (461), 177a.
P. V. (213), 5a.; (471), 302a.
Supp. (819—820), 388b.; (960), 431a.; (970), 389a.

Andocides :—

- I. [*De Myst.*] (13), 111a.; (19), 3b., 5a.; (40), 431b.; (53, 58), 5a.; (81), 121b.; (83), 120b.; (101), (103), 432a.

Anecdota (Bekker), (p. 235, p. 278, p. 279), 120a.

Anthol. Palat. v. 237, 1b.; vii. (741), 318a.; ix. (291), 318a.; x. (2), 1a., 231b.; (16, 5 sq.), 3a.; xi. (74, 9), 400b.

Antipho :—

- II. [*Tet. A.*] (3.7), 260a.
 III. [*Tet. B.*] (a. 1), 260b.; (γ. 1), 260a.
 VI. [*De Chor.*] (24), 432a.; (115, 21), 177a.

Apuleius :—

- (p. 117, 1), (p. 122, 8), 429b.
de Magia (10), 433b.

Aristides :—

- Or.* II. (p. 203 D), 275a.; (p. 161 D), 275a.; II. (360), Dind. (=II. 278, 2 sq. Jebb.=III. 460 Canter), 120b.

Aristophanes :—

- Ach.* (22), 315a.; (347), 185a.; (920—925), 484b.
Aves (50), 267b.; (385), 309a.; (484), 309a.;

Aristophanes, continued—

- (759), 309b.; (1148 f.), 89b., 309b.; (1229), 260a.; (1340), 309a.; (1658), 309b.
Eccles. (294), 456a.
Eq. (51), 260a.; (313), 55a.; (352), 260a.; (735), 431b.; (1164), 260a.
Lys. (26), 260a.; (325), 260a.; (387 f.), 433a.; (423), 260a.; (1008), 260a.
Nub. (626), 122a.
Plut. (674), 229b.; (1083), 260a.
Ranac. (93), 231a.; (140), 169a.; (484), 4a.; (510), 267b.; (645), 252b.; (1128), 251b.; (1214), (1244), 260a.; (1433), 278b.
Vesp. (699), 260a.
Frag. (96), 149a.

Aristotle :—

- Atheniensium Respublica* [editio princeps], (p. 2), 90a., 106a.; (l. 1), 225a.; l. 4, 106a.; (l. 6), 106a., 175a.; (l. 6), 274a.; p. 3 (l. 2), 175a.; (l. 4), 120a.; (l. 6), 106a., 120b., 334a.; (l. 6), 175b.; (l. 9), 106a., 175b., 273b.; (l. 10), 223b.; (l. 14), 106a., 184a., 269a., 274b.; (l. 15), 223b.; p. 4 (l. 1), (Cap. 3), 120a.; (l. 2), 175b.; p. 5 (l. 2), 224a., 269b., 271b.; (l. 3), 106a., 274a.; (ll. 3, 4), 175b.; p. 6 (l. 4), 106a.; (ll. 4, 6), 175b.; (ll. 5—10), 106a.; (ll. 7, 9, 11, 16 and last line), 176a.; (l. 7), 271b.; (l. 8), 106b.; (l. 9), 274a.; (l. 11), 120a.; (l. 14), 106b.; (l. 17), 106b., 269b.; p. 7, 90a.; (l. 2), 119b.; (l. 3), 271b., 272a.; (l. 8), 225a.; (l. 11), 184a.; p. 9 (ll. 2, 3), 274a.; (l. 3), 184a.; (l. 10), 225a., (l. 11), 272a.; p. 10, 223b.; (l. 2), 224a.; (l. 14), 225a.; p. 11 (ll. 1, 3), 176a.; (l. 1), 106b.; (l. 3), 224a.; (l. 3), 106b.; (l. 5), 107a.; (ll. 5—8), 225a.; (l. 6), 107a.; (l. 9), 274b.; (l. 12), 107a.; p. 12 (l. 2), 107a.; (l. 4), 184a.; p. 13 (l. 7), 176b., 184a., 225a.; (l. 10), 336a.; (l. 11), 336b.; p. 14, 91b., 120a.; (l. 2), 184a.; (l. 5), 107a., 176b., 225a.; (l. 8), 107a.; (l. 9), 272b.; (l. 14), 334a.; p. 15, 120a., 158a.; l. 5, 107b.; (l. 7), 177a.; l. 10, 107b.; p. 16, 91a.; (l. 4), 107b.; (l. 5), 274a.; (ll. 6, 12, 17), 177a.; (l. 7), 107b.; (l. 9), 223b.; (l. 11), 107b.; (ll. 11, 12, 13, 15), 225a.; (l. 12), 184a.; (l. 13), (Cap. 6), 107b., 272b.; (l. 17), 107b.; (l. 18), 108a.; p. 17 (l. 1), 120a.; (l. 3), 158a.; (ll. 4, 5), 120b.; (l. 6), 269b.; (last

Aristotle, *continued*—

(l. line), 108*a*, 177*a*; p. 19 (ll. 1, 6), 120*b*; (l. 2), 225*a*; (l. 7), 184*a*; (l. 8), 108*a*, 274*b*; (ll. 11, 12), 272*b*; p. 20, 90*a*, 91*b*; (l. 2), 108*a*, 225*b*, 272*a*; (ll. 2, 3), 177*a*; (l. 5), 108*a*; (l. 6), 223*b*; p. 21, 161*a*; (l. 2), 272*a*; (l. 4), 177*b*; p. 22 (ll. 1, 2), 269*b*; p. 23 (l. 1), 272*a*; (l. 4), 229*a*; (l. 6), 177*b*; p. 24 (ll. 2, 3, 9, 10), 177*b*; (ll. 3, 10), 272*a*; (l. 3), 108*a*, 225*b*; (l. 4), 108*a*; (l. 7), 274*a*; 225*b*; (l. 8), 108*a*, 270*a*; (l. 8), 225*b*; (l. 10), 225*b*; (last line) 108*a*; p. 25, 91*a*, 91*b*; (l. 1), 177*b*; (l. 7), 120*b*; (l. 6), 108*a*; (l. 8), 108*a*; p. 26 (l. 2), 108*a*; (ll. 2, 8, 9), 272*a*; (ll. 2, 8), 225*b*; (ll. 3*f*.), 162*a*; (l. 7), 108*b*, 120*b*; (l. 8), 177*b*; p. 27, 90*b*, 91*a*, *b*, 120*b*; (l. 1), 108*b*, 272*a*; (ll. 1, 7, 11, 12), 177*b*; (l. 2), 223*b*; (l. 11), 108*b*; (l. 12), 108*b*, 225*b*; (l. 13), 108*b*, 229*a*; (l. 14), 270*a*; (last four lines), 108*b*; p. 28 (l. 1), 109*a*, 120*b*, 229*a*; (ll. 2, 4, 5, 17), 225*b*; (l. 7), 109*a*; (ll. 7, 14, 17), 177*b*; (l. 8), 109*a*, 274*a*; (ll. 12, 20), 109*a*; (l. 13), 109*a*; (l. 17), 184*a*; (l. 20), 109*a*; p. 29, 109*a*; (l. 14), 226*a*; p. 30 (ll. 1, 6, 11, 12), 226*a*; (l. 5), 177*b*; (ll. 7, 12), 178*a*; (l. 8), 109*b*; (l. 13), 109*b*; p. 31 (ll. 1, 2, 3), 226*a*; (l. 4), 109*b*; (l. 5), 109*b*; (l. 8, and last line), 178*a*; (l. 16), 109*b*; p. 32 (ll. 1, 2, 4, 6), 178*b*; (l. 2), 109*b*; (l. 4), 110*a*; (l. 5), 446*b*; (l. 6), 272*b*; (l. 8), 110*a*; (l. 8), 229*a*; p. 33 (l. 1), 110*a*; (l. 4), 334*a*; (l. 5), 110*a*, 178*b*, 274*a*; p. 34 (l. 2), 226*a*; p. 35 (l. 5), 110*a*; (l. 10), 466*b*; p. 36, 120*b*; (ll. 4, 6, 10), 178*b*; (l. 6), 226*a*; (l. 7), 274*b*, 334*a*; (l. 10), 229*a*; (l. 10), 110*a*; p. 38 (l. 8), 120*a*; p. 39 (l. 1), 110*a*, 178*b*, 272*a*; (l. 2), 226*a*; (l. 6), 120*b*; (l. 8), 272*b*; p. 40 (l. 3), 121*a*; (l. 4), 110*a*; p. 41 (l. 1), 110*a*; (l. 3), 110*a*, 272*b*; (ll. 4, 7), 226*a*; (l. 7), 274*a*; (9, 14), 274*a*; (l. 11), 110*a*; p. 42, 91*a*; (l. 3), 271*b*; (ll. 3, 15), 272*a*; (l. 5), 226*a*; (l. 5), 121*a*; (ll. 8, 11), 110*a*; (l. 10), 270*a*; (l. 13), 272*b*, 274*a*; (l. 15), 110*b*; p. 42 (last line), 178*b*; p. 43, 91*b*; (l. 2), 110*b*; (l. 3), 110*b*; (ll. 7, 9, 12), 270*a*; (l. 9), 274*a*; (l. 11), 110*b*; (l. 12), 110*b*, 179*a*; (l. 13), 159*b*; p. 44, 91*a*; (l. 1), 270*a*; (l. 4), 121*a*; (ll. 6, 10), 274*a*; (ll. 7, 18), 226*a*; (ll. 11, 15, 20 and last line), 179*a*; (ll. 8—17), 272*a*; (l. 15), 110*b*; (l. 14), 110*b*, 229*b*; (l. 18), 110*b*; (l. 20), 110*b*; (last line), 110*b*; p. 45, 91*a*, 91*b*, 121*a*; (l. 4), 111*a*, 270*a*; (ll. 4, 7, 10, 17), 179*a*; (ll. 4, 22), 226*a*; (l. 7), 111*a*; (l. 9—11), 111*a*; (l. 22), 111*a*; p. 46 (ll. 1, 8, 9, 11), 179*b*; (l. 2), 272*a*; (ll. 2, 4), 226*b*; (l. 3), 272*b*; (l. 8), 277*a*; (l. 9), 111*a*; (l. 11) 111*a*; p. 47 (l. 3), 179*b*; (l. 8), 111*a*, 226*b*, 277*a*; (l. 11), 180*a*; p. 48 (Cap. 18), 119*b*; (l. 5), 111*a*, 274*b*; (5, 19), 272*a*; (l. 10), 184*a*; (l. 11), 277*a*; (ll. 15, 16), 180*a*; (l. 16), 111*b*; (ll. 17*f*.), 163*b*, 226*b*; (l. 19), 270*a*, 273*a*; (last line), 111*b*; p. 49 (l. 2), 272*b*; (ll. 3, 5), 180*a*; (ll. 8, 19), 270*a*; (l. 8), 274*a*; (l. 22), 226*b*; p. 50 (l. 8), 277*a*; (ll. 8, 12, 16, 18), 180*a*; (l. 12), 274*b*; (l. 14), 184*b*; (l. 13), 111*b*; (ll. 15, 16), 226*b*, (l. 18), 184*a*; p. 51 (l. 3), 111*b*; (l. 6), 184*b*; (l. 12), 111*b*; (last line), 111*b*; p. 52 106*a*; (l. 2), 111*b*; (l. 6), 180*a*; (l. 8), 111*b*; p. 53, 90*b*, 106*a*; (l. 10), 274*a*; (l. 16), 180*a*; (last line), 111*b*, 163*b*; p. 54 (l. 3), 229*b*; p. 55 (l. 2), 226*b*, 184*b*; p. 56, 221*b*; (l. 1), 180*a*; (l. 2), 272*b*; (l. 7),

Aristotle, *continued*—

111*b*, 180*b*; p. 57, 90*b*; (l. 1), 111*b*; (l. 4), 272*a*; (ll. 6, 9), 180*b*; (l. 7), 184*b*; p. 58 (ll. 2, 4), 270*a*; (l. 4), 112*a*; (l. 7), 272*b*; p. 59 (ll. 1—3), 158*b*; (l. 4), 226*b*; (l. 6), 272*a*; p. 60, 168*b*; (l. 1), 112*a*, 180*b*, 226*b*; p. 61 (Cap. 22), 112*a*, 277*b*; (ll. 1—3), 158*b*; (l. 4), 273*a*; (l. 5), 229*b*; p. 61 (l. 7), 112*a*, 226*b*; p. 62 (l. 1), 120*a*, 272*a*; p. 63 (l. 1), 112*a*; p. 64 (l. 1), 112*a*; (ll. 7, 8), 180*b*; (l. 9), 274*b*; (l. 10), 112*a*; (l. 11), 272*a*; p. 65, 91*b*; (l. 1), 226*b*; (l. 2), 180*b*; (l. 4), 163*b*; (l. 7), 229*b*, 274*b*; (l. 8), 272*a*; (l. 10), 112*a*, 334*a*; (ll. 12*f*.), 161*a*; p. 66, 168*b*, 121*a*; (l. 2), 112*b*; (ll. 5, 8), 180*b*; (l. 5), 227*a*, 272*a*; (l. 7), 227*a*; p. 67, 91*b*; (l. 2), 270*a*; (l. 7), 274*b*; (l. 8), 180*b*, 229*b*; (l. 11), 334*a*; (l. 14), 227*a*; p. 68, 91*b*; (l. 5), 227*a*, 121*a*; (l. 8), 334*b*; (l. 9), 112*b*; (ll. 9, 12), 180*b*; p. 69 (l. 2), 272*a*; (l. 3), 121*a*; (l. 4), 184*b*; (l. 5), 106*a*; (l. 6), 112*b*; (l. 7), 160*a*; (l. 11), 227*a*; p. 70 (l. 3), 227*a*; p. 71 (l. 7), 164*a*, 180*b*, 227*a*; (l. 8), 112*b*; p. 72 (l. 1), 230*a*; (ll. 4, 12), 121*a*; (ll. 6, 8), 272*a*; (l. 7), 112*b*; (ll. 13, 16), 227*a*; (l. 13), 274*b*; (l. 14), 274*a*; (l. 15), 334*b*; p. 73, 160*b*; (l. 6), 272*a*; (ll. 6, 8), 227*a*; (l. 7), 184*b*; (l. 8), 112*b*; (l. 10), 180*b*; p. 74 (ll. 4, 8), 112*b*; (ll. 6, 9), 272*a*; (l. 7), 270*a*; (ll. 7, 10), 112*b*; p. 75 (ll. 9, 11), 227*a*; p. 76, 159*a*, 160*b*; p. 76 (ll. 1, 6, 7, 9, 11), 227*b*; (l. 3), 271*b*, 272*a*; (l. 4), 112*b*; (l. 5, 7, 11), 113*a*; (l. 7), 270*a*; (ll. 10, 11), 180*b*; p. 77 (l. 2), 274*a*; (ll. 1, 3, 15), 113*a*; (ll. 7, 15), 227*b*; (l. 18), 272*a*; p. 78, 168*b*; pp. 78, 79, 227*b*; p. 78 (l. 3, 7), 113*a*; (l. 3), 334*b*; (l. 7), 180*b*, 277*a*; (ll. 7, 8), 274*a*; p. 79, 161*a*; (l. 1), 273*a*; (l. 4), 227*b*; (l. 4, 9), 113*b*; (l. 8), 274*a*; p. 80 (ll. 2, 10), 272*a*; (l. 3), 466*b*; (l. 3), 275*a*; (l. 5), 184*b*; (ll. 5, 15, 18), 113*b*; (ll. 5, 8, 13), 228*a*; (l. 8), 466*b*; (l. 10), 271*b*; p. 81 (l. 1), 121*a*; (l. 1, 8), 113*b*; (ll. 2, 7), 272*a*; (l. 4), 121*b*, 158*a*; p. 82 (l. 5, 11, 13), 113*b*; (l. 7), 180*b*, 273*a*, 274*b*; (ll. 7, 12), 228*a*; p. 83 (l. 12), 228*a*; p. 84 (Cap. 30), 119*b*; (ll. 2, 3), 181*a*, 277*a*; (l. 3), 159*b*; p. 85 (l. 2, 6), 228*a*; (l. 9), 113*b*; (l. 11), 121*b*; (last line), 164*a*; p. 86 (l. 1), 113*b*; (l. 6), 181*a*; p. 87 (l. 7), 184*b*; (l. 9, 11), 113*b*; p. 88 (ll. 1—5), 228*a*; (l. 3), 181*a*, 277*a*; (l. 9), 114*a*; (l. 11), 272*b*; p. 89 (l. 11), 273*a*; p. 90 (ll. 3, 12), 181*a*; (l. 9), 114*a*; (l. 18), 273*a*; p. 91 (l. 3), 275*a*; (ll. 3, 7), 228*b*; (ll. 4, 7, 10), 181*a*; (l. 5), 121*b*; (l. 7), 230*a*; (l. 8, 10), 114*a*; (l. 9), 272*a*; p. 92 (l. 1), 158*a*; (l. 2), 272*b*; (l. 3), 228*b*; (l. 4), 114*a*; p. 93, 90*b*, 164*a*; (l. 1 and last line), 181*a*; (ll. 1, 3, 5), 114*a*; (l. 6), 228*b*; (l. 9), 164*a*; (last line), 277*a*; p. 94 (Cap. 35), 119*b*; (l. 3), 114*a*; (ll. 4, 6, 7), 228*b*; (ll. 9, 12), 272*b*; p. 95, 160*b*; (ll. 1, 7, 14), 114*a*; (l. 2), 272*b*; (l. 6), 185*a*; (l. 10), 181*a*; (l. 12), 164*b*; p. 96 (l. 2), 274*a*; (l. 9), 185*a*, 334*a*; (ll. 10, 15), 228*b*; (l. 11), 181*a*; (l. 12), 230*a*; p. 97 (l. 1 and last line), 114*a*; (l. 2), 121*b*; (l. 3), 185*a*; (l. 9), 181*a*; p. 98, 120*a*; (l. 4), 273*a*, 274*b*; p. 98 (l. 7), 114*a*, 160*b*; p. 99 (ll. 1, 8), 114*a*; (ll. 6, 7, 14), 181*a*; (l. 7), 228*b*; (l. 12), 185*a*; p. 100 (ll. 1, 2, 4, 11, 17, 18, 22), 114*b*; (l. 2), 273*a*; (l. 11), 270*a*; (ll. 2, 5, 17, 19), 228*b*; p. 101 (l. 2), 466*a*; (l. 5), 270*a*; (ll. 5, 13, 15), 181*a*; (ll. 6, 13,

P.

- Paulus, v. Festus.
Pausanias i. (3, 5), 152*b*.; (8, 5), 152*b*.; (16, 3), 153*a*.
Persius i. (119), 10*b*.; iii. (3), 246*a*.; v. (147), 296*b*.
Philo:—
Opp. i. (p. 692), 246*b*.; ii. (6, 51), 229*a*.; (529), 247*b*.
Philochorus:—
Fragments, (57, 58, 65, 67, 68, 101, 118, 122, 152), 158*a*.; (100), 164*a*.
Philostratus:—
Vita Soph. ii. (9, 2), 32*a*.
Photius (p. 459, 14), 456*a*.
Pindar:—
Isth. v. (64), 194*a*.; vi. (18), 194*a*.
Nem. i. (13), 308*a*.; (24), 307*b*.; (46), 195*b*.; (46, 48, 66), 306*b*.; (**64**), 194*b*.; ii. (10), 308*a*.; (**14**), 306*a*.; iii. (56), 307*a*.; iv. (18), 308*a*.; (65—68), 307*a*.; (91, 93), 307*a*.; v. (43), 307*a*.; vi. (6, 18, 50, 64), 307*a*.; (9), 308*a*.; vii. (11), 194*a*.; (19, 22, 31, 36, 68), 307*a*.; (70, 85), 307*b*.; (37), 306*a*.; (61—8), 194*a*.; (62), 193*b*.; (93), 307*b*.; (106), 195*a*.; viii. (2, 40), 307*b*.; ix. (**22, 23**), 337*a*.; (44, 47), 307*b*.; x. (5, 37, 41, 48, 60, 75, 84), 307*b*.; xi. (13, 17), 307*b*.; (40), 308*a*.
Ol. ii. (10), (16), 252*a*.; (96), 195*a*.; iii. (22), 195*a*.; x. (9), 193*b*.
Pyth. i. (65), (125), 252*a*.; x. (38), 306*b*.
Fragm. (171), 127*b*.
Plato:—
Apol. (19C), 432*a*.; (21C, E), (32C), (34A, C), 431*b*.
Crat. (384C, 392A, 397B, 398B, 410A, 414D, 415C), 431*b*.
Crit. (45B), 431*b*.
Gorgias (60C), 248*a*.; (515E), 121*a*.; 160*b*.; (525A), 337*a*.
Laches (178B), 184*b*.
Larus (760B), 446*b*.; (855E), 334*b*.; (874A, B), 118*b*.; xii. (943A), 179*a*.; (957A), 184*a*.
Meno (**93E**), 398*a*.; (**94D**), 398*b*.
Phaedo (67E), 365*a*.; (68A), 364*a*.; (68B), 454*a*.; (68D), 364*a*.; 365*a*.; (**68E**), 454*a*.; 455*b*.; (68E), 364*a*.; (69A), 364*a*.; 365*a*.; (80D), 454*a*.; (80E), 365*a*.; (81A), 364*a*.; 365*a*.; (81B), 454*a*.; 365*a*.; (81C), 364*a*.; 365*a*.; 454*a*.; (81D), 456*b*.; (82B, C, D), 456*b*.; (82C), 365*a*.; (83A, 83B, 83C), 365*a*.; (**83B**), 455*b*.; (83C), 454*a*.; (83C), 456*b*.; (83D), 364*a*.; (84A), 365*a*.; (84B), 365*a*.; (96C, 98C, 104A), 431*b*.; (109B, 111A, 112A), 431*b*.; (117A), 4*a*.; 250*a*.
Phaedrus (235D), 224*a*.; (248C), 167*a*.; (254D), 334*a*.; (254E), 302*a*.; (272E), 456*a*.
Phileb. (55B), 431*b*.
Politicus (269A), 445*a*.; (270A), 446*a*.; (270B), 446*b*.; (270D, E), 445*b*.; (272E), 455*a*.; 446*a*.; (273B), 446*a*.; (273E), 445*b*.; 446*a*.
Prot. (352E), 431*b*.
Rep. (334E), 250*b*.; (367B), 4*b*.; (346E), 107*b*.; (408C), 107*b*.; iii. (411A), 230*a*.; (440B), 5*b*.; v. (459A), 456*a*.; vii. (519C), 456*a*.; (**532B**), 278*a*.; viii. (554B), 456*a*.
Symp. (194D), 302*b*.; (198B), 6*a*.
Theag. (127), 309*b*.
Theaetetus (148B), 230*b*.; (194A), 184*a*.
Timaeus (36C), 446*b*.; (42E, 44B), 446*a*.
Plautus:—
Amph. (384), 323*a*.; (991), 404*b*.
Asin. (364), 408*a*.; (676), 323*a*.
Aul. Prol. (35), 265*a*.

Plautus, continued—

- Aul.* II. (ii. 62), 139*b*.
Bacchides (90), 265*a*.; (1023), 265*b*.
Capt. (261), 404*b*.
Casina (**126f.**) (**128**) (**168f.**) (**200**) (**206f.**) (**225**), 322*a*.; (**244**) (**301**) (**347**) (**357**) (**378**) (**382**) (**451**) (**456**) (**488**), 322*b*.; (**523**) (**550**) (**700f.**) (**847**), 323*a*.; (**854**, **994**), 323*b*.; (645, 664), 301*b*.
Cist. II. (iii., 19), 408*b*.
Curc. (2), 95*b*.; (521), 323*a*.
Menaechni (282), 404*b*.
Merc. (432), 408*b*.
Most. (187), 323*a*.; (510), 173*b*.; (830), 323*a*.; (1069), 323*a*.
M. G. (27), 323*a*.; (44), 406*a*.; (309), 207*b*.; (373), 173*b*.; (**438**), 207*b*.; (450), 95*b*.; (456), 265*b*.; (**685**), 207*b*.; (**779**), 207*a*.; (819), 323*a*.; (**883**), 207*b*.; (1028), 207*b*.; (1079), 96*b*.; (1284), 403*a*.
Poen. (394), 405*a*.; (976), 407*a*.
Pseud. (101), 322*a*.; (464), 175*a*.; (711, 841), 323*a*.; (1210), 406*a*.
Rudens (**194**), 206*b*.; (341), 205*b*.; (**344**), 206*b*.; (349), 205*b*.; (419), 206*b*.; (426), 205*b*.; 323*a*.; (433), 323*a*.; (**468**), 206*b*.; (620), 205*b*.; (687), 205*b*.; (730), 175*a*.; (752), 206*a*.; (756), 175*a*.; (797), 206*a*.; (799), 205*b*.; (870), 206*a*.; (892), 205*b*.; (904), 403*a*.; (906), 205*b*.; (928), 323*a*.; (930), 206*b*.; (946), 205*b*.; (**987**), 206*b*.; (**998**), 206*b*.; (**997**), 206*b*.; (1006), 265*a*.; (**1018**), 206*b*.; (1040), 205*b*.; (1077), 205*b*.; (**1102**), 206*b*.; (1132), 206*a*.; (1143), 206*a*.; (1150), 322*a*.; (1178), 206*b*.; 265*b*.; (1240), 323*a*.; (**1248**), 206*b*.; (1274), 206*b*.; (1320), 205*b*.; (1326), 206*a*.; (1331), 206*a*.; (1371), 205*b*.; (1373), 405*a*.; (1381), 206*a*.; (1382), 408*b*.; (1393), 206*a*.
Stichus (88), 433*a*.; (418), 403*a*.
Trin. (102), 95*b*.; (329), 404*b*.; (413), 265*b*.; (682), 405*b*.; (**800**), 293*a*.; (990), 404*a*.; *Truc.* (400), 301*b*.; (**515**), 293*a*.
Pliny:—
Hist. Nat. ii. (77), 245*b*.; xi. (114), 433*b*.; xviii. (34), 451*b*.; xxx. (126), 389*b*.; xxxiii. (5, 14), 420*b*.; xxxiv. (70), 152*b*.; xxxv. (85), 389*b*.; xxxvi. (17), 152*b*.
Epistulae iii. (5), 247*a*.
Ep. ad Traj. (34), 422*a*.; (93), 422*b*.; (94), 422*a*.; (96), 421*b*.
Plutarch:—
def. orac. (47, p. 436C), 186*b*.
Mor. (999E), 313*a*.
Quaest. Conviv. viii. (7, 1), 1*b*.
Vit. Cimon. (10), 334*a*.
Vit. Num. (17), 420*b*.; (c. 8), 230*a*.
Vit. Solon. 1 (2) 120*a*.; 3 (5), 121*a*.; (26) (Bergk fr. 28), 109*a*.; (26), 334*a*.
Vit. Sulla 14 (§ 10), 110*b*.
Vit. Pericl. 37 (3), 121*b*.
Vit. Themistocles (21), 389*b*.
Poetæ lyrici Græci (Bergk), (iii. p. 1050), 1*b*.
Pollux iii. (52), 222*a*.; 223*a*.; vii. (186), 116*b*.; viii. (86), 229*a*.; (88), 160*a*.; (96), 116*b*.
Priscian v. (67, p. 183H), v.402*a*.; vi. (3), 264*b*.; vii. (18, p. 301), 406*a*.; ix. p. 864P. (vol. ii. pp. 475, 476, Keil), 301*b*.; xiv. (1, p. 24H), xiv. (6, p. 27H), 403*b*.; xv. (6, p. 67), 406*a*.; xvii. (55, p. 141H), 404*a*.; (p. 879), 295*b*.
Propertius I. (v. 7), 337*b*.; II. (xxxiv. 38), 295*a*.; III. (iii. 9), 296*a*.; (xxiv. **5, 6, 23**), (= III. xxxii. Palmer), (xxvi. **45, 71, 72**), (= II. xxiv.), 433*a*. *b*.; IV. (i. 7), 296*b*.; (iii. 29), (= III. iii.), (vii. 60), 433*b*.; (iv. 1), 296*b*.;

Propertius, *continued*—

(iv. 74), 141a.; (x. 19), 295a.; V. (IV.) (v. 34), 433b.

Polybius iv. (34, 1), 229b.; vi. (16, 1), 184b.; x. (45), 220a.; xxiii. (10, 4), 334b.

Polycarp:—

Mart. Pol. c. 21 (p. 252), [ed. Jacobson], 246a.

Q.

Quadrigarius (Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae*, p. 222, ll. 1, 2), (p. 232, 6), 301b.

Quintilian, i. (20), 36a.; (5, 26), 402a.; iv. (2, 64), 139a.; xi. (3, 41), 137b.

S.

Sallust: *Jugurtha* (61. 1, 2), (62. 8), (68. 2), 433b.; (104. 4), 301b.

Seneca:—

Thy. (89*f.*), 296a.

Tro. (69*f.*), 296b.; (146*f.*), 296b.; (551), 296b.

Silius Italicus, i. (425), 37a.; iii. (229), 37a.; iv. (45), 37a.; v. (58), 40b.

Solon *ap. Arist.*, 90a.

Sophocles:—

Ajax (269), 103a.; (514), 302a.; (601), 267b.; (651), 66b., 186b., 230a.; (835), 103a.; (1311), 103a.

Ant. (106), 337a.; (171), 4a., 248a., 249a.; (200), 248b., 251a.; (474), 67a.; (474), 230a.; (476, 477), 5b.; (506), 431a.; (995), 177a.; (1042), 464a.

O. C. (26), 67b.; (716), 4b., 248a.; (1645), 5b.

O. T. (220*f.*) 398b.; (227), 248b., 251a.; (537), 67b.; (707), 248b., 251a.; (1062), 400b.

Phil. (188), 147b.; (281), 148b.; (281, 282), 302a.; (303), 149b.; (350), 149b.; (443), 148a.; (493), 148a.; (695), 149a.; (695, 699), 302b.; (742), 147a.; (761), 148b.; (782), 147b.; (797), 149a.; (831), 148a.; (935), 149a.; (985), 149b.; (1006), 149b.; (1029), 67b.; (1092), 147b.; (1125), 147b.; (1142), 147b.

Trach. (44), 267b.; (504), 389a.

Spartian: *Vita Hadr.* (xi.), 68b.

Statius:—

Silv. iv. (9, 21), 18a.

Theb. viii. (84), 186a.

Strabo: xiii. (617), 317a.

Suetonius:—

Vita Aug. (8), 39b.; (17, 21, 24, 45, 49, 53, 80), 40b.; (32), 421a.

Vita Jul. (1, 6), 39b.; (42), 421a.; (60), 40a.; (74), 40a.; (86), 40a.

Vit. Tib. (70), 317b.

Vita Vespas. (3), 40a.

T.

Tacitus:—

Annals xiv. (17), 421b.

Germania (30), 40a.

Terence:—

Andr. (258), 68a.; (785), 265b.

Adelphi (172), 265b.; iii. (3, 87), 265a.

Terence, *continued*—

Eun. (269), 173b.; (338), 68a.

Haut. Tim. i. (2, 31), 265a.; (183), 407a.

Hec. (91), 68a.

Phormio, iv. (3, 43), 265a.

Tertullian:—

Apol. (39), 422b.

de Anima (c. 14), 479b.

Theocritus: xxiv. (107), 433a.

Theophrastus: *Hist. Plant.* ix. (15. 1), 334a.

Thucydides: i. (2. 5), 196a.; (3. 4), 7a.; (6. 4), 431b.; (12), 3b.; (12. 3), 252a.; (20. 4), 431b., 432a.; (21), 180a.; (38. 3), 431b.; (57. 4), 313a.; (63), 248b., 251a.; (69), 5a.; (71), 4a.; (78), 4a.; (95), 112b.; (137), 169b.; (139. 4) (144. 1), 431b.; ii. (4. 4), 128a.; (11), 67a., 197b.; (40), 197b.; (49. 2), 7b.; (49. 4), 6a.; (51. 1), 431b.; (51. 1), 432a.; (53. 4), 198a.; (65. 7), (70. 1), 431b.; (101), 417a.; iii. (1). 6a.; (8), 260a.; (20. 1), 6a.; (20), 197b.; (22. 5), 4a.; (22. 5), 250a.; (56. 1), 431b.; (75), 53a.; (83), 197b.; iv. (3. 3), 195a.; (10), 197b.; (18), 3b.; (38), 180b.; (46), 53a.; (47. 2), 6a.; (50. 2), 431b.; (60. 1), 196a.; (63. 1), 196a.; (64), 389b.; (64. 5.), 196a.; (67. 2, 3), 196b.; (68. 3), 197a.; (73. 4), 197a.; (81), 3a. f. (92), 416b.; (92. 2), 197a.; (92. 5), 197b.; (92. 7), (93. 1, 4), 197b.; (99), 197b.; (108. 4), 198a., 197b.; (122. 3), 197b.; (122. 5), 198a.; (135. 1), 198a.; v. (7. 2), 196a.; (68), 197b.; vi. (1. 2), 196a.; (6. 3), 431b.; (33), 6a.; (34), 197b.; (39. 1), 106a.; (44. 1), 431b.; (58), 180a.; (73), 260a.; vii. (25. 6), 431b.; viii. (4), 260a.; (53. 2), 431b.; (57), 197b.; (64. 3), (74. 3), (82. 1), (86. 3), (96. 4), 431b.; (90. 4), 118b.; (97), 168a.; (105. 2), 196a.

Tibullus: ii. (6. 28), 174a.

V.

Valerius Maximus: i. (6. 2), 429a.; ii. (10. ext. 1), 152b.; iv. (7. ext. 1), 429a.; (7. 3), 429a.; v. (3. ext. 3), 429a.; vi. (2. 3), vi. (9. 12), vii. (2 ext. 10), 429a.

Varro:—

L. L. v. (3), 95b.; vii. (52), 264b.

Res Rusticac i. (2. 9), (2. 27), 474b.; (4. 5), 475a.; 1 (30), (49. 2), 474b.; (68), 301b.; 2 (1. 20), (4. 17), (9. 11), 3 (9. 7), 474b.; 3 (17. 2), 475b.

Sat. Men. (256), 18a.; (459), 96b.

Vergil:—

Aeneid i. (59), 232a.; (570), 211b.; ii. (725-8), 294b.; iii. (483), 295a.; (510), 211a.; (533), 211b.; (684), 211b.; (702), 337a.; iv. (19, 32), 457a.; (564), 8a.; vi. (567-9), 232a.; (567), 64a., 337a.; (704), 211b.; (743), 186a.; (880, 881), 399a.; (882), 212a.; vii. (345), 8a.; (386), 296b.; (703-5), 294a.; ix. (798), 8a.; x. (1), 128a.; xii. (489), 186a.

Eclog. 1 (28), 210a.; (29), 210a.; (43), (48), 210a.; ii. (28, 30), 210a.; (52), 433b.; iii. (27), 210b.; iv. (11), 484b.; v. (24*f.*, 56*f.*), 40a.; vi. (34, 37), 210b.; x. (71), 210b.

Georg. i. (24), 484b.; (77), 210b.; (316-321), 232a.; (482), 337a.; (500), 210a.; ii. (93), 211a.; (285), 211a.; (509), 211a.; iii. (70), 210b.; (76), 211a.; (116*f.*), 295a.; iv. (118), 68a.; (298), 475a.; (489), 186a.

X.

Xenophon:—

Anab. i. (8, 12), 417*b*. ; (9, 5), 258*b*. ; ii. (5. 1),
431*b*. ; iv. (8), 249*b*. ; (8, 11), 258*b*.
Cyr. i. (3. 8), 249*b*. ; ii. (3. 16), 432*a*. ; iv.
(2. 28), 432*a*. ; (3. 13), 431*b*.
de Vect. iv. (2, 4, 6, 31), 226*b*.
Hell. i. (4. 13-17), 258*a*. ; (7. 9), 122*a*. ; (7. 32),

Xenophon, *continued*—

258*a*. ; ii. (3), 168*a*. ; (3. 1), 178*b*. ; (3. 53),
258*a*. ; (4. 43), 121*b*. ; iii. (4. 18), 398*b*. ;
v. (1. 36), 179*a*. ; vi. (3. 11), 185*a*. ; (5. 34),
112*b*.
Hipp. i. (13), 116*b*.
Mem. i. (1. 18), 268*b*. ; ii. (6. 25), 3*b*. ; iii.
(7. 9), 456*a*.
Oeconomikus vii. (20), 302*a*.

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M.

-m, in Indo-Germanic, 451*b*.

Macan (R. W.), notice of Stein's Herodotus, Book vii., 477*a. b*.

'Macmillan lekythos,' Mr. Lloyd on, 486*a*.

Macrobius, on Latin accent, 373*b*.

Magnesia, inscription discovered at, 188*b*.

Mahaffy (J. P.), reply to Mr. Torr's criticism, 187*a. f*.

Mahaffy (J. P.), *Greek Pictures*, noticed, 55*a. f*.

The Greek World under Roman Sway, noticed, 56*a. f*.

preliminary notice of *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, 349.

Manes, sense of, in Vergil, 186*a*.

Manilius, Ellis' ed., noticed, 379*a. f*.

name of, discussed, 379*b*.

Mannhardt, account of, 49*a*.

Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française, by Prou, noticed, 261*a. f*.

Manuscripts:—

Aristotle, 'Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, 69*a. f*.

Cicero, 475; see Schwenke.

Dio Cassius, 28*a*.

from library of Graevius, 369*a. f*.

Ovid, *Codex Parisinus*, 92*a*.

of Homeric Scholia in Geneva Library, 413*a*.

Plato, papyrus fragment of *Phaedo*, 363*a. f*, 454*a. f*.

Pliny, letters in Tironian characters, 38*a. b*.

Quintilian, *Codex Dusseldorpianus*, traced, 33*a*.

accretions in, 455*a*.

adscripts in, 89*a. b*.

corruptions in, 400*a. b*.

in Paris, National Library, 261*a*.

copyists of, 262*b*.

spelling of, 293*b*.

Manuscripts, Greek in Spain, facsimiles of, noticed, 419*a. f*.

Marcellus, victories of, 266*b*.

Marchant (E. C.), note on Thucydides, Book ii., 128*a*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.

notice of Hude's Thucydides, 22*a. f*.

notice of Sobolewski's *De praepositionum usu Aristophaneo*, 258*a. f*.

on the deposition of Pericles, 165*a. f*.

Marindin (G. E.), note on Sophocles, *Ajax*, 186*b*. ; cf. 66*b*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.

note on Thucydides iv., 389*b*.

Marindin (G. E.), on a passage of Sophocles, discussed, 66*b*.

and Wayte (W.), new ed. of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, noticed, 425*a. f*.

Marshall (J.), ed. of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, noticed, 477*b*.

Martin, Saint, life of, by Sulpicius Severus, 103*b. f*.

martyrdoms, time of, 247*b*.

Mayor (J. B.), note on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 185*b*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll., 175 foll.

note on *res = ἡμέρα*, 69*a*.

notice of Plummer's *St. James and St. Jude*, 414*a. f*.

on un-Aristotelian words and phrases in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 122*a. f*.

Mayor (J. E. B.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 120*a. f*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.

note on Juvenal, *Sat.* xi., 485*a*.

medius, 300*b*.

Megalopolis, antiquarian discoveries at, 129*a*.

theatre at, 238*b. f*., 344*b*., 436*a*.

statement of the excavators, 284*b*.

Meister (R.), *Zum Eöischen Arkadischen und Kyprischen Dialekte*, noticed, 62*b*.

Melber (J.), ed. of Dio Cassius, noticed, 27*a. f*.

Meleager, Headlam's translation of, noticed, 26*a. f*.

Menander, notes on fragments of, 399*a. f*.

menda, origin of, 300*a*.

mendax, derivation of, 300*a*.

Merriam (A. C.), on telegraphing among the Ancients, 220*a. b*., cf. 338*a. b*.

Merry (W. W.), ed. of *Aves* of Aristophanes, noticed, 309*a. b*.

Messene, name of, 424*a*.

metaphors in Greek lyric poetry, 193*a. f*.

'metopé,' found at Selinus, 241*b*.

metre of the Rigveda hymns, 43*a. f*.

metres, Greek, by Rossbach and Westphal, noticed, 320*a. f*.

Miles (E. H.), on the passive infinitive in Latin, 198*a. f*.

Montague (A. P.), *Selected Letters of Cicero*, noticed, 266*a. b*.

Monthly Record, 72*a. f*., 129*a. f*., 187*a. f*., 233*a. f*., 287*a. f*., 339*a. f*., 390*a. f*., 485*a. f*.

moods, names of in Greek, 216*b*.

morata, sense of, 138*b*.

Morgan (M. H.), notice of Lindsay's Juvenal, 326*b. f*.

Morshead (E. D. A.), notice of Scott's translation of *Ecloques of Calpurnius*, 327*b*.

Moschopulos, date of, 306*b*.

Muecke (R.), ed. of Breitenbach's *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, noticed, 477*b*.

Müllenhoff (K.), *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, noticed, 75*b. f*.

Mulvany (C. M.), notes on Propertius, 433*a. b*.

mundus, derivation of, 300*a*.

Murray (A. S.), notes on Herodas, 389*b*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.

Murray (A. T.), notice of Peck's Suetonius, 38*a. f*.

Mykenae, antiquarian discoveries at, 73*b*.

myth in Plato's *Politicus*, discussed, 445*a. f*.

of the *Antiope*, 124*a*.

mythology in *Rigveda*, 47*a*.

N.

-n, accent of words ending in, 376*a*.

narrative Greek, tenses used in, 267*a. b*.

ne, accent of, 403*a*.

in prohibition with present subjunctive, 174*a*.

negative in composition, 379*b*.

nasalis sonans, Brugmann's theory of, discussed, 451*a. f*.

Naxos, date of siege, 169*b*.

negative forms in Greek and Latin, 378*a. f*.

nempe, scansion of, 265*a*., 404*a*.

Nero, plan of cutting through Isthmus of Corinth, 57*a*.

Nettleship (H.), notice of an *Eighth-Century Latin—Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, 382*a. f*.

notice of Fisch's *Die Lateinischen Nomina Personalia auf -o, -onis*, 61*b*.

notice of Foerster on *Physiognomia* of Apuleius, 429*b*.

notice of Georges' *Lexicon der Lateinischen Wortformen*, 431*b*.

notice of Hild's seventh satire of Juvenal, 429*b*.

notice of Keil's ed. of Varro's *Res Rusticae*, 474*a. f*.

notice of Stowasser's *Dunkle Wörter*, 263*a. f*.

Nettleship (H.) and Sandys (J. E.), ed. of Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, noticed, 384a. f.

neuter adjectives, used substantively, 205b.

New Testament, use of tenses in, 267b.

Newman (W. L.), notice of Kenyon's ed. of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, 155a. f. emendations of same, 105 foll.

Nicholson (E. W. B.), notes on some fragments of Menander, 399a. f.

Nicklin (T.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 224 foll.

Nicole (J.), *Scolies Genevoises de l'Iliade*, noticed, 413a. f.

Nicomachean Ethics, Bywater's ed., noticed, 153a. f. -nd-, in Latin, origin of, 296a. f.

Nikephoros Bryennios, Seger on, noticed, 63b.

-njo- changed to -ndo-, 299a.

Nixon (J. E.), notice of Hime's *Introduction to the Latin Language*, 59a. b.

-nm-, in Oscan corresponding to Latin -nd-, 299b.

Noctes Manilianae, by Ellis, noticed, 379a. f.

nolo, derivation of, 378b.

nōn, derivation of, 378a.

non, in surprised questions, 205b.

non audes? = 'won't you?' 206a.

non perinde, concise use of, in Suetonius, 40b.

Nonius and Festus, notes on, 9a. f.

Norfolk, beliefs about swallows in, 2b.

Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries, by Allen, noticed, 387b.

nouns, verbal in -on, 297b.

novicius, derivation of, 263a.

numbers, Greek names for, 216b.

numerals, accent of, in Latin, 407b.

nutrix, derivation of, 263a.

O.

-o, meaning of nouns ending in, 61b.

oak, as a sacred tree, 51a.

obscuro, spelling of, 323b.

Odyssey, notice of Scholia on, 413a. f.

oe, pronunciation of, 60b.

Oehler, *Bilder-Atlas zu Caesars's Büchern de bello Gallico*, noticed, 58b.

Oeuvres de Virgile, Benoist's ed., noticed, 208a. f.

Old Testament, quotations in the Fourth Gospel, 11a. f., 142a. f.

Oldenberg (H.), *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, noticed, 43a. f.

omen, derivation of, 263b.

Omout (H.), *Fac-similés des Manuscrits Grecs*, noticed, 261a. f.

-ōn, verbal nouns in, 297b.

-onio, as origin of gerund, 297b.

orbis, with genitive, 205b.

origin of fables in folklore, 213a. b.

of Hebrew quotations in Fourth Gospel, 142a. f.

of Latin gerund and gerundive, 296a. f.

orivundus, 298a.

osteria, etymology of, 95a. f.

ostracism, account of, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 162b.

of Xanthippus, 277b.

orthography, of papyrus fragment of *Phaedo*, 455b.

remarks on, 293a. f.

Otto (Dr. A.), *Roman Proverbs*, noticed, 41a. f.

Ovid, *Codex Parisinus*, 92a.

notes on *Tristia*, 279a., 484b. f.

Ovidiana, by Palmer, 92a. f.

P.

p, dropped in French derivatives from Latin, 96b.

Page (T. E.), notice of Benoist's Virgil, 208a. f.

Palaeography, Studies in, by De Vries, 38a. b.

some French books on, noticed, 261a. f.

Greek, by Wilcken, noticed, 417a. f.

Palaiphatos, *De Incredibilibus*, noticed, 102a. f.

Palmer (A.), *Catulliana*, 7a. f.

Horatiana, 139a. f.

Ovidiana, 92a. f., cf. 278b.

Palmer (E. J.), note on Plato, *Republic*, 278a.

papyri, Flinders Petrie, preliminary notice of, 349.

papyrus fragment of *Phaedo*, notes on, 363a. f., 454a. f.

rolls, described, 71a.

of Aristotle, its bearing on textual criticism, 89a. f.

Paris, MSS. from National Library of, 261a.

parricida, derivation of, 219b., 264a.

participle aorist, some uses of, 3a. f., 248a. b.

aorist, used substantively, 5a.

after *περιπαρ*, 5a.

instrumental use of, 249a.

ingressive use of, 249b.

non-priority of, 248.

participles, ending in -tus, 11b.

of deponents in passive sense, 175b.

particles, exclamatory, in old Latin, 265b.

Passages for Translation at Sight, noticed, 221b.

passive infinitive, in Latin, 198a. f.

pater patratus, 219b.

Paton (W. R.), note on beacons, 338b.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105, 175, 224 foll.

notes on Herodas, 438a. b.

notice of Tozer's *Islands of the Aegean*, 237a. f. on the Deceseian Inscription and the Attic Phratries, 221a. f.

Paul (H.), *Principles of the History of Language*, noticed, 387b.

Pearson (A. C.), notes on Herodas, 483b. f.

note on Pindar, 337a.

Pearson (A. C.), *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, noticed, 479a. f.

Peck (H. T.), notice of Kempf's ed. of Valerius Maximus, 428a. f.

Peck (H. T.), ed. of Suetonius, noticed, 38a. f.

Latin Pronunciation, noticed, 60a. f.

pedibus ire in sententiam, 326a.

Pelham (H. F.), notice of *Ephemeric Epigraphica*, 74a. f.

peltasts, first mention of, 197b.

penultimate vowel, dropping of, 96b.

perfect, and aorist tenses, confused, 31a.

aspirated, 449a.

force of in *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 20a.

in connection with time, 252b.

use of in translating from Greek, 268a. b.

Greek, in New Testament, 267b.

perfects in -κα, 446a. f.

Pericles, deposition of, 165a. f.

périnde, accent of, 406a.

Perrin (B.), notice of Perry's *History of Greek Literature*, 330a. f.

notice of Peskett's ed. of Caesar's *B.C.*, Book i., 324a. f.

Perry (T. S.), *History of Greek Literature*, noticed, 330a. f.

Persephone, myth of, 52b.

persona, derivation of, 263b.

Peskett (A. G.), ed. of Caesar's *B.C.*, Book i., noticed, 324a. f.

Petrarch, and Cicero's Letters, 266a.

Petrie (Flinders) Papyri, preliminary notice of, 349.

- Phaedrus, fables of, 212b.
 Pheidon, measures of, 108b.
 Philo, arsenal of, 57a.
 Philochorus, and *Atheniensium Respublica*, 158a.
 on Athenian tribes, 222b.
 philological notes, 446a. f.
 philology, modern, 462b.
 technical symbolism in, 218a.
 phrases, unusual in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123a.,
 184a. f., 272a. f.
 Phratres, Attic and Deceleian Inscription, 221a. f.
piacula, meaning of, in Vergil, 64b.
 Pindar, allusive language in, 193b.
 echoes in, 305b.
 Nemean Odes, Bury's ed., noticed, 305a. f.
 note on *Nem.* ix., 337a.
 Pischel (R.) and Geldner (K. F.), *Vedische Studien*,
 noticed, 43a. f.
 Pisistratus, length of reign, 162a.
 view of, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 162b.
 reference to Dionysus, 473a.
Plaistowe (F. G.), notes on sonant Z, 253a. f.
 Plato, myth in *Politicus*, 445a. f.
 notes on the papyrus fragment of the *Phaedo*,
 363a. f., 454a. f.
 note on *Republic*, 278a.
 parallel between *Politicus* and *Timaeus*, 446a.
 reference to, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 160b.
Platt (A.), note on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 185b.
 emendations in same, 105, 175 foll.
 notes on Vergil, 337a.
 note on split totems in Egypt, 339a. b.
 notice of Edwards' ed. of *Iliad* xxiii., 476a. f.
 Plautus, accent in, 374a.
 Goetz's ed. of *Miles Gloriosus*, noticed, 206a. f.
 Schoell's ed. of *Casina*, noticed, 321a. f.
 spelling in, 323b.
 Sonnenschein's *Rudens*, noticed, 205a. f.
 hybrids in, 18a.
plerosque = *multos* in Suetonius, 40a.
 Pliny, note on *N.H.*, 486a.
 the elder, as a student, 247a.
 MS. of letters, 38a. b.
Plummer (A.), notice of Robinson's *Texts and Studies*, 468a. f.
 notice of Usener's ed. of Theodorus and Cyril's writings on Theodosius, 103a.
Plummer (A.), *General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude*, noticed, 414a. f.
 view on hours of the day in St. John, 246b.
 Plutarch, Hardy's ed. of *Lives of Otho and Galba*,
 noticed, 315a. f.
 list of *collegia*, 420b.
 on changes of Draco, 166b., cf. 336a. b.
 relation to Tacitus, 315a.
 Themistocles, note on, 389b.
 transliteration of Latin words, 60b.
 poetry, Greek lyric, metaphors and allusive language
 in, 193a. f.
 Polemarch, origin of office, 224a.
Pollard (A. W.), notice of Campbell's translation of
 Aeschylus, 255a. f.
 Pompeii, fresh discoveries at, 187b.
Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum reliquiae, by
 Schrader, noticed, 412a. b.
 Porphyryon, on Horace, 171a.
Poste (E.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*,
 336b.
 emendations in same, 224 foll.
 Poste (E.), translation of *Atheniensium Respublica*,
 noticed, 465a. f.
Postgate (J. P.), on Latin future infinitive in
 -turum, 301a. b.
praedes vendere, 195b.
 prepositions, accent of, in Latin, 403a.
 in Aristophanes, 258a. f.; also in Orators,
 259b. f.
 present indicative, with future sense, 205b.
Principles of the History of Language, by Paul,
 noticed, 387b.
 Priscian, on accent, 377b., 402a.
 procedure in Athenian arbitration, 164b.
 Procopius, and authorship of *Secret History*, 319b.
 pronouns, accent of, in Latin, 402a.
 in old Latin, 264b.
Pronunciation, Latin, by Peck, noticed, 60a. f.
Pronunciation of Ancient Greek, by Blass, noticed,
 217a. b.
 pronunciation, of pronouns in old Latin, 264b.
propere, derivation of, 263b.
 Propertius, notes on, 432a. b.
 property classification at Athens, 223b.
 property qualifications for office at Athens, 167b.
 prose, Greek, under early empire, 31a.
 prosody, and accent, 374b.
prosperus, derivation of, 263b.
 Prou (M.), *Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française*, noticed, 261a. f.
Proverbs, Roman, by Otto, noticed, 41a. f.
 Purton (W. J.), translation of Blass' *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek*, noticed, 217a. b.
 Purser (L. C.) and Tyrrell (R. Y.), ed. of Cicero's
 Letters, noticed, 100a. f.
 Pythagoras, and swallows, 2a., 231a.
 Pytheas, voyage of, 76a. b.

Q.

- quadraginta*, 18b, accent of, 407b.
quadriremes, when built, 119a.
 quantity of genitive of pronouns in old Latin,
 264b.
quattuor, words compounded with, 18b.
quid istic? = 'for ought I care,' 206a.
quinqueremes, when built, 119a.
 Quintilian, Fierville's ed., noticed, 32a. f.
 MSS. of, 32a.
 quotations from Classics in Homeric Scholia, 414a.
 from the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel,
 11a. f., 142a. f.
 in ancient times, 310b.

R.

- Ramsay (W. M.), notice of *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés Grecs et Romains*, 131a. f.
 rare words in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123a.,
 184a. f., 229a. f., 272a. f.
 Rawlins (F. H.) and Inge (W. R.), *Eton Latin Grammar*, noticed, 172a. f.
 recent literature on *Atheniensium Respublica*,
 332a. f., 465a. f.
recto, in papyrus rolls, 71a.
 reduplication, in perfects, 450a.
Regifugium, explained, 51a.
 Reinach (S.), *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés Grecs et Romains*, Vol. II., noticed, 131a. f.
 relative clauses in Greek, deliberative subjunctive in,
 302a. b.
 religion, character of Greek, 473b.
 rendering of Greek aorist and perfect into English,
 discussed, 267b. f.
res, accent of, 405b.
res = *ἰδρία*, 69a. b.
respondere, 171a.
Rez Nemorensis, 50b.

Rhamnus, antiquarian discoveries at, 73*b*.

Rhems, discoveries at, 187*a*.

Rhodes (B.), dissertation on the tunny, noticed, 54*a. f*.

rhythm, in Demosthenes, 311*b*.

rhythmical transpositions in *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 21*a*.

Richards (F. T.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.

Richards (H.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 122*b*., 184*a. f*., 224*b*., 272*a. f*.

emendations in same, 105 foll., 175 foll., 224 foll.

on new words in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 333*a. f*.

on recent literature on the *Atheniensium Respublica*, 465*a. b*.

note on Virgil, *Georgic* i., 232*a*.

note on Aristophanes, *Ranæ*, 278*b*.

note on Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 389*b*.

note on Herodotus, 434*b*.

notice of Bywater's ed. of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, 153*a. f*.

on Dörpfeld's theory of the Greek stage, 97*a. b*.

Richter, on exclamatory particles in old Latin, 265*a. b*.

Ridgeway (W.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.

Rigveda, two books on, noticed, 43*a. f*.

relation of, to other *Vedas*, 45*b*.

metres of, 43*b. f*.

arrangements of, 45*a*.

rite, Arician, explained, 50*b*.

Roberts (W. R.), notice of Otto's *Roman Proverbs*, 41*a. f*.

Robinson (J. A.), *Texts and Studies*, Vol. I., noticed, 468*a. f*.

Roediger (M.), ed. of Müllenhoff's *Deutsche Altertums-kunde*, noticed, 75*b. f*.

Romagna, discoveries in the, 188*a*.

Roman Collegia, *History of*, by Liebenam, noticed, 420*a. f*.

Roman Empire, continuity of, 318*b*.

Roman Literature, Teuffel's *History of*, noticed, 42*a. f*.

Roman People, *Short History of*, by Allen, noticed, 59*a*.

Roman Proverbs, by Otto, noticed, 41*a. f*.

Romance languages, accent in, 374*b*., 404*b*.

Romans, reckoning of the hours of day among, 245*b*.

Rome, antiquarian discoveries at, 73*a*., 188*a*., 287*a*., 391*a*.

Rosbach (A.) and Westphal (R.), *Greek metres*, noticed, 320*a. f*.

rotundus, 298*a*.

Rubensohn (M.), ed. of *Epigrams of Crinagoras*, noticed, 317*a. f*.

Rushforth (G. Mc.N.), notice of Melber's *Dio Cassius*, 27*a. f*.

on identification of Tisidium, 433*b*.

Russia, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2*a*.

Rutherford (W. G.), notes on the *Antiope* fragments, 123*a. f*.

on the bearing of the new papyrus on textual criticism, 89*a. f*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll., 175 foll.

S.

s final, 198*b*., 265*a*.

Sabrinæ Corolla, new ed. of, noticed, 430*a. b*.

sacrifice, in the *Vedas*, 47*b*.

Sale (G. S.), notes on Horace, 137*a. f*.

Salii, meaning of, 51*b*.

Sanday (Professor), on hours of the day in St. John, 246*a*.

Sandford (P.), notes on Ovid, *Trist.*, 279*a*., 484*b. f*.

note on Horace, 337*b*.

Sandys (J. E.), notes on the *Antiope* fragments, 185*b*.

notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 120*a*.

emendations in same, 105 foll.

notice of Bury's *Nemean Odes* of Pindar, 305*a. f*.

notice of Schmid's *Atticism of Dionysius*, 31*a. f*.

notice of new ed. of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, 425*a. f*.

on the Hiberno-Saxon symbol for *autem*, 232*b*.

on pronunciation of 'Suidas', 434*a*.

Sandys (J. E.) and Nettleship (H.), ed. of Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, noticed, 384*a. f*.

Sanskrit, locative in, 199*a*.

sâtēllites, accent of, 407*a*.

Sayce (A. H.), note on the inscribed whorl from Troy, 389*b*.

Schmid (W.), *Atticism of Dionysius*, noticed, 31*a. f*.

Schmidt (B.), *Korkyräische Studien*, noticed, 53*a. b*.

Schoell (F.), ed. of *Casina* of Plautus, noticed, 321*a. f*.

scholia on *Electra* of Euripides, 432*a. f*.

Scholia, *Homeric*, noticed, 412*a. b*.

Schubert (F.), ed. of *Ajax* of Sophocles, noticed, 103*a*.

Schrader (H.), *Homeric Scholia*, noticed, 412*a. b*.

Schwabe (L.), ed. of Teuffel's *History of Roman Literature*, noticed, 42*a. f*.

Schwenke (P.), *Apparatus Criticus ad Ciceronis libros de Natura Deorum*, 12*a. f*., 143*a. f*., 200*a. f*., 302*a. f*., 408*a. f*., 458*a. f*.

Scolies Genevoises de l'Iliade, by Nicole, noticed, 413*a. f*.

scortum, in Horace, 139*a*., 337*b*.

Scoti, and Juvenal, 279*a*.

Scotland, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2*b*.

Scott (E. J. L.), translation of *Eclogues of Calpurnius*, noticed, 327*b*.

scribere, derivation of, 253*a*.

Seger (J.), *Byzantinische Historiker*, noticed, 63*a*.

Selected Letters of Cicero, by Montague, noticed, 266*a. b*.

Selinus, new 'metope' found at, 241*b*.

Sellers (E.), notice of Curtius' *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, 486*a. f*.

Semites, and borrowing of fables, 215*a*.

Septuagint, various readings, 142*b*.

quotations in N.T., 11*b*.

sepulchral stones, found at Chester, 485*a. b*.

sequence of tenses, 174*b*.

Seymour (T. D.), notice of Autenrieth's *Homeric dictionary*, 328*a*.

Seyffert (O.), *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, Eng. ed., noticed, 384*a. f*.

Short Comparative Grammar for Greek and Latin, noticed, 387*a*.

Short History of the Roman People, by Allen, noticed, 59*a*.

Shuckburgh (E. S.), notice of Dakyns' translation of Xenophon, 257*a. f*.

notice of Marshall's ed. of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, 477*b*.

notice of Stone's Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Bk. iv., 478*b*.

Shuckburgh (E. S.) and Gwatkin (T.), ed. of Aeschines' *In Ctesiphonta*, noticed, 149*a. f*.

ed. of Herodotus, Book v., noticed, 99*a. f*.

- si*, with past tenses of subjunctive, 59*b*.
 Sicily, antiquarian discoveries in, 236*a*.
Sicily, History of, by Freeman, noticed, 423*a. f*.
Sidgwick (A.), note on Virgil, 61*a. b*.
 notice of Jebb's *Philoctetes*, 147*a. f*.
 emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105 foll.
Sihler (E. G.), notice of Hilgard's *Greek Gramma-*
marians, 215*a. f*.
 Sikans and Sikels, 423*b*.
 Silchester, antiquarian discoveries at, 72*a*.
 Silius Italicus, Bauer's ed., noticed, 36*a. f*.
-sis of *-ensis*, origin of, 297*b*.
Smith (C.), notice of *An Early Graeco-Egyptian*
Bilingual Dedication, 77*b*.
 notice of *Aus der Anomia*, 79*a*.
Smith (H. B.), notice of Headlam's *Poems of*
Meleager, 26*a. f*.
Smith (J. A.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 105
 foll.
 Smith (Dr. W.), notice of new ed. of *Dictionary of*
Antiquities, 425*a. f*.
Smyth (H. W.), notice of Meister's *Zum Elvischen,*
Arkadischen und Kyprischen Dialekte, 62*b*.
 Sobolewski (S.), *De praepositionum usu Aristophanco*,
 noticed, 258*a. f*.
 Solon, property classification of, 224*a*.
 reforms of, 72*a*.
 reforms in weights and measures, 108*b*.
 sonant Z, notes on, 253*a. f*.
Sonnenschein (E. A.), notice of Ellis' *Noctes*
Manilianae, 379*a. f*.
 notice of Rawlins and Inge's *Eton Latin*
Grammar, 172*a. f*.
 notice of Schoell's ed. of *Casina* of Plautus,
 321*a. f*.
 notice of Studemund's *Studien auf dem Gebiete*
des archaischen Lateins, 264*a. f*.
 Sonnenschein (E. A.), ed. of *Rudens*, noticed,
 205*a. f*.
 Sophocles, allusive language in, 193*a*.
 conclusion of *Oedipus Rex*, 62*a*.
 deliberative construction in, 148*b*.
 Jebb's ed. of *Philoctetes*, noticed, 147*a. f*.
 Schubert's ed. of *Ajax*, noticed, 103*a*.
 note on *Trachiniae*, 389*a*.
 notes on *Ajax*, 186*b*, 230*a. b*.
sordidus, sense of, 210*a*.
Spain, facsimiles of Greek MSS. in, noticed,
 419*a. f*.
 Spartian, note on, 68*b*.
 spelling, Greek, 148*a*.
 of manuscripts, 293*b*.
 in Plautus, 323*b*.
Spencer (F.), notice of Etienne's *La langue*
française depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du
xiv^e siècle, 329*a. b*.
 split totems in ancient Egypt, 339*a. b*.
sponda, derivation of, 300*a*.
Stadtgeschichte von Athen, by Curtius, noticed,
 486*a. f*.
 stage, Greek, Dörpfeld's theory on, 97*a. b*.
 'Stanko,' note on, 129*b*.
 Stein (H.), ed. of Herodotus, Book. vii., noticed,
 477*a. f*.
Stephenson (H. M.), notice of Whibley's ed. of
 Livy v., 325*a. f*.
 Stephenson (H. M.), ed. of Livy xxvii., noticed,
 266*b*.
Stewart (J. A.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.
 Stowasser (J. M.), *Dunkle Wörter*, noticed, 263*a. f*.
Strachan (J.), on etymology of *ambulare*, 377*a. f*.
 strings in tetrachord, 137*a*.
Strong (H. A.), note on exile of Juvenal, 279*a*.
 note on *volpecula* in Horace, 337*b. 1*
 Strong (H. A.), translation of Paul's *Principles of*
the History of Language, noticed, 387*a*.
 Studemund, *Studien auf dem Gebiete des archaischen*
Lateins, noticed, 264*a. f*.
Studien auf dem Gebiete des archaischen Lateins, by
 Studemund's pupils, noticed, 264*a. f*.
Studies in Palaeography, by De Vries, noticed,
 38*a. b*.
Studies of the Gods in Greece, by Dyer, noticed,
 470*a. f*.
stuprum, derivation of, 263*b*.
sábinde, accent of, 406*a*.
 subjunctive, deliberative, in Greek relative clauses,
 302*a. b*.
 with final conjunction after past tense in Aris-
 totle, 273*a*.
 future perfect in Latin, 175*a*.
 in Suetonius, 39*a. b*.
 Latin aorist, note on, 67*b*.
 substantial use of aorist participle, 5*a*.
 substantive verb, accent of, in Latin, 405*a*.
 Suetonius, favourite words of, 41*a*.
 Peck's ed., noticed, 38*a. f*.
 subjunctive in, 39*a. b*.
 suffixes, accusative, 452*a*.
 'Suidas,' pronunciation of, 434*a*.
Sulpicii Severi Liber de vita Sancti Martini, ed. by
 Dübner, noticed, 103*b*.
summa vox = *ὑπάτη χορδή*, discussed, 137*a*.
 Summaries of Periodicals:—
 Academy, 80*b*.
 American Journal of Philology, 133*a.*, 438*a. b*.
 Annuaire de la Soc. fr. de Numism., 132*b*,
 345*b.*, 394*b*.
 Archaeological Journal, 393*a*.
 Archäolog. Jahrbuch, 344*b.*, 438*a*.
 Athenische Mittheilungen, 285*b*. 438*b*.
 Athenaeum, 80*a*.
 Antiquary, 393*a*.
 Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 237*b.*,
 393*a*.
 Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, 286*a.*,
 437*a*.
 Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 395*b*.
 'Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική, 286*b*.
 Gazette Archéologique, 80*a*.
 Gazette des Beaux Arts, 286*a.*, 437*a*.
 Hermathena, 133*a*.
 Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie, 289*b*.
 Jahresbericht des Philog. Vereins zu Berlin,
 134*a. f.*, 189*b.*, 289*a. b.*, 345*a. b.*, 488*b*.
 Journal of Hellenic Studies, 392*b*.
 Journal of Philology, 189*a*.
 Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 135*b.*, 395*a*.
 Leipziger Studien, 82*b.*, 440*b*.
 Litterarisches Centralblatt, 439*a. b*.
 Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, 243*b*.
 395*a*.
 Numismatic Chronicle, 132*b.*, 345*b.*, 394*b*.
 Neue Jahrb. für Phil. u. Pädag., 81*b.*, 242*b.*,
 346*b*.
 Philologus, 81*a*.
 Revue Archéologique, 80*b.*, 286*b.*, 437*b*.
 Revue Numismatique, 133*a.*, 345*b.*, 394*b.*, 487*b*.
 Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione classica, 242*a.*,
 489*b*.
 Rivista italiana di Numismatica, 345*b*.
 Römische Mittheilungen, 345*a.*, 394*b*.
 Theologische Quartalschrift, 133*b*.
 Wochenschrift f. Klas. Phil., 82*b. f.*, 190*b*.
 Zeitschrift f. Numismatik, 133*b.*, 285*b.*, 394*b.*,
 487*b*.
 Zeitschrift f. wissenschaftl. Theologie, 487*a. f*.
superbus for **superbhuos*, 299*b*.

supine in *ũ*, origin of, 301*b*.

Swainson (J. H.), note on *μετεμψύχωσις*, 129*a*.

swallows in the house, article on, 1*a*. *f*.

popular beliefs about, 2*a*. *b*., 230*b*. *f*.

Swinburne, passage of *Erechtheus* turned into Latin verse, 65*a*. *f*.

symbol for *autem* in Hiberno-Saxon, 232*b*.

synecopation in Latin and French, 96*b*.

T.

Tacitus, Allen's ed. of the *Annals*, noticed, 58*b*.

relation to Plutarch, 315*a*.

Tafeln zur älteren Griechischen Palaeographie, by Wilcken, noticed, 417*a*. *f*.

talent, number of drachmae in, 109*a*.

Talmud, fables in, 214*b*.

Tarbell (F. B.), on deliberative subjunctive, in relative clauses in Greek, 302*a*. *b*.
on the 'House at Delos,' 130*a*. *f*.

Tatham (M. A.), notice of Stephenson's *Livy*, Book xxvii., 266*b*.

telegraphing among the Ancients, 220*a*. *b*., 338*a*. *b*.

tendo, etymology of, 297*a*.

tenses, sequence of, 174*b*.

Terence, accent in, 374*a*.

terminology of the Greek grammarians, 216*b*.

tetrachord, strings of, 137*a*.

Teuffel (W. S.), *History of Roman Literature*, noticed, 42*a*. *f*.

Texts and Studies, Vol. I., by Robinson, noticed, 468*a*. *f*.

textual criticism, and the new papyrus, 89*a*. *f*.

Thayer (J. H.), notice of Westcott's *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 18*a*. *f*.

The Golden Bough, by Frazer, noticed, 48*a*. *f*.

The Greek World under Roman Sway, by Mahaffy, noticed, 56*a*. *f*.

theatre, Greek, Dr. Dörpfeld on, 238*b*. *f*.

at Megalopolis, 285*b*., 344*b*., 436*a*.

Themistocles, and the Areopagus, 72*a*., 157*a*., 169*b*.

Themistogenes, and the *Anabasis*, 257*a*.

Theodorus, *Laudatio* of Theodosius, noticed, 103*a*.

Theodosius the grammarian, *Introductory Rules* noticed, 215*b*.

Theological Monthly on Greek tenses, 267*b*.

Theophrastus, and *Atheniensium Respublica*, 158*a*.

Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen, by Rossbach and Westphal, noticed, 320*a*. *f*.

Thomas (F. W.), on some Latin and Greek negative forms, 378*a*. *f*., cf. 434*b*., 485*b*.

Thompson (D'Arcy W.), on 'Swallows in the House,' 231*a*.

Thompson (E. M.), notice of some French books on Palaeography, 261*a*. *f*.

notice of Wilcken's *Greek Palaeography*, 417*a*. *f*.

notice of Graux's *Facsimiles of Greek Manuscripts in Spain*, 419*a*. *f*.

Thompson (E. S.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 223*b*., 277*a*.

emendations in same, 224 foll.

note on the Draconian constitution, 336*a*. *b*.

notice of Clarke's ed. of *Evagoras* of Isocrates, 429*b*.

Thorikos, inscription found at, 74*a*.

antiquarian discoveries at, 288*b*.

Thucydides, account of Perikles' deposition, 165*a*.

Hude's ed., noticed, 22*a*. *f*.

MSS. of, 22*b*.

interpolations in, 24*b*.

Thucydides, *continued*—

notes on Book ii., 67*a*., 128*a*.

notes on Book iv., 195*a*. *f*., 389*b*.

use of *ὅτι* in, 260*a*.

Thurber, Vocabulary to Homer's *Iliad*, noticed, 221*a*.

Thurneysen, theory on Z, 253*a*. *f*.

Thynnorum captura quanti fuerit apud veteres momenti, by Rhode, noticed, 54*a*. *f*.

Tibur, library at, 433*a*.

tides in Channel, Caesar's account of, 58*a*.

timeless uses of aorist, 6*a*.

'Times,' extract from, on *Constitution of Athens*, 70*a*. *f*.

tin-mines, in Spain and Britain, 76*a*.

Tironian symbols in a MS. of Pliny, 38*a*. *b*.

Tisias, referred to, in Pindar, 195*a*.

Tisidium, identification of, 433*b*.

tocullio, in Cicero, 18*a*.

Torr (C.), note on Aristotle's *Atheniensium Respublica*, 119*a*. *b*., 277*b*.

emendations in same, 105 foll.

note on *στράμα*, 390*a*.

notice of Mahaffy's *Greek World under Roman Sway*, 56*a*. *f*.

answer to Professor Mahaffy, 233*a*. *b*.

on the harbours of Carthage, 280*a*. *f*.

-*los*, adjectives in, 298*a*.

lostus, derivation of, 253*b*.

totemism, 52*b*.

totems, split, in Ancient Egypt, 339*a*. *b*.

Townson, view on the hours of the day in Fourth Gospel, 245*a*. *f*.

Tozer (H. F.), notice of Mahaffy's *Greek Pictures*, 55*a*. *f*.

notice of Rhode on the tunnyfish, 54*a*. *f*.

notice of Schmidt's, *Coreycean Studies*, 53*a*. *f*.

Tozer (H. F.), *Islands of the Aegean*, noticed, 237*a*. *f*.

tragedy, definition of, discussed, 62*a*., 462*b*.

tragic tribrachs, note on, 67*b*.

translation of Aldrich's *A Petition* into Greek Verse, 331*a*. *b*.

of passage of Landor into Greek Verse, 66*a*. *f*.

of Aristotle, *Atheniensium Respublica*, noticed, 465*a*. *f*.

of *Elegues* of Calpurnius, by Scott, noticed, 327*b*.

Translation at sight, *Passages* for, noticed, 221*b*.

transpositions, rhythmical, in *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 21*a*.

tribrachs, in tragedy, note on, 67*b*.

Triclinius, date of, 306*b*.

**trifolium*, accent of, 407*a*.

triginta, 297*a*.

accent of, 407*b*.

trigon, in Horace, 171*a*.

trimeter, iambic, in Latin, 374*a*.

Troina, position of, 423*b*.

Troy, the inscribed whorl from, 389*b*.

tua istace sunt = 'you are another,' 206*a*.

tuditare, derivation of, 263*b*.

tunica, derivation of, 263*b*.

tunnyfish, Rhode's dissertation on, noticed, 54*a*. *f*.

-*turum*, Latin future infinitive in, 301*a*. *b*.

-*tus*, participle ending in, 11*b*.

Tyrrell (R. Y.), notice of Goetz's ed. of *Miles Gloriosus*, 206*a*. *f*.

notice of Merry's ed. of *Aves* of Aristophanes, 309*a*. *b*.

notice of Wickham's Horace, Vol. II., 169*a*. *f*.

emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 175 foll.

Tyrrell (R. Y.) and Purser (L. C.), ed. of Cicero's Letters, noticed, 100*a*. *f*.

U.

- ū, datives in, as origin of future infinitive, 301*a*.
v represented by β, 60*b*.
 Valerius Maximus, Kempf's ed., noticed, 428*a*. *f*.
 Varro, Keil's ed. of *Res Rusticæ*, noticed, 474*a*. *f*.
Vedische Studien, by Geldner and Pischel, noticed, 43*a*. *f*.
 vegetation-spirit, theory of, 49*b*.
 Venetia, antiquarian discoveries at, 188*a*.
ver, derivation of, 451*b*.
 verb, substantive, account of, 405*a*.
 verbs, compound, accent of, in Latin, 407*b*.
 verbal adjectives, in Aeschylus, 63*b*.
 nouns in -on, 297*b*.
vercor ut, 170*a*.
 Verona, antiquarian discoveries at, 233*b*.
Verrall (A. W.), on the fire-signals in the *Agamemnon*, 269*a*. *b*.
 Verrall (A. W.), ed. of *Ion* of Euripides, noticed 97*a*. *b*.
Verse, Latin, by Bousfield, noticed, 104*b*.
verso, in papyrus rolls, 71*a*.
viginti, accent of, 408*a*.
violare, derivation of, 264*a*.
 Virgil, Benoist's ed., noticed, 208*a*. *f*.
 characteristics of *Eclogues*, 208*b*.
 commencement of day in, 128*b*.
 French editions of, 209*a*.
 notes on *Æneid* iii., vi., 337*a*.
 note on *Æneid* vi., 232*a*.
 note on *Æneid* vi., 186*a*.
 note on *Georgic* i., 232*a*.
 Schwabe's estimate of, 42*b*.
ūmāh, 48*b*.
 Un-Aristotelian words in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 122*a*. *f*., 184*a*. *f*., 229*a*. *f*., 272*a*. *f*.
 uncial writing, date of, 418*b*.
-undo-, derivation of, 297*a*. *b*.
Vocabulary to Homer's Iliad, by Thurber, noticed, 221*a*.
volpecula, in Horace, 337*b*.
volvenda, 298*a*.
 Usener (H.), *Der Heilige Theodosios, Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*, noticed, 103*a*.
 uses of aorist participle, 3*a*. *f*., 248.
ut qui, in Livy, 326*b*.
 Utica, harbour at, 281*b*.
utrāque, accent of, 377*b*.
uxor = *uoxor* (?), 293*a*.
 spelling of, 293*b*.

W.

- Walker (F. W.)**, philological notes by, 446*a*. *f*.
Walters (H. B.), see *Monthly Record*.
Wardale (J. W.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 273*b*.
Warr (G. C. W.), notice of Tenffel's *History of Roman Literature*, 42*a*. *f*.
Wayte (W.), notice of Westermann's *Demosthenes*, 24*a*. *f*.
 Wayte (W.) and Marindin (G. E), new ed. of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, noticed, 425*a*. *f*.
Wedd (N.), review of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Herakles*, 461*a*. *f*.
Weil (H.), emendations in *Ath. Resp.*, 274.
 Weidner (A.), ed. of Juvenal, noticed, 385*a*. *f*.
 Westermann (A.), ed. of Demosthenes, noticed, 24*a*. *f*.
 Westcott (B. F.), *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, noticed, 18*a*. *f*.
 on hours of the day in St. John, 246*a*.
 Westphal (R.) and Rossbach (A.), *Greek metres*, noticed, 320*a*. *f*.

- Westphalia, popular beliefs about swallows in, 2*a*.
 Weymouth (Dr.), on the rendering into English of Greek aorist and perfect, 267*a*. *f*.
 Wharton (E. R.), *Ætyma Latina*, noticed, 217*a*. *f*.
Wheeler (B. I.), notice of Blass' *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek*, 217*a*. *b*.
Whibley (L.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 168*b*. *f*.
 emendations in same, 175 foll.
 on authorship of *Atheniensium Respublica*, 223*a*. *b*.
 Whibley (L.), ed of Livy, Book v., noticed, 325*a*. *f*.
 White, passages for translation at sight, noticed, 221*b*.
Whitelaw (R.), notes on *Aias* of Sophocles, 66*b*., 230*a*. *b*.
 note on Virgil, *Æneid*, 186 *a*.
 on some uses of the aorist participle, 248*a*. *b*.
 whorl, from Troy, 389*b*.
 Wickham (E. C.), ed. of Horace, Vol. ii., noticed, 169*a*. *f*.
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (U. v.), ed. of *Herakles* of Euripides, noticed, 461*a*. *f*.
 Wileken (U.), *Greek Palæography*, noticed, 417*a*. *f*.
Wilkins (A. S.), note on date of Lucilius, 338*a*.
 notice of Friedrich's ed. of Cicero's *Opera Rhetorica*, 475*a*. *f*.
 notice of Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, 384*a*. *f*.
 women, position of, at Locri, 424*b*.
Wörterbuch zu den Homerischen Gedichten, by Autenrieth, noticed, 328*a*.
Wright (J. H.), notice of Gwatkin and Shuckburgh's ed. of *Aeschines in Ctesiphontia*, 149*a*. *f*.
 notice of Rubensohn's ed. of *Epigrams of Crinagoras*, 317*a*. *f*.
 writing, of MSS., 262*a*.
 cursive, 418*a*.
 uncial, date of, 418*b*.
Wyse (W.), notes on *Atheniensium Respublica*, 122*b*.
 224*a*. *b*., 274*b*. *f*., 335*a*. *f*.
 emendations in same, 105 foll., 224 foll.

X.

- Xanthippus, ostracism of, 277*b*.
 Xenophon, Dakyns' translation of, noticed, 257*a*. *f*.
 Holden's ed. of *Cyropædia*, noticed, 478*a*. *b*.
 Stone's ed. of *Anabasis*, Book iv., noticed, 478*a*. *b*.
 Breitenbach's ed. of *Memorabilia*, noticed, 477*b*.
 Marshall's ed. of *Memorabilia* noticed, 477*b*.
 Dowdall's ed. of *Hellenica*, Bk. i., noticed, 478*b*.
xystici = *athletes*, 40*b*.

Y.

- y*, how called by Romans, 60*b*.
 Yorkshire, beliefs about swallows in, 2*b*.

Z.

- z, notes on, 253*a*. *f*.
 Zamboni, and library of Graevius, 366*a*. *f*.
 Zanklê, and Messene, 424*a*.
 Zante, antiquarian discoveries at, 486*a*.
Zeno and Cleanthes, Fragments of, by Pearson, noticed, 479*a*. *f*.
 Zeno, doctrines of, 479*a*.
Zum Eleischen, Arkadischen und Kyprischen Dialekte, noticed, 62*b*.
Zur Geschichte und Organisation des Römischen Vereinswesens, noticed, 420*a*. *f*.

II.—GREEK INDEX.

A.

Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, preliminary notice of, 69*a*.*f*.
v. Aristotle.
ἀναβιβάζειν, as grammatical term, 216*b*.
ἄμιπποι, 119*b*.
ἀντενέγραφον, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.
ἄποθεν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*b*.
ἀρσενικόν, 216*b*.
ἀπόστασις, 168*b*.
ἁφέσιμος = 'a holiday,' 123*b*.
ἄωτος, in Pindar, 195*a*.

B.

β, representing Latin *v*, 60*b*.
βᾶ, 448*a*.
βάλανος, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.
βαφή, in Sophocles, 186*b*.
βδέω, analysis of, 254*a*.
βούλει λάβωμαι, construction of, 148*b*.
βριθύς, analysis of, 254*a*.

Γ.

γ, confused with κ, 253*b*.
γεννῆται, 221*b*.
γένος, changes in, at Athens, 221*b*.
γέρρα, meaning of, 315*a*.

Δ.

δαπανᾶω, in Thucydides, 195*a*.
δέ with apodosis, in Aristotle, 273*a*.
δεδεμένος, figurative use of, 184*a*.
δεῖ, construction of, 99*b*.
δεσποτικωτέρως, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*b*.
δή, use of, in Aristotle, 169*a*.
διαθήκη, 19*b*.
διατηταί, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 164 *a*.*b*.
δια[μπε]ρές, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 160*a*.
διαφράδην, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*., 229*a*.
διαψηφισμόν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*a*.
διδραχμον, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*a*.
διερρινημένον = 'a perforated lid,' 123*a*.
διχους, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*b*.
διωβελία, at Athens, 169*a*.

E.

ἐαρ, derivation of, 450*b*.
ἐαῖσα, *ambushiam*, 452*a*.
εἰς or ἐς in old Attic, 259*a*.

ἐκ, use of, in Aristophanes, 259*b*.
after passive verbs, 272*b*.

ἐκθυμα = 'pustule,' 123*a*.
ἐλεγεία, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 159*a*., 184*a*.
ἐμπήκτης, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*b*.
ἐν ἐπιτομῇ, = 'tout court,' 101*b*.
ἐναγίσματα, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.
ἐνεκα, form of, in Attic, 259*a*.
ἐντός, with numbers, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 273*a*.
ἐξαπορησάντων, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*b*.
ἐξεκέντησαν, in Fourth Gospel, 142*a*.
ἐπισκαλέω, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
ἐπίσκλητος, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 229*a*.
ἐπιδιανέω, 123*a*.
ἐπικεῖς, in Aristotle, 184*b*.
ἐπιζημίωσις, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
ἐπίθετον = 'an appendage,' 123*a*.
ἐπικύρωσις, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 159*a*.
ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων, 152*a*.
ἐπιστατήν, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 232*a*.
ἐπιστυλίω, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 230*a*.
ἐπιστύλιον, 123*a*.
ἐπταετηρίς, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
ἐπτάχους, in *Atheniensium Respublica*, 123*a*.
ἐριθεία, force of, 416*b*.
εὐσημία, 123*a*.
ἐφηβικός, 152*b*.
ἐχω ὃ τι, construction with, 302*a*., cf. 148*b*.

Z.

ζᾶθεος, in lyric poetry 195*a*.
ζεγγίσιον, 123*a*.

H.

*ῆος = Skt *ya-vat*, 387*a*.
ῆκα, form of, 447*a*.

Θ.

θεσμοί, 167*a*.
θῆκα, form of, 447*a*.
θίασοι, at Athens, 222*b*.
θνήσκω, spelling of, 148*a*.
θυννοσκοπεία, 55*a*.

I.

ι, as coming from γ, 255*a*.
ἰμάτια = *res*, 69*a*.
ἱππαρχος, at Athens, property qualification for, 167*b*.

No. 5.

PAGE

W. R. HARDIE: Allusive Language in Greek Lyric Poetry	193
F. CARTER: Notes on Thucydides IV.	195
E. H. MILES: Latin Infinitive Passive.	198
P. SCHWENKE: Apparatus Criticus on Cicero. N. D.	200
Sonnenschein's Rudens. ROBINSON ELLIS	205
Goetz' Miles Gloriosus. R. Y. TYRRELL	206
Benoist's Virgil. T. E. Page	208
Jacobs' Fables of Aesop. F. B. JEVONS	212
Hilgard's Greek Grammarians. E. G. SIHLER	215
Blass, Pronunciation of Ancient Greek, English Translation. B. I. WHEELER	217
Wharton's Etyma Latina. H. D. DAR- BISHIRE	217
Merriam's Telegraphing among the Ancients. J. G.	220
Three Elementary Books on Greek	220
The Constitution of Athens:— Attic Phratries. W. R. PATON	221
The Authorship. L. WHIBLEY	223
Miscellaneous. E. S. THOMPSON, W. WYSE, H. RICHARDS	224
Un-Aristotelian Words. E. J. CHIN- NOCK	229

Notes.

PAGE

Soph. Aj. 651, again. R. WHITELAW	230
Swallows in the House. J. G. FRAZER, D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, C. HARPER	230
Arist. Post. Anal. I. 5, 2. C. S. ADAMSON and H. RICHARDS	231
Verg. Georg. I. 316. H. Richards	232
Verg. Aen. VI. 567. G. Mc N. R.	232
Antiope. M. R. JAMES	232
Hiberno-Saxon Symbol for <i>Autem</i> . J. E. SANDYS	232
<i>vepó</i> . J. B. BURY	232
Correspondence. CECIL TORR	232
Monthly Record	233
Tozer's Islands of the Aegean. W. R. PATON	237
Theatre of Megalopolis. L. DYER, E. SELLERS	238
Re-excavated Relics. F. HAVERFIELD	240
Acquisitions of the British Museum. A. S. M.	241
A Vase-painting. W. WATKISS LLOYD	241
A Carthaginian Ambassador in a Greek Inscription. J. HOSKYNs ABRAHALL	242
Summaries of Periodicals	242
Bibliography	243

No. 6.

J. A. CROSS: Hours of the Day in the Fourth Gospel	245
R. WHITELAW and F. CARTER: On Some Uses of the Aorist Participle	248
F. G. PLAISTOWE: On Sonant Z	253
Campbell's Aeschylus. A. W. POLLARD	255
Dakyns' Translation of Xenophon. E. S. SHUCKBURGH	257
Aristophanes' Use of Prepositions. E. C. MARCHANT	258
Some French Books on Palaeography. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON	261
Stowasser's Dunkle Wörter. H. NETTLE- SHIP	263
Studies by Studemund's Pupils. E. A. SONNENSCHN	264
Montague's Selected Letters of Cicero. F. F. ABBOTT	266
Stephenson's Livy, Book XXVII. M. T. TATHAM	266
Dr. Weymouth on the Greek Aorist and Perfect	267
Correspondence. Dr. Verrall on the Fire-Signals in the Agamemnon	269
The Constitution of Athens. New Readings of the MSS. F. G. KENYON	269

On the Use of the Hiatus. J. W.

HEADLAM 270

Un-Aristotelian Words and Phrases.

H. RICHARDS 272

Emendations by J. R. WARDALE 273

Emendations by Foreign Scholars 274

Further Notes by W. WYSE, E. S.

THOMPSON, C. TORR, C. SMITH 274

Notes.

A Carthaginian Ambassador. C. T. 278

Plato *Rep.* 532 B. E. J. PALMER 278Arist. *Ran.* 1433. H. RICHARDS 278Hor. *Ep.* I. ii. 31. A. S. O. 278Ov. *R. A.* 207. E. D. S. 278Ov. *Trist.* III. xi. 33. P. SANDFORD 279

The Exile of Juvenal. H. A. STRONG 279

Wilkins' *Roman Literature*. W. K.

CLEMENT 279

Danger of Quoting from Memory. G.

E. JEANS 279

Archaeology.

The Harbours of Carthage. C. TORR 280

Theatre of Megalopolis 284

Summaries 285

Monthly Record 287

Summaries of Periodicals 289

Bibliography 290

No 7.

	PAGE		PAGE
A. E. HOUSMAN : <i>Adversaria Orthographica</i>	293	Etienne. <i>La Langue Française</i> . F. SPENCER	329
R. SEYMOUR CONWAY : <i>Origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive</i>	296	Goyau's <i>Chronologie de l'Empire Romain</i> . E. G. HARDY	329
J. P. Postgate ; <i>Latin Future Infinitive in -turum</i>	301	Perry's <i>Greek Literature</i> . B. PERRIN	330
F. T. TARBELL : <i>Greek Deliberative Subjunctive in Relative Clauses</i>	302	Fagan's <i>British Museum</i>	331
P. SCHWENKE : <i>Apparatus Criticus on Cicero</i> . N. D.	302	<i>Greek Elegiacs</i> . L. CAMPBELL	331
Bury's <i>Nemean Odes</i> . J. E. SANDYS	305	' <i>Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία</i> . Recent Literature. F. G. K.	332
Merry's <i>Edition of the Birds</i> . R. Y. TYRRELL	309	A Reply to Professor Gomperz. H. RICHARDS	333
Demosthenes <i>De Corona</i> , by F. Blass. S. H. BUTCHER	309	Further Notes by H. RICHARDS, W. WYSE, E. S. THOMPSON, E. POSTE	334
Plutarch's <i>Lives of Galba and Otho</i> , by E. G. Hardy. H. HOLDEN	315	Notes.	
Epigrams of <i>Crinagoras</i> . J. H. WRIGHT	317	Pindar <i>Nem. IX. 22</i> . A. C. PEARSON	337
Krumbacher's <i>History of Byzantine Literature</i> . J. B. BURY	318	Virg. <i>Aen. VI. 567, III. 702</i> . A. PLATT	337
Rosbach and Westphal's <i>Greek Metres</i> . C. B. HERBERDEN	320	Hor. <i>C. II. xi. 21</i> . P. SANDFORD	337
Schoell's <i>Casina</i> . E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN	321	Hor. <i>Ep. I. vii. 29</i> . H. A. STRONG	337
Peskett's <i>Caesar B.C., Book I</i> . B. PERRIN	324	Νερό. W. LEAF	338
Whibley's <i>Livy, Book V</i> . H. M. STEPHENSON	325	Reply to Professor Clement. A. S. WILKINS	338
Lindsay's <i>Juvenal</i> . M. H. MORGAN	326	Telegraphing among the Ancients. A. C. MERRIAM, J. G., & W. R. PATON	338
Scott's <i>Translation of Calpurnius</i> . E. D. A. MORSHEAD	327	<i>Split Totems</i> . A. PLATT	339
Autenrieth's <i>Homeric Dictionary</i> . T. D. SEYMOUR	328	Archaeology.	
Gelzer's <i>Georgius Cyprius</i> . F. HAVERFIELD	328	Monthly Record. H. B. WALTERS	339
		Acquisitions of the British Museum (1-5), A. S. MURRAY, (6) C. SMITH	341
		The Greek Theatre. A. C. MERRIAM, MISS SELLERS, EDITOR	343
		A Megaric Inscription. M. L. EARLE	344
		Summaries of Periodicals	345
		Bibliography	347

No. 8.

EDITORIAL	349	Allen's Notes on Greek MSS. E. M. T.	387
E. L. HICKS, H. JACKSON, R. ELLIS, on HERODAS	350	Bayfield's <i>Alcestis</i> . W. S. HADLEY	387
L. CAMPBELL, on the Papyrus Fragment of the <i>Phaedo</i>	363	Notes.	
A. C. CLARK : The Library of J. G. Graevius	365	Aesch. <i>Agam. 557, 1118, 1125, 1227</i> . E. A. L. M. and H. L. B.	388
W. M. LINDSAY : <i>Latin Accentuation</i>	373	Aesch. <i>Supp. 819, 970</i> . C. J. BRENNAN	388
J. STRACHAN : <i>Ambulare</i>	377	Soph. <i>Trach. 504</i> . L. H. S.	389
F. W. THOMAS : <i>Non, Noenum, Νόδυνος</i>	377	Plut. <i>Them. 21</i> . H. RICHARDS	389
Ellis's <i>Noctes Manilianae</i> . E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN	379	Inscribed Whorl from Troy. A. H. SAYCE	389
Hessels' <i>Latin Anglo-Saxon Glossary</i> . H. NETTLESHIP	382	Herodas IV. A. S. MURRAY	389
Seyffert's <i>Dictionary of Classical Antiquities</i> . A. S. WILKINS	384	Thuc. <i>IV. 64</i> . G. E. MARINDIN	389
Weidner's <i>Juvenal</i> . E. G. HARDY	385	Liddell and Scott s.v. <i>σπῶμα</i> . C. TORR	390
V. Henry's <i>Comparative Grammar</i> . P. GILES	387	Archaeology.	
Paul's <i>History of Language</i> . H. D. DARBISHIRE	387	Monthly Record. H. B. WALTERS	390
		Notes from Italy and Greece. H. A. TUBBS	393
		Summaries	394
		Periodicals	395
		Bibliography (English)	396

No. 9.

	PAGE		PAGE
E. B. CLAPP, on Mr. Bayfield's Doctrine of the Conditional Sentence	397	Hild's Juvenal VII. H. N.	429
E. W. B. NICHOLSON: Notes on Some Fragments of Menander	399	Foerster on the Physiognomia of Apuleius. H. N.	429
L. CAMPBELL: Notes on the Antiope .	401	Clarke's Evagoras of Isocrates. E. S. THOMPSON	429
W. M. LINDSAY: Latin Accentuation (concluded)	402	Sabrinæ Corolla, ed. 4. E. D. S. . .	430
P. SCHWENKE: Apparatus Criticus to the Natura Deorum (continued) . .	408	Georges' Lexicon der Lateinischen Wortformen. H. N.	431
Homeric Scholia (Schrader's Porphyrius on the Odyssey and Nicole's Geneva Scholia on the Iliad). W. LEAF . .	412	Graves' Burial Customs of the Ancient Greeks	431
Plummer's Epistles of St. James and St. Jude. J. B. MAYOR	414	Notes.	
Wilcken's Greek Palaeography. E. M. THOMPSON	417	M. W. HUMPHREYS: πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι	431
Graux, Facsimiles of Greek MSS. in Spain. E. M. THOMPSON	419	C. H. KEENE: Scholia on the Electra of Euripides	432
Liebenam on the History and Organization of the Roman Collegia. E. G. HARDY	420	C. M. MULVANY: Notes on Propertius	433
Freeman's History of Sicily Vols. I. and II. A. HOLM	423	G. MC. N. RUSHFORTH: Tisidium . .	433
Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities. New Edition. J. E. SANDYS	425	J. E. SANDYS: Pronunciation of Suidas	434
Kempf's Valerius Maximus. H. T. PECK	428	F. W. THOMAS: Suum Cuique . .	434
		H. RICHARDS: Herod. VIII. 111 . .	434
		Archæology.	
		Monthly Record	434
		Theatre at Megapolis. C. T. . .	437
		Summaries of Periodicals	437
		Bibliography (Foreign)	440

No. 10.

J. ADAM: The Myth in Plato's Politicus	445	G. M. Edwards's Iliad XXIII. A. PLATT	476
F. W. WALKER: Philological Notes . .	446	Stein's Herodotus VII. R. W. MACAN	477
C. A. M. FENNELL: Brugmann's Theory of the <i>Nasalis Sonans</i>	451	Xenophon's Memorabilia by Brietenbach and Mücke. P.G.; by J. Marshall. E. S. SHUCKBURGH	477
L. CAMPBELL: On the Papyrus Fragment of the Phaëdo	454	Holden's Cyropaedia. E. G. COY . .	478
R. ELLIS: On the Epoch of Herodas . .	457	Stone's Anabasis IV. E. S. SHUCKBURGH	478
P. SCHWENKE: Apparatus Criticus to the Natura Deorum (concluded)	458	Dowdall's Hellenica I. A. H. COOKE	478
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's Herakles. N. WEDD	461	Pearson's Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes. H. N. FOWLER	479
Recent Literature on the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία. H. RICHARDS	465	Notes.	
Cambridge Texts and Studies. Vol. I. Part I. A. PLUMMER	468	Additional Fragments of Herodas. F. G. KENYON	480
Dyer's Studies of the Gods in Greece. W. W. FOWLER	470	Corrected Readings of Papyrus. F. G. KENYON	482
Keil's Edition of Varro's Res Rusticae. H. NETTLESHIP	474	The name Herodas in an Egyptian Inscription. F. G. KENYON	483
Friedrich's edition of Cicero's Opera Rhetorica. Vol. II. A. S. WILKINS	475	Notes on Herodas by W. R. PATON and A. C. PEARSON	483

	PAGE		PAGE
Aristophanes Ach. 920—925. C. J.		Plin. N. H. XXXV. 132. E. F.	
BRENNAN	484	BENSON	486
Ov. Trist. III. P. SANDFORD	485	Macmillan Lekythos. WATKISS LLOYD	486
Juv. Sat. XI. 121. JOHN E. B.		Ernst Curtius, Die Stadtgeschichte	
MAYOR	485	der Athen. E. SELLERS	486
Scrupuli. H. D. DARBISHIRE	485	Summaries of Periodicals	487
Archaeology.		Bibliography	490
Monthly Record	485		

The Classical Review

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SWALLOWS IN THE HOUSE.

Speaking of spring, a poet in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* x. 2) says:—

ἤδη δὲ πλάσσει μὲν ὑπόροφα γυρὰ χελιδὼν
οἰκία—

which Mr. Mackail (*Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, p. 198) translates: 'Now the swallow plasters her round houses under the eaves.' To translate ὑπόροφα by 'under the eaves' instead of 'under the roof' is natural for an English scholar and cannot be incorrect, since of course the eaves are part of the roof. Still I think that ὑπόροφα may have meant a good deal more than 'under the eaves.' At the present day the houses of the Greek peasants have usually no glass in the windows, which are merely closed with wooden shutters at night; and the rooms are unceiled, so that one has nothing but the rafters and the roof overhead. The windows being constantly open in the daytime, the swallows fly freely in and out the house, and build their nests among the rafters. In Laconia I observed this in more than one house where I slept. I have lain abed in the early morning and heard the twittering of the swallows and the whirr of their wings as they flew about overhead in the dark, before the shutters were opened. For of course till the shutters are opened the birds cannot get out, and towards day-break they grow restless, and flit twittering about the room. May it not have been much the same in antiquity? And does not this view sharpen the points of some references to swallows in ancient literature? Thus in another poem in the Anthology (*Anthol.*

Palat. v. 237) a passionate lover tosses about on his bed all night long; at last, as the day is breaking, he drops asleep, only however to be awakened by the swallows twittering about him (ἀμφιπεριτρύζουσι χελιδόνες). He bids them cease chattering or go wail for Itylus on the mountains, that he may get a little sleep (βαῖδὼν ἵνα κνώσσοιμεν). The expression ἀμφιπεριτρύζουσι would hardly be appropriate if addressed to birds fluttering and twittering about the eaves outside the poet's window; but it is literally correct if the swallows were actually flying about the room. Similarly the poet who took Anacreon's name upbraids the chattering swallows for waking him from dreams of love at the peep of dawn (*Anacreontea* 9, Bergk's *Poetae lyrici Graeci*,³ iii. p. 1050).

Again the expression of Aelian (*Nat. An.* x. 34) τιμᾶται δὲ ἡ χελιδὼν θεοῖς μυχίοις καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, μυχία μέντοι καὶ ταύτῃ, seems to mean that the swallow is honoured by the gods of the inside of the house, which could hardly have been said if the bird only built its nest under the eaves. Once more Pythagoras said, 'Do not receive a swallow in the house' (χελιδόνα οἰκία μὴ δέχου, Jamblichus, *Adhort. ad philos.* 21; Clemens Alexandr., *Strom.* v. 5 § 27, p. 660 ed. Potter; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* viii. 7, 1). The words can only have had their full meaning if the birds were sometimes allowed to build their nests actually within the house.

The modern Greek peasant, I was told, is glad when the swallows build in his house, for he thinks it lucky. It is reasonable to suppose that his ancestors were of the same

mind, for a like belief is still deeply rooted in the minds of European peasants and of some Asiatic peoples. In Germany and Austria the belief is very common. For example in the Tyrol the blessing of God is believed to rest on a house where swallows build their nests; and some people leave their windows open day and night that the birds may fly freely in and out (Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche, und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*,² § 743). In Bohemia swallows are had in high honour and people nail boards under the eaves to tempt the birds to build there (Grohmann, *Aberglauben, &c., aus Böhmen und Mähren*, § 491). Formerly in Westphalia on a day in spring when the returning swallows were looked for, the whole family, headed by the father, went to the gate to meet them, and threw wide the door of the barn that the swallows might fly in (Kuhn, *Sagen Gebräuche und Meinungen aus Westfalen*, ii. p. 71). In Hesse the arrival of the first swallow was signalled by a watchman on a tower and then publicly announced by the magistrates (Wuttke, *Der deutscher Volksaberglaube*,² § 159). In some parts of Lancashire it is thought a happy omen for a house when a swallow builds its nest about the house or the barn; and woe to the little boy who is rash enough to meddle with the birds (Harland and Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folk-lore*, p. 143). In Russia the same belief is current (*Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland*, herausgeg. von Erman, vol. i. 1848, p. 628). The Votyaks in eastern Russia think (and German peasants agree with them) that if they killed a swallow their cattle would not thrive. They even build nests for the swallows (Max Buch, *Die Wotyaken*, p. 165). Evidence to the same effect might be given in handfuls; I will content myself with mentioning that the same belief in the luckiness of a swallow building its nest under the roof is held by Chinese, Japanese, and the Minahassa of Celebes (Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, ed. Paxton Hood, p. 572; H. C. St. John, *Wild Coasts of Nipon*, p. 117; *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, iv. July 1870, p. 11).

The famous 'swallow-song,' which in ancient Rhodes children sang from door to door, seems certainly to have been meant to welcome the heralds of the spring and invite them to take up their abode in the house. The children sang (Athenaeus, p. 360):

'He has come, he has come, the swallow!
Happy seasons bringing,
And happy years!
Open, open the door to the swallow!'

A similar custom is still observed in Greece. On the 1st of March children go through the streets singing a spring carol and carrying a wooden swallow, which they keep turning constantly on a cylinder (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴ ii. p. 636).

But it may be asked: If the ancients were so glad to see the swallow and so eager to welcome him to their homes, why did Pythagoras forbid him the house?

It will not do to say that Pythagoras was a philosopher who set his face against popular superstitions. On the contrary the wise saws called 'the symbols of Pythagoras' are nothing but superstitious rules of conduct such as are still quite familiar to Highland servants in Scotland, Ojebway Indians, and people of that sort (see *Folk-lore*, i. p. 145 sq.). May we then suppose that in regard to swallows Pythagoras for once deviated into sense? I fear not. In popular fancy the swallow has its dark as well as its bright side, and if Pythagoras shut his door against the bird, it was probably because he deemed it a creature of ill omen. Some of the ancients certainly thought that the swallow boded untimely death (Artemidorus, *Onirocr.* 66). In some parts of Germany it is held that where swallows build new nests, some one will die in that house within the year (Grimm, *DM.*⁴ iii. p. 446). A poor woman in England, whose young daughter had just died, remarked to a lady, 'A swallow lit upon her shoulder, ma'am, a short time since, as she was walking home from church, and that is a sure sign of death' (Dyer, *English Folk-lore*, p. 69). In Yorkshire if a swallow comes down the chimney, it is an omen of death; and in Norfolk, if the swallows gather in great numbers about a house, some one in it will die and his soul will take flight with the swallows (Swainson, *Folk-lore of British Birds*, p. 54). Archbishop Whately says that in Ireland the swallow is called 'the devil's bird' by the common folk, who hold that every man has a certain hair on his head, which if a swallow can pick off, the man is certainly damned (Henderson, *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, p. 123). In some parts of Scotland the swallow is thought to have a drop of the devil's blood in it, and in Caithness it is called 'witch hag' (Swainson, *l.c.*). The Chewsurs of the Caucasus are of opinion that swallows and all other migratory birds bring sickness with them, and that certain precautions are needful to avert the baleful influence. The antidote for seeing the first swallow is a glass of wine

or a nip of brandy (G. Radde, *Die Chews'-uren und ihr Land*, p. 111 sq.).

In conclusion it is hardly necessary to say that even if, as I have tried to show, in ancient as in modern Greece swallows may have been allowed to build their nests on the rafters inside the house, it would be absurd to suppose that they did not sometimes build them under the eaves. If any proof that they did so were needed, we

might quote the lines in the Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* x. 16, 5 sq.),

καὶ φιλόπαις ὑπὸ γείσα δόμους τεύξασα
χειλῶν
ἐκγονα πηλοχύτοις ξεινοδοκεῖ θαλάμοις.

'The swallow builds her nest under the eaves' &c.

J. G. FRAZER.

ON SOME USES OF THE AORIST PARTICIPLE.

IN Thuc iv. 81 we have: αὐτὸν δὲ Βρασίδαν βουλόμενον μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπέστειλαν, προὔθυμήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς, ἄνδρα ἔν τε τῇ Σπάρτῃ δοκοῦντα δραστήριον εἶναι ἐς τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξήλθε πλείστον ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίους γενόμενον. τό τε γὰρ παραύτικα ἐαυτὸν παρασχὼν δίκαιον καὶ μέτριον ἐς τὰς πόλεις ἀπέστεισε τὰ πολλὰ κ.τ.λ.

Dr. Rutherford's treatment of the passage is hardly satisfactory. Considering γενόμενον = ὅς ὕστερον ἐγένετο a solecism, he treats the words from ἄνδρα to γενόμενον as an 'adscript' and omits them from the text. He does not seem to have observed that γὰρ in the next sentence is then quite meaningless. The moderation of Brasidas and his consequent success, referring, as the words ἐς τὰς πόλεις shew, to his conduct in Chalcidicæ, cannot obviously be the reason either why the Lacedaemonians sent him thither *on the first occasion*, or why the Chalcidians wished him to come. The supposed adscript must therefore have formed part of the original text, unless changes even more considerable are to be made. The word γὰρ also forbids us to take ἐξήλθε of his original start from Peloponnese, and πλείστον...γενόμενον of his rescue of Megara, as would otherwise be possible. Therefore γενόμενον cannot refer to time past to the verbs ἀπέστειλαν, προὔθυμήθησαν. It is simply one of the few instances of the rule that a purely attributive participle (*i.e.* a simple epithet, as distinct from one qualifying adverbially another verb) *can* be used without time-reference to the principal verb. Professor Goodwin (*Moods and Tenses* § 152) says 'An attributive aorist participle occasionally refers to time *absolutely* past, without regard to the time of the verb': he quotes (a) Her. vii. 62, (b) vii. 106, both quoted (with (c) vii. 164) by Professor Campbell in the *Classical Review* for November, but gives no Attic examples. As examples of the corresponding use of the present he

gives (*M. and T.* 141) τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλονμένην ὤκησαν Thuc. i. 12, and Dem. ix. 15 where also νῦν is closely joined with the participle. It will I think be found that the usage is limited to the cases where the participle is *unmistakeably* attributive, *i.e.* where either we have the article as in (a), (c) or it stands with ἀνὴρ or similar word in apposition as in (b). Its attributive character is further emphasized, as a rule, by the addition, as in (a), of a *contradicting* adverb, *i.e.* one shewing that the participle cannot have regard to the main verb. Thus in Thuc. iv. 18 we have ὁ νῦν ὑμῖν καλῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς πράξαι, καὶ μήποτε ὕστερον, ἣν ἄρα μὴ πιθόμενοι σφαλῆτε, ἃ πολλὰ ἐνδέχεται, νομισθῆναι τύχῃ καὶ τὰ νῦν προχωρήσαντα κρατῆσαι, where προχωρήσαντα cannot possibly be past to κρατῆσαι. Similarly Dem. xviii. (*De Cor.*) 171 (285) (ἐβάδιζον ἂν) οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλαις ἐπιδόσεσι ἐπιδόντες. Another example where the participle is substantival is found in Dem. xxi. (c. *Midiam*) 103 (547) τὸν τούτο ποιήσαντ' ἐμισθώσατο, where edd. read ποιήσοντ' against authority of Σ. Similarly in Andoc. *Myst.* 19. ὁ ἀπογράφας αὐτὸν Λυδὸς ἦν. Thus also are to be explained the instances in *M. and T.* 41, which Professor Goodwin explains as an exceptional use of the imperfect: but there is no analogy for this, since the 'philosophic imperfect' always conveys the notion of *turns out to be*, *was proved to be*, or the like. An even more striking instance is Dem. xxi. (c. *Midiam*) 178 (572) ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ τοῦ βελτίστου πατρὸς Χαρικλείδου, τοῦ ἄρχαντος. Chariclides, as the previous sentence shews, was archon at the time of the assault mentioned, and τοῦ ἄρχαντος must therefore mean 'who was archon.' Possibly the fact that the present ἄρχων is used as a substantive may have influenced Dem. in his choice of tense. Buttmann quotes Xen. *Memor.* ii. 6. 25 καὶ ἄρξας ἀγαθὸν τι ποιεῖν τὴν πατρίδα πειράται,

where however the participle is 'instrumental' and therefore not parallel. A striking instance of a *future* participle used without reference to the time of the main verb, where it is not even attributive, is Eur. *Hec.* 517 εἰπὲ, καίπερ οὐ λέξων φίλα, where however εἰπὲ may be considered as having necessarily a present reference, owing to imperatival notion. The passage in Thuc. iv. 81 substitutes ἀνὴρ with participle for the article with participle as in *Il. c.*; and this substitution is almost regular with proper names, when reference is made to general qualities, and not particular acts.

All such instances must be carefully distinguished from the 'timeless' uses of the aor. part., which may be tabulated as follows:—

(1) The *instrumental* aor. part. Mr. Monro (*H. G.* 77) defines it as expressing 'exact coincidence with the action of the principal verb.' Such coincidence cannot however be one merely of time, but the participle defines the manner, instrument or essential circumstances of the action, corresponding to the uses of the instrumental case. In Homer examples are extremely common: almost every book will furnish several—e.g. *Il.* 856 παρμένη βεβήκει, in its flight, B. 269 ἀχρείον ἰδὼν, Δ. 508 κέκλετ' αὔσας. In Δ. 112 καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκε τανυσσάμενος ποτὶ γαίῃ | ἀγκλίνας we have a temporal participle τανυσσάμενος qualifying κατέθηκε, yet itself qualified by the instrumental ἀγκλίνας. But they are far from uncommon in Attic, both verse and prose—e.g. (i.) Soph. *Ant.* 171 ὄλοντο παίσαντες τε καὶ | πληγέντες (a probable but not absolutely certain instance): (ii.) Eur. *Med.* 1030 ἄλλως δ' ἐμόχθουν καὶ κατεξάντην πόνους | στερρὰς ἐνεγκόνσ' ἐν τόκοις ἀλγυδῶνας: (iii.) Ar. *Ran.* 484 δείσασα γὰρ καθείρπυσεν: (iv.) Thuc. i. 78 ἀντελπίσαντες ἄλλα ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν χρεῖαν: (v.) iv. 92. 7 ὦν χρὴ μνησθέντας...πιστευσάντας δέ...δρόσε χωρήσαι, i.e. in the confident belief: (vi.) iii. 22. 5 ἡ πεσοῦσα (by its fall) φόβον ἐποίησε: (vii.) Dem. xx. (c. *Leptineu*) 70 (478) ἡγοῦντο γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν τυραννίδα καὶ τοῦτον τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντα πεπανκέναι: (viii.) xix. (de *F.L.*) 50 (356) τούτοις παραδοῦναι γέγραφε τὸ ἱερὸν γράψας τοῖς Ἀμφικτυσίον παραδοῦναι: (ix.) xviii. (de *Cor.*) 58 (244) τὸ δὲ μὴ προγράψαντα...κελεύσαι. Plato has γελάσας ἔφη, μειδιάσας ἔφη frequently ('said with a laugh, a smile,' as distinct from μειδῶν ἔφη = said while smiling): (x.) *Phaedo* 117 Δ οὐδὲν γὰρ σῆμα κερδαίνειν ὀλίγον ὕστερον πῶν: (xi.) Eur. *Or.* 104 δὸς λύσασα, and similarly in *Il.* 655, 925: (xii.) Thuc. i. 71 βοηθήσατε κατὰ τάχος ἐσβαλόντες.

Other exx. are given by Professor Goodwin (*M. and T.* 150), Madvig § 183 rem. 2. Instances iv. v. ix. x. xi. seem to shew that the restriction of the usage to the 'action of a verb of *past* time' is incorrect: ἐπλήρωσαν in iv. is clearly gnomic. On the other hand vii. viii. x. shew that no aorist attraction is necessarily at work. Usually the main verb is, if not past, an aorist, but x. shews that this is not always the case. Even if in this passage we adopt the *v.l.* κερδαίνειν, and thus (treating ἔφη as aorist) bring all these instances into conformity with Dr. Wheeler's rule with regard to τυγχάνω, φθάνω, λανθάνω, that 'the aorist participle, when combined with the present or imperfect, cannot coincide with the verb in time' (*M. and T.* 146), we cannot thus deal with Pl. *Rep.* 367 B ὡς δύναιμι μάλιστα κατατεῖνας λέγω.

The usage of the quasi-auxiliaries φθάνω, τυγχάνω, λανθάνω, where either verb may be in aor. part. (but only usually where the other is also aor.); of the aor. part. with οἴχομαι; and of ἀνύσας, are merely special cases of the general rule.

Many participles which appear at first sight to be instrumental, or which appear even to be exceptional uses of the aorist in a vague present sense, turn out on examination to be (certainly or possibly) instances of the 'culminating' sense of the aorist (*Hom. Gr.* 75, 78), e.g. B. 772 κεῖτ' ἀπορηνίσας. This may be the case with the Platonic κατατεῖνας quoted above, but probably not.

Two passages have been (I think) mistaken by eminent scholars, through neglect of this usage. In Solon's Elegy, *apud* Dem. xix. (*F. L.*) 255 (423), we have τῷ δὲ χρόνῳ πάντως ἦλθ' ἀποτισαμένη. ἦλθ' is here gnomic and Shilleto 'threw it out as a query,' that ἦλθ' ἀποτισαμένη = ἦλθε καὶ ἀπετίσαστο. The participle is of course instrumental and the sense 'comes in vengeance' gives just what is required. The other instance is more difficult. In Soph. *O.C.* 716 ἃ δ' εὐήρεμος ἔκπαγλ' ἀλὰ χερσὶ παραπτομένα πλάτα | θρώσκει Professor Jebb says of παραπτομένα, 'if from παραπέτομαι it could be only aorist, which the sense excludes.' He therefore takes it from παράπτω closely with χερσὶ and translates 'apt to men's hands.' But the present is singularly out of place: an ear does not, or should not, move *while being* grasped by the hand: nor is there any special point in the tense, if we take παραπτομένα as imperfect: what is required is aorist or (better) perfect. On the other hand παραπτομένα from παραπέτομαι is absolutely right if taken as instrumental with θρώσκει: 'leaps in its flight past' describes exactly what an

oar does, from the point of view of those on board.

(2) The aorist participle is used substantively with the article without any past sense, giving the idea of the agent, as the aor. inf. gives the idea of the action, in its simplest form. Thus in Thuc. i. 69 we have οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι περιορῶν δὲ, ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾶ: and in Aesch. P. V. 213 δόλω δὲ τοὺς ὑπερσχόντας κρατεῖν. In the former passage the aphoristic character of the sentence forbids us to interpret ὁ δουλωσάμενος = he who has enslaved us. In the second such an interpretation, though possible, is not likely: τοὺς ὑπερσχόντας = the victors. Perhaps ἡ τεκοῦσα etc. really belong to this class, though the meaning of the word makes the temporal sense necessarily possible in all cases. Possibly also Aesch. Ag. 324 τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατήσαντων.

The instances quoted above as illustrative of Thuc. iv. 81 may most of them be classed under this head: and such ambiguity is necessary in nearly all instances where the main verb is not gnomic or future; in all other cases 'the murderer' is necessarily also 'he who has killed.' This ambiguity is only absent (a) where ἀνὴρ is used, (b) in such cases as Dem. xxi. 178, where the present participle is in common use as a substantive. But it seems best to treat the participle as *past* in all cases where this is possible, though in cases like Andoc. Myst. 19 (where no qualifying object or adverb is present) the 'substantival' view is almost equally probable.

(3) After περιορᾶν and similar verbs the participle may stand in the aorist without reference to past time, corresponding to the prolative use of the aor. inf. To the exx. given in *M. and T.* 148, 885 may be added Andoc. Myst. 53 ἐκείνους ἀποθανόντας ἀδίκως περιυδεῖν, 58 περιυδεῖν ἀπολόμενον καὶ τὸν κηδεστῆρ.

(4) Professor Goodwin includes ὄρᾶν under the same rule. But the cases are not quite parallel, since περιορᾶν has an acquired prolative force, corresponding in sense to εἶναι, which is normally quite absent in the simple verb. No convincing example is quoted to shew this 'timeless' force where the sense of 'allow' is absent. In Z. 284 κείνον ἴδοιμι κατελθόντα may equally well mean 'see that he has gone down' and similarly in Plat. Rep. 553 A. This ambiguity is almost, if not quite, inevitable, the meaning of the aor. part., on Professor Goodwin's view, being only suitable where it is open to us to consider it a past tense. On

general grounds there seems no reason for separating ὄρᾶν with aor. from ἐπίσταμαι with aor.: in Soph. Ant. 476, 477 we have them in successive lines, and if one aor. is temporal the other must also be so. Nor is any use of inf. possible prolative after ὄρᾶν (except = allow) on analogy of which the tense could be explained. The distinction (easiest to see in English in the present) between *seeing a thing while it happens* and *seeing that a thing happens* is rather a nice one and I can hardly believe that the Greeks had two sets of usages to correspond, though the double constructions of ἀκούω, πυνθάνομαι, αἰσθάνομαι (*M. and T.* 886) support this view. These verbs, however, are not on the same footing. Though, as stated above, one cannot see that a thing is happening without seeing it while it happens, the same is not true of hearing or perceiving in a more general sense. Nor is the distinction in the aorist really easier, though in one sense it is a past tense, and in the other not; though *I saw him die* is not equivalent to *I saw that he had died*, yet the latter can be said whenever the former is possible. The non-temporal character of the aor. after ἀκούω is placed beyond question by examples like Soph. O.C. 1645, τοσαῦτα φωνήσαντος εἰσηκούσαμεν. But *certain* instances are hardly possible where the gen. denotes *thing heard about* not *person heard from*. Thus οἶμαί σε οὐκ ἂν φάναι γενομένου ποτὲ ἐν παντὶ τοῦ τοιούτου αἰσθέσθαι, Plat. Rep. 440 B, may mean 'never perceived such a thing as *having happened* in yourself,' though the other is perhaps the more natural interpretation. In fact no examples that I have seen prove this non-temporal usage for Attic prose at all, though there is no reason whatever for questioning it in Homer and the Tragedians. Indeed in Homer it is probable that the aor. after ὄρᾶν is normally non-temporal. In Homer the aor. inf. is similarly used after φημί, not as a past tense, e.g. B. 171, φημί τελετηθῆναι ἅπαντα = *I state the accomplishment of all*, where the accomplishment is, as a matter of fact, *future*. If no instances of the non-temporal aor. are found in Prose, those in Tragedy should be regarded as 'Homericisms' or (less probably) survivals of pre-Attic syntax.

(5) In Homer we get a few instances of the aor. part. used quite 'timelessly' in an attributive sense, chiefly in fixed phrases: e.g. περιπλομένον ἐναντοῦ as in λ 248, οἱ μὲν δυσομένον Ὑπερίονα α 24, and with prepositions as ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα, ἅμα δ' ἥλιω καταδύντι. Professor Goodwin (*M. and T.* 149, 829 b.) would extend this usage to

Attic: 'the aor. part. loses its reference to past time also in the peculiar construction in which the participle with its noun has the force of the infinitive with its subject.' Classen in his excursus on Thuc. iv. 63. 2 raises the question why it is that Greek constructions of the *post urbem conditam* type are so rare. I believe the answer to be this: *in Attic Greek, both in verse and prose, such constructions are only possible where the noun could stand alone with the preposition with the same, or virtually the same, meaning*; where, in fact, the participle only defines a phrase possible independently. It is obvious that this necessarily applies to all cases of ἐπὶ used of sequence with words denoting *time* or *events*. The same is true of μετὰ with nouns which imply something happening, and pronouns referring to them: μετὰ λόγον ῥηθέντα Plat. Symp. 198 B is possible, because μετὰ λόγον is possible in the same sense. Similarly μετὰ τὰτα λωφύσαντα in Thuc. ii. 49. 4 = after this, when it had abated. It is also obvious where ἐπὶ with gen. means 'in the time of' and a proper name with part. follows. Such instances as Dem. xviii. (*de Cor.*) 32 διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας and 57 ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων also come under the rule. In Thuc. iii. 1, ἄρα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι, σίτῳ is treated as itself implying a date: cf. τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς. An apparent exception, at first glance, is Thuc. vi. 33 μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας. But the sentence is Θουκλῆς δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς ἐκ Νάξου ὀρμηθέντες ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας, Λεοντίνους ...οἰκίζονσι. A Greek could say μετὰ Συρακούσας Λεοντίνους οἰκίζουσι or even ἔτει πέμπτῳ μετὰ Συρακούσας Λεοντίνους οἰκίζουσι (five years after Syracuse they founded Leontini), but could not have said μετὰ Συρακούσας ἀπέθανον and therefore not μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας ἀπέθανον. Similarly μετὰ Κύρον ἀποθανόντα αὐτὸς ἀπέθανε is possible, but ἀπέπλευσε would not be. The principle of the *Accusativus de quo* makes the same rule applicable to cases of acc. with part. and instances of the nom. as subject present no difficulty. In Thuc. iv. 47. 2 we have ξυνελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οὐχ ἥκιστα...οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατάδηλοι ὄντες..., much as we might say 'The Athenian generals, by their evident reluctance..., aided the plot,' without implying that they had any actual share in it. Similarly in Thuc. iii. 20. 1, τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιλιπόντι ἐπίζοντο. If this rule can be maintained, it follows that the participle in such phrases is in Attic necessarily temporal, the resemblance of μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας to μετὰ τὸ Συρ. οἰκισθῆναι being chiefly one of meaning. This rule will also

account for the comparative rarity of the construction. That the Attic limitation does not apply to Homer, the above instances shew: and Hdt. i. 34 μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε νέμεις μεγάλη Κροῖσον can only be reconciled with it by treating Σόλωνα as equivalent to a date (after Solon's time, when he had gone), a somewhat violent expedient. But in Attic I have seen no exceptions.

The above are the regular timeless usages of the aorist. I know of no Attic instance which cannot be brought within the above limitations except συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, and συνελόντι. This may be a survival of an earlier more extensive usage; or it is just possible to take it temporally 'having summed up': or again it may be modelled on the regular instrumental συνελὼν λέγω. An Homeric instance of a somewhat isolated kind is K. 246 τούτου σπομενῶδι, where however the genitive absol. expresses the essential condition of what follows. But I know of no other 'timeless' gen. absol., however strongly causal. It is erroneous to suppose that the aor. implies any idea of *suddenness* in any of these usages: the instrumental aor. is sometimes so interpreted. Thus ἔπεσε μακῶν in κ 163 means simply 'fell with a cry' not 'with a sudden cry' or 'with a single cry.' γελάσας ἔφη has been translated 'burst out laughing and said,' but we cannot on this principle translate μειδιάσας ἔφη. The aor. simply avoids stating continuity or contemporaneousness and so is restricted to the instrumental sense. These usages are doubtless a survival of the earlier participle corresponding to the original aorist-present:

originally $\left. \begin{matrix} \beta αῖνω \\ \xi \beta αινον \end{matrix} \right\} : \beta αίνων :: \left. \begin{matrix} * \beta ῆμι \\ \xi \beta ην \end{matrix} \right\} : \beta ᾶς.$

φημί, φάσκω still has both presents and φᾶς is usually treated as an aor. part. As the aorist-present dropped out of use or when remaining in use was assimilated in meaning to the commoner continuous-present (as some philologists hold to be the case with short-vowel presents like ἄγω), the aorist part. was more and more regarded as the part. of the past tense and the original *timeless* sense only remained in certain stereotyped usages. This is the only possible solution of (1) the far wider Homeric use, (2) the apparently capricious uses which we find in Attic. And the principle of non-ambiguity, so important with regard to aor. inf. (being, in fact, the probable criterion in the cases dealt with by W. T. Lendrum in the *Class. Rev.* for March last), was operative here also in fixing the limits of the use.

FRANK CARTER.

IN the note of Prof. Campbell (*Classical Review* iv. 9, p. 425) on *γενόμενον* = *ὅς ὕστερον τούτων ἐγένετο* (Thuc. iv. 81), additional examples are cited from Herodotus only, and this use of the aorist participle is spoken of in terms which imply that there might be doubt concerning the genuineness of the examples; and Dr. Rutherford's note, referred to by Prof. Campbell, clearly implies that he even considers the example in Thuc. iv. 81 entirely anomalous. In Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* 152 the idiom is explicitly stated, but here too the only examples cited are two of the three from Herodotus mentioned by Prof. Campbell. In view of all this it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that the aorist participle is freely so employed in Attic prose, whenever occasion calls for it. Cf. Thuc. i. 3. 4 οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἑλλή-

νες κατὰ πόλεις τε ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ἐννέσαν καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν...ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν. Id. ii. 49. 2 λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενή, σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλὸν ὕστερον. Lys. xxx. 12 Σάτυρος καὶ Χρέμων, οἱ τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενοι, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὧν ὀργιζόμενοι Κλεοφῶντος κατηγοροῦν, κ.τ.έ. On this last Frohberger remarks: 'Der Zusatz von ὕστερον oder μετὰ ταῦτα scheint entbehrlich; die hervorragendste und allbekannte Eigenschaft des Chremon als Mitglieds des Dreisigercollegiums wird vom Standpunkt der Gegenwart aus zur Charakterisierung des Mannes hervorgehoben.' Other examples of the aorist and of the analogously used present (chiefly with *νῦν*) might be cited.

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CATULLIANA.

IX. 1.

Veranni, omnibus e meis amicis
Antistans mihi milibus trecentis,
Venistine domum ad tuos Penates
Fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?

Anumque Faernus, vulgo. But the MSS. *uno animo sanamque* or *suamque*. I think *anumque* is rude: *anus* in Latin was as uncomplimentary as 'old woman' in English; there is no *aurea*, or *pia*, or *dulcis* here to soften it down. At any rate a complimentary epithet balancing *unanimos* is more natural, and *bonamque* is in my opinion what Catullus wrote. *Bona* is the stock epithet of *mater* in Catullus. *b* is more than once corrupted into *u* in the MSS. of Catullus: *o* into *a*: hence, *s* preceding, *suonamque* changed to either *sanamque* or *suamque*.

X. 27.

'Mane me,' inquit puellae,
Istud quod modo dixeram, me habere,
Fugit me ratio: meus sodalis
Cinna est Gaius: is sibi paravit.'

It seems strange that this passage has not been used as an argument that Catullus's praenomen was *Gaius*. If it was, the joke of this passage is that Catullus excuses his

slip of memory by the fact that his friend Cinna had the same praenomen as himself. 'It's not Gaius *Catullus* I meant: it's Gaius *Cinna*.' Else why the emphatic position of *Cinna*? Why is the praenomen separated from it? Why given at all?

LIX.

Bononiensis Rufa rufum fellat
Uxor Meneni, saepe quam in sepulcretis
Vidistis ipso rapere de rogo cenam,
Cum devolutum ex igne prosequens panem
Ab semiraso tunderetur ustore.

Rufulum or *rufulum* is generally read for *rufum*, and *Bononiensis* is taken as nominative. It is in my judgment certainly accusative (cf. 58, 5). We should therefore read *rufuli*, which is nearer *rufum* than *rufulum* is. *l* is often undistinguishable from *i*, and from one of the strokes of an *m*, *n*, or *u*.

LXVIII. 101.

Ad quam tum properans fertur *simul* undique pubes
Graeca penetrales deseruisse focos,
Ne Paris abducta gavisus libera moecha
Otia pacato degeret in thalamo.

Simul is not in the MSS. It is difficult to see how it could have dropped out, and it

is difficult to see what other word to substitute for it, keeping *undique*. I daresay the verse may have run :

Ad quam tum properans fertur *vi vindice*
pubes
Graeca, &c.

vi vindice properans : 'hastening with powers to the rescue.' Cf. Ov. *Her.* viii. 7 of Hermione '*abducta*' : *non sum sine vindice*, and *Her.* ix. 14 *vindicibus viribus*. *Vi* would naturally fall out before *vindice*, and *vindice*, near as it is to *undique*, might have readily passed into the latter word when the absence of *vi* deprived *vindice* of construction.

LXXXIII.

Lesbia mi praesente viro mala plurima dicit :
Hoc illi fatuo maxima laetitia est.
Mule nihil sentis : si nostri oblita taceret,
Sana esset : nunc quod gannit et obloquitur
Non solum meminit, sed quae multo acrior
est res
Irata est : hoc est, uritur et loquitur.

For *sana* the MSS. have *sanna* or *samia* ; and this is another case of *l* disappearing : for the corruption points to *salua* rather than *sana*, and there is something to be gained by the change : for *salva* is 'safe,' 'heart-whole' from the husband's point of view. Cf. Propertius's *Penelope poterat bis denos salva per annos Vivere*.

For the last line I propose : | Irata est : hoc aestu uritur et coquitur. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 564 : varioque *irarum fluctuat aestu*. 4. 532 : magnoque *irarum fluctuat aestu*. Ovid, *Art. Amat.* 3. 543 : validoque *perurimur aestu*. *Met.* 7. 817 : relevare velis quibus *urimur, aestus*. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 798 : mens *exaestuatur ira*. Ovid, *Met.* 6. 623 : tacitaque *exaestuatur ira*. The elision is defended by 77. 4 and other passages. If *aestu* is right, *coquitur* of Dousa and others is probably right also : cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 345 : *Femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant*.

LXXXIV. 5.

This may contain a similar loss of *l*.

Credo, sic mater, sic liber avunculus ejus
Sic maternus avus dixerat atque avia.

Liber may perhaps be a corruption of *Uंबर* (*über, uber, liber*). This suggestion, I now see, has been made by Schmidt.

CXVI.

Saepe tibi studioso animo *verba ante* requirens,

Carmina uti possem *uertere* Battiadae,
Qui te lenirem nobis neu conarere

Tela infesta *mihi* mittere in usque caput,
Hunc video mihi nunc frustra sumptum esse laborem,

Gelli, nec nostras hic valuisse preces.
Caetra nos tela ista tua evitabimus *apta* :

At fixus nostris tu dabis supplicium.

1. *uenante* V. *uerba ante* scripsi. *uerba* is very commonly corrupted into *uera*, and *uera ante* might easily pass into *uenante*. I formerly conjectured *uernacula* : it seems to me imperative that *requirens* should have an accusative after it. I can find no instance of *requirere ut*. 2. *mittere* V. *uertere* scripsi. What was to hinder Catullus from *sending* the poems of Callimachus to his friend ? It is evident he was seeking for words to *translate* them. *Mittere* occurs in this place of the verse two lines below : hence it was introduced here. 4. *telis infesta mitteremusque* V. 5. *hinc* V. 7. *Contra* V. *Caetra* scripsi. Is *contra* adverb, or preposition ? If the former, it is absolute nonsense. There is no antithesis to the preceding. If a preposition, we should have to read something like *acta* at the end of the verse : but would such a large development of the idea be tolerable ? 'those darts of yours driven against us' ! and then the bare statement *evitabimus*. How ? I suggest *caetra* : 'I shall parry those darts of yours with a light shield.' 7. *evitabimus* V, wrongly changed to *evitamur* by many. The corruption is in the next word : *amitha* O, *amicta* G. *apta* 'handy,' 'light,' may possibly be right : but it is very uncertain. Compare Tac. *Agr.* 36, where it is stated that the Britons avoided (*vitabant*) the darts of the Romans with *caetrae*.

Some of the following suggestions may possibly be right : 31, 13 : *vos quoque uidae lacus undae*. 62, 29 : *quae pepigere ipsi*. 66, 59 : *diues ibi*. 68, 168 : *si nobis is datur usu* (dative). 99, 11 : *infesto tradere mori*.

A. PALMER.

NOTES ON FESTUS AND NONIUS.

Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, l. 1, s.v. *Axitiosi* (I quote from De Ponor's recent edition and refer to his numbering of pages): unde 'axites' mulieres sive viri dicebantur una agentes. The MSS. have *dii* instead of *virii* in this line, and five lines below, s.v. *Axamenta*: quae a *Salutis* sacerdotibus canebantur in universos homines† composita. Nam, in deos singulos versus ficti a nominibus eorum appellabantur, ut *Ianuli*, *Iunonii*, *Minervii*, they have *homines* where we should expect *deos*. These two corruptions evidently go together. The easiest way to explain them is to suppose that the true reading is in l. 1 sive *homines dicebantur*, and in line 6 in *universos deos composita*. In the MS. of Festus used by Paulus, which we know to have been very like the Naples MS. of Festus, the words *homines* and *deos* were probably in these lines expressed by contractions, just as we have the word *meminit* expressed by the contraction *m.* in the Naples MS. (e.g. pp. 324, 346 of de Ponor's edition). The full forms had been subsequently added in the margin, and these marginal expansions were inserted by a copyist in the text but at their wrong places. It may be objected that *homines* is not the word to be used in antithesis with *mulieres*. But no such antithesis is intended. All that is stated is that the word *axites* had been used in early literature in two ways, (1) of importunate women, (2) of persons, men or women, who had formed a league or conspiracy. To the passages quoted by Prof. Nettleship in connection with the word in his *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, p. 391, add the gloss from the *Glossae Nominum*, p. 566 G. *anxicia* (al. *anxitia*): *meretricia*.

Paul. p. 4, l. 7.—*Ambegni*. This word appears in a slightly different form in Varro *L.L.* 7, 31: *ambiegna bos apud augures quam circum aliae hostiae constituntur*, and in Glossaries (Löwe *Prodromus*, p. 377): *ambignae oves: ex utraque parte agnos habentes*. If the word comes, as it seems to do, from *ambi* and *agnus*, the likely form is *ambegnus*, and not, as Georges makes it, *ambiegnus*, for *ambi* loses its vowel in composition before a vowel (e.g. *ambages*), and short *a* is weakened to *e* in close syllables in compounds (*conscendo*, *ocento*, *peregre*).

ib. l. 27. *Aliuta antiqui dicebant pro aliter*.—This is a formation from *alius* on the analogy of *ita* from *is*. Georges should not mark the *u* long.

Paul. p. 5, l. 31. *Altellus Romulus dicebatur, quasi altus in tellure, . . sive quod*

aleretur telis.—A simpler explanation is that the word means 'the little nursling,' and alludes to the story of the Wolf and the Twins.

Paul. p. 6, l. 22. *Azare nominare*.—The Philoxenus Glossary has *anaxant* ὀνομαζόντων. The word in Paulus' epitome stands among a group of glosses beginning with the letters *ant-* (*antigerio*, *antehac*, *anteurbana*, *antarium*, *antipagmenta*, *antefixa*). Perhaps the true form in the Philoxenus Glossary, and the word discussed in the original work of Verrius, was *antaxant*, derived by Verrius from *ante* and *azare* (cf. *axamenta*). It is a question whether the Philoxenus gloss did not originally read *προονομαζόντων*, and was changed by a copyist who mistook *προ-* for the Latin *pro*.

Paul. p. 7, l. 19. *Acupediū dicebatur, cui praecipuum erat in currendo acumen pedum*. The Philoxenus Glossary has *aquipedium*: ὄξυποδια, the Cyrillus Glossary ὄξυποδια *acupedium*, while the MSS. reading in the Glossary of Placidus is *acupedium velocitate pedum agmine*. All these seem to refer to the same ἀραξ λεγόμενον in some ancient writer. The last should read: *acupedium a velocitate pedum agmine* (? *acumine*): and the original gloss of Verrius was probably of some similar form. In writing the gloss Paulus mistook the Nom. Sing. Neut. *acupedium* for an Acc. Sing. Masc., and placed at the head of the sentence the imaginary *acupediū*. Similarly on p. 171, l. 4 we have *naucus* (Nom. Masc.) of Paulus where Festus (p. 170, l. 6) has *naucum* (Acc. Neut.).

Paul. p. 39, l. 2. *Cloelia familia a Clonio†, Aeneae comite, est appellata*. Read *a Clodio*. The oldest form of *Cloelius* was **Clovilios*, as that of *Julius* was **Jovilios*. We find *Cloulion* *C.I.L.* I. 1297 *Protogenes Cloul [ei] Suavei heicei situt mimus*. Another form of *Cloelia* is *Cluilia*, and the Greek transcription is Κλουλία. The name of which it is a derivative occurs as *Cluvius*, and I suspect that the name originally meant 'famous,' 'glorious,' cf. the gloss *cluvior: nobilior*.

Paul. p. 50, l. 12. *Diū antiqui ex Graeco appellabant ut a deo ortum et diurnum sub caelo lumen, ἀπὸ τοῦ Διός*. A comparison with p. 52, l. 30 *Diū quod sub caelo est extra tectum ab Iove dicebatur . . et Dius heroum aliquis ab Iove genus ducens* makes one inclined to substitute *et* for *ut*, so that *dius* would be stated to mean (1) sprung from Jupiter, (2) the open air. The correction however cannot be said to be necessitative (cf. p. 53, l. 17, s.v. *Diū fulgur*).

Paul. p. 83, l. 20. *Lixabundus iter libere ac prolixè faciens*.—This is a difficult word to explain. Other Glossaries (see Löwe *Prodr.* p. 275) have *luxabundus*: *voluptuosus*. It seems natural with Löwe to connect the two words, and yet it is unlikely that the *i* of *lixabundus*, *prolixus*, *liquor*, O. Ir. *flúich*, could interchange with the *u* of *luxabundus*, *luxus*, λυγίζω. The late Greek λειζουρία = *luxuria*, quoted by Ducange may take its *ei* from λείχω, λίχνος. It is on the whole safest to suppose either that there were two words *lixabundus* and *luxabundus*, or that some Grammarians proposed to spell *luxabundus* with an *i* to suit their theory that the word was connected with *prolixus*.

Paul. p. 87, l. 25. *Melioseme meliorem dicebant*.—The MSS. have *Meltom*. The corruption is easily explained if we suppose Festus' gloss to have begun with the word *Melios*, which in the MS. used by Paulus was wrongly written *Meltos*. Paulus rewrote the gloss, putting the word in the Acc. Case, which he made *Meltom*.

Paul. p. 88, l. 7, s.v. *Minorem Delum*: *Unde Lucilius: 'Inde Dicarchitum populos Delumque minorem.'* For *Dicarchitum* of the MSS. read, not *Dicarchitum*, but *Dicearchitum*, the letter *e* standing for the Greek αι of Δικαιαρχιτών, and making one syllable with the following *a*.

Paul. p. 280, l. 22. *Praecia dicebant, qui a flaminibus praemittebantur, ut denuntiarent opificibus, manus abstinerent ab opere*. In 'Part II.' of this book we have a corresponding gloss of Festus (p. 324, l. 20), *Praeciamitatores dicuntur qui Flaminibus Diali, Quirinali, Martiali antecedent† exclamant fere his† publicis, ut homines abstineant se opere*. The word can hardly be anything else than *praeclamatitatores*, from *prae* and the frequentative of *clamo*. If this be so we must suppose the *l* to have been miswritten *i* in the archetype of the Naples MS. of Festus and of the copy used by Paulus both in 'Part I.' and in 'Part II.' In 'Part II.' Paulus faithfully reproduces the reading of his copy, *praeclamatitatores* (p. 325, l. 7). In 'Part I.', thinking *-mitatores* to be a gloss, he suppresses it and writes *praecia*.

Fest. p. 356, l. 3. *Rupitias† XII. significat damnum dederit* (Müller's edition has *Rupitias in XII.*). Paulus in his careless fashion replaces the Acc. Pl. by a Nom. Sing. *Rupitia damnum dederit significat*. The phrase used in the XII. Tables may have been an Acc. Pl. of an *-ia* Stem with *ire* (like *infittias ire*, *suppetias ire*), perhaps *rupitias issit* or *rupias it*.

Nonius p. 9 (I quote L. Müller's text

and Mercier's numbering of the pages).—*Mutus onomapoeia est incertae vocis quasi mugitus, nam mu* (MSS. *mutus*) *sonus est proprie, qui intellectum non habet*. For *nam mutus* of the MSS. read *nam muttus*, a loan-word according to Prof. L. Havet from the Greek (*muttus* = μῦθος). Its Acc. Case is found in the Scholia to Persius i. 119, *me muttire nefas*] *proverbialiter dicitur. dicimus 'muttum nullum' id est nullum emiseric verbum*, and in the Philoxenus Glossary, *muttum*: γρῦ. The word appears also in Romance, e.g. French *mot*, a form which indicates a Latin original *muttus* and not *mūtus*: but I have not been able to find the authority for Lewis and Short's quotation: '*non audet dicere muttum*: Lucil.'

Non. p. 48, s.v. *Parocos*: *Varro Sesquialixae: hic enim omnia erat idem sacerdos praetor parocos denique idem senatus idem populus caput* (so the MSS.).

Populus means the *comitia* as opposed to the *senatus*, the ἐκκλησία as opposed to the βουλή. The last word *caput* was properly removed from the text by Mr. Onions (*Journal of Philology* XVI. 168). He points out that in the Florence MS. it is written with a capital, so as to look like a later addition, and he considers it a marginal gloss on the word *proboscis* in the next lemma but one. It is more likely that it was the indication of a new paragraph, and that a parallel corruption is to be found on p. 67, s.v. *Parentactoe*: *Varro de compositione Saturarum: parentactoe adsunt mulierque mulier Venus caput*, where, as on p. 48, the word *caput* is the word immediately preceding the new lemma. (Is *mulier Venus* in the second passage a gloss?)

Non. p. 62, s.v. *Lixarum*: *lixam namque aquam veteres vocaverunt; unde 'elixum' dicimus aqua coctum. lixa etiam cinis dicitur vel umor cineri mixtus; nam etiamnunc id genus lexivum vocatur*.—The words *lixetiam* have become *lix etiam* in the MSS.; and on the strength of the MS. corruption in this passage, and of a misprint of Quicherat's in p. 48, s.v. *elixum*: *nam 'lixam'* (Quicherat *lixem*) *aquam veteres dixerunt*, the 'ghost word' *lix* has found its way into Latin Dictionaries. *Lixa* is however the right reading in both passages, as Mr. Onions pointed out in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. XI. p. 83, 85, and has two meanings (1) water, (2) lye. The *i* in *lixa*, *elixus* is short, as we see from the Romance words, e.g. Italian *lesso*, boiled meat, *lessare*, to boil, and from the late Latin form in the MSS. of the passage on p. 62. The word comes from the root VLIQU, Lat. *liquor*, *liquor*,

liquo, Old Irish *liuch*, Old Welsh *gulip*, wet. (See Wharton, *Etyma Latina*, p. 54, s.v. *liquo*.)

Non. p. 139, s.v. *Minitabiliter*.—In the quotation from the *Aeneadae* of Accius:

calleti† vocē canora

fremitū peragrant minitābiliter,

where L. Müller reads *Gallei*, the true reading is clearly Ribbeck's *Caleti*, the name of a Gaulish tribe. The word makes an anapaest, being derived from the Gaulish *calet-*, Welsh *caled*, O. Ir. *calath*, 'hard,' and means literally 'the hardy warriors.' Both *Caleti* and *Caletes* are quoted by Georges, but are wrongly marked with long *e*.

Non. p. 151, s.v. *Portisculus*: Ennius *Annalium* lib. VII.: *tusante tenentes* (so the MSS.).—Read, not *tosam ante tenentes*, as has been proposed, but *tusam ante tenentes*. Ennius used the form *frus* for *frons*, according to Charisius, p. 130 K, and Ausonius *Technopaegn.* 159, and why not *tusa* for *tonsa*?

Non. p. 427, s.v. *Priores et Primores*: *Turpilius* *Demetrio*: *sandālio inimica digitulis pri-*

mōribus (MSS. apparently *digitis*). *Varro* *Armorum iudicio*: *ut in litore cancri digitulis primoribus stare* (MSS. apparently *digitibus*).—The four syllabled form *digitibus* is required by the metre for the line of *Turpilius*, but the ordinary form *digitis* will suit the prose passage of *Varro*. It is much simpler to suppose that the MSS. have transposed the two words than that the same form *digitulis* was corrupted into *digitis* in one line and *digitibus* in the next.

Non. p. 518, s.v. *Derepente*: *Ennius* *Phoenix*: *ibi tum derepente ex alto in salsum despectū mare*.—The MSS. have in *altum*. If any change is needed we should rather read *saltum*, the old form of *salsum*. With regard to these older Perf. Pass. Participles in *-tus*, the fact that the form *fartus* is the origin of the Spanish (*harto*, crammed), Portuguese, and Catalanian, *farsus* of the Provencal, French, and Italian words (Ital. *farsetto*, a stuffed doublet), would indicate 200-120 B.C. as the date when the younger forms supplanted the older in ordinary Latin.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ON THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

MR. Cross's note on the above subject demands notice. He infers from the agreement of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* with *Justin*, in the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse in adopting the word *ἐξεκέντησαν* in a quotation from *Zechariah* that the common source was an older translation. The argument has really no weight whatever.

First as to *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, their agreement in this as in a thousand other instances is due to the simple fact that the two latter adopted *Aquila's* rendering. It would be just as reasonable to explain the agreement of *Coverdale*, the *Genevan* and the *Authorized Version* in a particular rendering by supposing that they all borrowed from an earlier source.

Next the fact that the same reading is found in several MSS. of the Septuagint does not afford the smallest presumption that it was derived from any source earlier than *Aquila*. Every student of the Septuagint knows that the chief cause of the difficulty of ascertaining the genuine text is the fact that the renderings of other translators, especially those above named, have been introduced into the text sometimes in place of the genuine reading, very often in addition to it. The last is a comparatively

simple case. *Lagarde* lays down the sound principle that where one of two renderings agrees with the Massoretic text and the other does not, the latter is to be regarded as the original LXX. Even more axiomatic is the rule that where one of two alternative readings is known to be *Aquila's* or *Theodotion's*, this is not the genuine LXX. reading. Both these rules are applicable to the present case and there is no room for any question as to *ἀνθ' ὃν κατωρχήσαντο* being the genuine LXX. Dr. Hatch's suggestion that the Jews substituted this reading for the original *ἐξεκέντησαν*, thus departing from the Massoretic text, is utterly preposterous.

And this would be true even were Dr. Hatch's facts correct, but they are not. Amongst the MSS. cited he specifies two as 'of authority,' viz. 26 and 86. Now 26 has both readings in the text: therefore, even if we had no other witness, we should be justified in concluding (by *Lagarde's* rule) that *ἀνθ' ὃν κατωρχήσαντο* was the genuine LXX. rendering. Several of the other authorities cited have also both readings, notably the Aldine text. Mr. Cross has very naturally adopted Dr. Hatch's statement, but how Dr. Hatch himself came to quote his authorities so incorrectly I do not venture to conjecture. As to 86, this is indeed a valuable MS.,

valuable because it gives so many of the renderings of the Hexaplar translators, sometimes even arranged in columns as in the Hexapla itself. In the present case it actually asserts that the reading of the LXX. is *ἀνθ' ὧν κατορχήσαντο* and proceeds to give Theodotion's rendering. I quote its note from Montfaucon. *ἀνθ' ὧν κατορχήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ο'. ὁ δὲ Θεοδοτίων ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἐπιβλέφονται πρὸς με ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν. ἔσημειωσάμεθα δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ τινων οἱ ἀπόστολοι τὸ Ἑβραϊ-*

κὸν καὶ οὐ τὸ ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τεθείκασιν. But it may be asked, How then is the agreement of the Hexaplar translators with the Fourth Gospel accounted for? There is really no difficulty. The Hebrew word was rendered *ἐκκεντέω* by the LXX. in several other places, and there was no more natural or obvious rendering. As far as this passage is concerned then there is no indication of the existence of another recension of the LXX. earlier than Aquila. T. K. ABBOTT.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS *DE NATURA DEORUM*.

LIB. II.

§ 1, 1 Q*uecum *A* || 2 sum *M* || 3 indesertum *A*¹ indissertum *B* || 5 nec *om.* *B*¹ || 7 lucidium *C*¹ || § 2, 8 malem *A*¹ || 25 alouentia *B*¹ || 10 uadam (?) *A*¹ || 11 et acad. *F* || 12 aueo] *C*² abeo *AB*¹*F*¹ habeo *B*²*C*¹*F*²*M* || Cotta] contra *FM* || 13 sententias *A*¹ || es] est *A*¹ || in initio, in *spscr.* *C* (inicio *B*¹) || facilis *M*¹ || 14 quod non *A*¹ || § 3, 15 *post. quod*] quot *supra lin.* *B*¹ *corr.* 2 || 16 tum multa *C* tanta multa *F* || 17 breuissime *AC* -ssimae *M* || conuinetis *C*¹ || 19 istam *om.* *B*¹ || quaesonem *A* (question. *C*¹*M*) || partes *ACM* parteis *BF* || 20 ab his *Z* || 21 eos] esse *B*¹ || 22 propiora *B*¹ || 23 esse* *C* || minimo *B*¹ || 24 his *Z* || de *om.* *M*¹ || 25 anteponenda *AC* (-nde *B*¹) || § 4, 26 ne [gere quidam *B*¹ || orationem *C*¹ || 1 nomen *B*¹ || praestantissima *BF*¹ || quo] quod *C*¹ || quot nuta *B*¹ || 3 sublime *Z* || cadens *C* || inuocat *B*¹ || nutu] motu *Z* || ut idem, *t i in ras.* 2, *A* || 7 *ac *A* || haud] aut *B*¹ || 8 non *om.* *C* || nulus *A*¹ || *post. sit om.* *M*¹ || § 5, 9 quid enim *Z* || 11 duiturnitates *ut vid.* *B*¹ || tempo | poris *M* || caelis (?) *B*¹ (seal. *C*) || aetateque *C*¹ (etatibusque *A*¹ aetatibusque *B*¹ -que *corr.* *A*²*B*²) || inueterare *Z* || 12 ptuisset *B*¹ || ceteros *A*¹ (caeteras *C*) || 13 ippocentaurum *B* hippocentarum *C*¹ || chimeram *Z* || 15 condam *B*¹*C* qundam *F*¹ || portentam *C*¹ || opinionis] *C* opinione *AB*¹ opinionum *B*²*M*² et, *corr. ead. m. ex em.* *F* opinionem *M*¹ || ex*istunt (st aut si *eras.*) *A* existunt *BCFM* || 18 maiores *C* || § 6, 18 ne casu *AM* || sed et quod et *C*¹ || praesentes] *A* praesentiam *B* (sed iam in *ras.* 2) *CFM* || 19 sepe dii uim suam, praeter am in *ras.* 3, *A* saepe (sepe *M*) diui suam *BCFM* || ut et] ut est *C* ut *M* || 20 cum *A.*] cuna *A* cum *a* *B*¹*C*¹ || cum *B*²*C*²*FM* || mamillio *Z* || 21 nostra, no in *ras.* 2, *A* nostro *B*¹ || et equis *C* || 22 cyndaride *A*¹ tyndaride *BF*¹ tyrannide *M*¹ || publius *AB*²*F*¹ pupilius *B*¹ publius *CF*²*M* || 23 uatienus (uac. *B*¹) *Z* || 24 albis *corr.* 2 *ex abh** ut *vid.* *A* || 25 perse *ABF*¹ persae *F*²*M* persen *C* || captum ipseque senatui *M*² || nuntiauit et] nuntia-

uisset *A* nunciauisset *B* (*corr. 1 ex -ent*) et *FM* nuntiasset *C* || 26 coniectus, ec in *ras.* 2, *A* || a (*ante Paulo*) *om.* *A*¹ || 27 a (*ante sen.*) *om.* *B*¹ || 28 crotoniatas *A*¹ || locri** *A* || 29 deuciscent *A*¹ || ipse *B*¹ || die *bis scr. sed ead. m. corr.* *A* || 30 olypie *A* olympie *B*¹ olimpie *CM* || 1 aut non *Z* || bebetem *A*¹ habetem *B*¹ || 2 praesentos *A*¹ *corr.* 3 (pres. *B*) || § 7, 2 predictiones *B*¹ (prediction. *AM*) || 3 ea] ea que (quae *B*²*F*) sint *ABF* ea quae || quae sint *C* ea quae sunt *M* || ostendi, di in *ras.* 2, *A* || 4 ostenda *A*¹*B*¹ || 5 ea] ae *A*¹ || licentiam *M*¹ (licencia *A*) || mopsum—hele- num quos *hic omissa post* paruissent (*v. 18*) *interposuit B*¹; *illic deleta recto loco in marg. suppl.* *B*² || 6 tyresiam *B*¹ thyr. *B*²*F* || amfraum *AB*²*F* amphilaraum *B*¹ amfiar. *C* || chalchantem *B*¹ || auiores *A*¹ augures, *sed g corr.* 2, *B* || 7 adci- suissent *A*¹ || repudiarent *Z* || 8 doctiin (-im ?) numen *C* || conprobauimus *A* comprobabimus *B*¹*C* comprobauimus *B*²*FM* || 9 claudii] *B*² claudi *B*¹*FM* clodi *A* dodi *C* || temer., t *corr.* 2, *A* || 10 inridetis *M* (irridens *C*) || 11 nolent *A* || 12 multis *C*¹ || p. r. *Z*, *sed in B r superscr.* 2 || qui *vel* quit (?) *A*¹ quo *A*² || 13 colleius *B*¹ || ea o dem *A*¹ || cum] cu *F* || 14 clodius *A* dodius *C* || comdemn. *A* (condempn. *M*) || unius *B*¹ || 15 conciuut *A* consciuit, *sed sciuit in ras.* 2, *B* || § 8, 15 flaminum *C* || coelius *Z* || regionem e- glecta *A*¹ religiones (s *eras.*) neglecta (*g corr. ex c et lecta in ras.* 2) *B* || 16 transumen *Z* || magnorum *B*¹ || 18 relionibus *A*¹ || paruissent mopsum *etc.* *B*¹, *vd. ad 7, 5* || 19 etiam *om.* *M*¹ || relione *A*¹ (*corr.* 3) *C* (*corr.* 1) || 20 id est] idem *C* || dorum *A*¹ || superiore san *B*¹ || § 9, 20 an*atti (n ?) *A* || nauu *F*¹*M*¹ nauui *B*, *sed ii in ras.* 2 || litu*us (i ?) *B* || 21 suam *B*¹ sue *F*¹ suae *M* || reliones *A*¹ religiones *A*²*BCFM* || contempendus *A* (*sed pnen in ras.* 2) et *M* || 22 ni eius *C* || 23 auspitorum, *pr. u spscr. et piti corr.* 2, *A* auspiorum *M*¹ || 24 retenda *A* || (maxime *ABCF*¹*M*¹) || 25 in is *A* || bellis *F*²*M* || nullis auscipiis *A* nullus auspicius *B*¹ || 26 ad- ministrantur, d *ex t corr. et tur in ras.* 2, *A*

§ 9. || perennia *Z* (nulla p. seruantur *supra lin. m.*
I C) || acumibus *A*¹ || 27 nulli uiri, *om.* cum, *Z* ||
 procintu *A*¹ || 28 gerere, re *spscr.*, *C* || lucas *A*¹
 || autpicia *A*¹ || § 10, 29 uero apud uero mai. *B*¹
 || tantem *B*¹ tantam *B*² tantim *F*¹ || fuerit *C* || 30
 mortalibus *A* (immort. *C F*) || 31 r.p. *Z sed p.*
om. *B*¹ || exhibullinis *A*¹ exsibill. *A*³ *M* exhibillinis
*B*¹ exsibyllinis *B*² exsybylinis *B*³ *F*¹ exsybillinis
C exsybyllinis *F*² || 32 responsis, is *inras. trium*
litt. 2, *A* || commemorare possum *om.* *A*¹ || 2
 etruscorum *A*¹ *B*¹ etruscorum et *A*² *B*² *C F* (et
 nostr. et etr. augurum et arusp. *M*) || haurusp.
A aur. *C* arusp. *FM* || disciplina *C* || figulos (?)
*C*¹ || consulibus *inras. min.* *A*³ quos *B*¹ cōs.
*B*² *CFM* || 3 conti* *A* cum ty *BFM* cum ti *C*
 || consul] quos *AC* cos *B*¹ cōs *B*² *FM* || crearet]
*B*¹ recrearet *AB*² *CFM* || 4 retulit *Z it. c* || mortu-
 tus, *sed alt.* u *spscr.*, *B* || 5 nihil ominus *BF*
 (nihil ominus *A*) || relienem *A*¹ || 6 senatum]
 senatus *B*¹ || quos *om.* *M*¹ || 7 haruspices ****
 introducti *A*¹ ad haruspices qui introducti *A*³
 (haur. *C* arusp. *M*) || co*mitiorum (m?) *A* || § 11,
 s tunc *C* || ut epa] patre *A*¹ || 9 iustus, stu *in*
ras. 2, *B* || 10 ac] hac *C*¹ || 12 colleium *B*¹ colle-
 gam *M*² || 13 uisio *BF* || psipionis *C* || 14 poma-
 rum *A*¹ || 15 trantsiret *A* transisset *C* || consules]
 quos *AC* cos *B*¹ *F* cōs *B*² *M* || 16 abdicauerunt,
 ue *spscr.* 1, *B* || 17 maiora exempla *M* || autque
*B*¹ || 18 posset *corr.* 2 *ex* possem ? *A* posse *BF* ||
 19 here *A*¹ (herere *B*¹ *F*) || in *corr.* 2 *ex* m *C* ||
 reip. *BF* (r.p. *ACM*) || religionum *A*¹ reli-
 gione *C* || sumum *A*¹ || 20 pugtum *A*¹ || 21 le-
 gionem *A*¹ || § 12, 21 autoritas *A*¹ || ausru-
 spicum *A*¹ haurusp. *A*² *C* artisp. *B* a*rusp. *F* ||
 22 et *om.* *Z* || cogatur, co *inras.* 2, *A* || 23 con-
 fideri *A*¹ || 24 interpretaesunt *A*¹ (interpretaes

sunt *A*² *BCF*) || 25 omnium (?) *A*¹ || ueniunt *C*
 || 26 idcirca (?) *B*¹ iccirco *C* || medicina *Z* || 27 ad-
 his *B*¹ a diis *B*² *FM*² || erauerunt *A*¹ || 28 omnes
M || 29 suma *A*¹ *om.F* || 30 inscupum *A*¹ in-
 cultum *B*¹ inscultum *M*¹ || § 13, 31 cleantes
inras. *B*² clean | *M* (claeantes *A*) || disit *A*¹ || 32
 formatas *B*² *F* (formatam...notionem *K*) ||
 primo *FK* || 1 coepirimus *A*¹ coeper. *A*² *M* cae-
 per. *C* || 2 fecunditatem *A*¹ foecunditate *M* ||
 § 14, 3 terreret] *AM* terret *BCFK* || 4 niuis *C*¹
 || uastitate, *sec.* t *corr.* 2 *ex* c ? , *A* uest. *B*¹ ||
 pestilentie *A* pestilaentia *B*¹ -ae *B*² pestilen-
 tia *FMK* || 5 lapidesque *B*¹ *K* lapidisque *F*¹ ||
 6 labibus] lapidibus *ZK* || naturas ut *vid.* *A*¹
 || 7 pecudum, *pr.* u *inras.* 3, *A* || facibus, us *in*
ras. 3, *A* || uisus *B*¹ || his *ACMK* is**** *B* is
*F*¹ || s commetas *BF* || cincinnitas *A*¹ || octa-
 uiano, no *inras.* *ampl.* 2, *B* || 9 fuerit *A*¹ || prae-
 nuntio *A*¹ -ie *A*² || 10 pratre *A*¹ || audiui tudi-
 tano et aquilino cōs *inras.* *B*² || tutitano
*A*¹ rudit. *M*¹ || aquilino *B*² *FM* || cos *A* cōs
*B*² *CFM* || 11 affricanus *M* || extinctus *A*¹ *ex-
 tinctus *ex corr.* 2 *B* (*B*¹ fort. alterret tinctus)
 || exterriti homines, ti *spscr.* et h *inras.* 2, *A*
 exstricti hom. *M*¹ || 12 uin *C* || quamdam *A* ||
 § 15, 13 aequibil. *A* (equab. *M*¹) || motus con-
 uersionem *ZK*, *sed* motus *om.* *M*¹ || 15 distin-
 cionem *A* || uarietatem] utilitatem *ZK* || 15
 causa] cau *A*¹ *corr.* *A*³ || 19 pareator *A*¹ || magis
 multo *M*¹ || intransis (?) *B*¹ || t*antisque, que
inras. *ampl.* 2, *A*. || 20 uicissitudinibus, *sec.* s
inras. 2, *A*. Quae hoc verbum sequuntur
in codicibus varie transposita sunt (nulla
omnino erroris significatione addita), ut haec
tabula demonstrat :

<i>F</i> (<i>K</i>) et <i>B</i> ² e <i>corr.</i> post.*	<i>B</i> ¹	<i>AC</i>	<i>PV</i>	<i>M</i>
—15, 20 uicissitudinibus	—15, 22 motus gubernari	—16, 29 dixeris quam deum	} <i>desunt</i>	—16, 29
		156, s-9 largitate fundit—gignere uidetur		156, s-9
86, 18 ex sese perfectiores cum maxima	—156, s quae	86, 18 —156, s	(<i>princ. desunt</i>) —156, s	86, 18 —156, s
15, 20 tam multarum rerum ferant aliquid	—86, 18 ec-	16, 30 etenim si di aliqu. (<i>sed finis deest in P</i>)		15, 20 —86, 18
156, s largitate fundit sqq.		156, s sqq. (<i>sed deest principium in P</i>)		156, s sqq.

* *B*² primum 15, 22-16, 29 et, post vacuum spatium relictum, 156, s-9 in inferiore margine supplēvit (=AC), postea autem his omnibus erasis etiam 15, 20-22 tam multarum—gubernari delevit, quae *B*¹ duobis locis scripserat. *Dupla praeterea exstant* 15, 20—16, 29 in *M* et 156, s-9 in *ACM*. 15, 20 tam multarum—ordinibus *inras. minore scr.* *A*².

15. §15, 20 ordinationibus BI^1 || 21 uetusta C^1 || mentita sit] *ad haec in B ut vid. m. 1 adnotatum transmutauit* || § 16, 23 acerimo B^1 corr. 3 || 25 ius C^1 || 26 illud, d in ras. ampl. 2 (m?) A illum B^1MI || 28 id quo ABC^2FMI^2 et MIT id quod C^1MI^1 || 30 Etenim] *Incipiunt PV:*

$Z = ABCFMPV$.

30 si B^2 in ras. trium litt. || 31 quia F^1 || 32 hominum A^1 || 33 arrogantiae (-ie AC^2) est AB^2C^2FMPV arroganti esse C^1 || melius est est APV^1 || igitu A^1 || profecta (?) A^1 || § 17, 24 domum] domum vel dominum B^1 || 1 ergo] uero P || 3 terram P || potes V^1 || 4 supra CV^1 || 5 infirmam B^1 infirmam, sec. i corr. 2, C infirmam F^1 || crassimus B^1 || aer circumfundat M || 6 causam ipsam M || s plenior, i *spscr.*, B splendorem M^1 || 9 terram C^1 || crassimam regionem B^1 || sunt A^1B^1 || § 18, 13 solitudinem C^1 || 14 spiralem B^1 || habemus P || appareat AB^1CPV^1 || 15 a terra — igni aliud om. B^1 || igne P || 16 aëre eo] aereo C || spiritum dicimus Z || 18 an aeterra C (caetera M) || 19 habebat C || hoc || *unum A || plurimum Z || autqui C^1 || 20 est melius est mundus C^1 || 21 pluchrius P || negotiari A^1P necotari B^1 nec cogitari A^3B^2CF (sed nec *spscr.* F^1) et, praeter n in ras. 3, V nec cogitare M || § 19, 24 conspirans, post. s in ras. 2, A || contimiata F^1 || cognitio V^3 || cogat A (sed at in ras. 3) et B^1 || 25 possetne, post. e corr. 2, B possene P || 26 terram V^1 || 27 solstitio V^1 corr. 3 (solsticiis M) || cognoscimus C || fretrorumque V || 28 angustieorum aut B^1 || conuersatione F || 30 continentibus C || § 20, 33 angustii quem B^1 || 34 repraehendum A repraehend. BCF reprend. MPV || profluus $Vrec.$ || 36 repreneuris $ACPV^1$ repraehensoris BFM^2V^2 repraehensionis M^1 || uitia (-cia B^1) Z || angustie B^1 || 37 conclusa C (-se B^1) || § 21, 1 *id melius A in id mel. V^1 || quam quod M || 4 nec] non V^1 corr. 3 || 5 efficitur] C efficitur $ABFMPV$ || mundum esse M || § 22, 6 nullius, i *spscr.*, A || sentiens, ens corr. 2, C || 8 angustii A^2 || est] sit V^1 10 animantes B^2CFM || 11 composites] compositesque P || 12 modululate A^1 modulatae (fuit il; mo in ras. 2) B (modulatae M) || 13 dupitares P || tibicini Z || 15 platanis (is add. 3) *ines se (fuit sines se) A || musica C musicam corr 1 ex -cum V || 16 animantes...sapientes C || § 23, 17 initia B^1 || 19 perspicuum, alt. u *spscr.*, B^1 || id in ras. C^2 || fysicis (sys. F^1 phis. M fis. V) id est naturalibus (-rabus B^1) confirmari Z || 20 alantur et quae (que A) crescant Z || 21 in om. F^1 || ad uim add. quandam V^1 || 22 om] omne A^1 || sciatur P || 23 qui*quam (a vel c) V || 24 refrigerato, to in ras. 2, C || § 24, 26 hiis APV iis C || docet* B || 27 corporet B^1 || ullam V^1 || quin is] qu*in is C qui nisi M || 28 cuius] huius V^1 || reliquis A^1 || in-

est, in *spscr.*, V || iis in ras. B^2 is M *iis (uis?) V || 29 et supra ras. ampl. *spscr.* V^{23} || 30 anima aduers. $A^1M^1PV^1$ || animantes A^1 || 31 ut imitaretur om. A^1 || 32 animal, al corr. 3, A || terrae Dutum (pr. u incert.) B^1 || § 25, 34 atque bis scr. A || 36 explicata B^1 || tangam maximas, *spscripto ut vid.* autem, C^1 maximo deletis reliquis C^2 || 1 sustinet tur B^1 || 2 conflictu] conflictatione V^1 || ritu A^1V^1 ietu V^2 || 3 fumare recalentem Z || 4 thrai B^1 || temporibus hibernis fieri M || hiberiis C^1 corr. 1 ? inbernis (?) F^1 || uis bis scr. B^1 || 5 contineatur...sit... contineat Z || § 26, 6 ratio M^1 (aesto ratio ut vid. B^1) || 7 doceri, ri in ras. 2, B || quae om. B^1 || concipit A^1 || s temporatione B^1 || 9 etiam aquae M (aque et. B^1) || 10 post liquor add. tum V^{23} || atque F^1 (aque B^1C) || declarat effusio aquae A^1V^1 decl. effusio quae A^2PV^2 dederat effusio quae (effusio del.) C declarat effusae quae (que B^1) BFM || 12 liquefacta et, a et in ras. 2, B (liquae. V) || reliquisque M^1 || 13 adiectis, pr. i corr., A || et idem in ras. B^2 || 14 a uentis M^1 || tepescit C^1 -cant C^2 (taepescunt B) || 16 aduentius C (aduentitius $AMPV^1$) || intumis BF || 17 excitatus] excitus V^3 || cum mo A^1 commotu B^1F^1 || 19 expers, ers in ras. 2, B || § 27, 21 abendus B^1 || his B^1 || 23 iis] his Z || efferu.] eis feruescent APV feruescent P || subitis Z , sed corr. V^2 || igni B^1 || 24 ea et ipsa] etiam ipsa V^3 || 25 salutem C || § 28, 26 partes, es in ras. 3, C || calorem $A^1BC^1F^1V^1$ || 27 diurnitate M || eoquē inagis B^1 || 29 in eos B^1 || 30 stirpes, i in ras. 2, C || § 29, 32 ratione atque sensu P || omne C^1 || 33 quae necesse est quae non M^1 nec. est quae ut non M^2 || 34 in se aliqueum M || hominem BF^1 || 1 et terra C || 2 egemonicon $AMPV$ hegemonicon BF egeminicon C || 3 quoque] quo A^1PV quoquo C || 4 itaque V^2 || etiam] et V^1 || 5 obtumum B^1 optimum B^2FP || § 30, 6 patribus A^1V^1 || 7 pars uniuersi sit inesse] ars et it ines 2, max. part. in ras., B ; -se *spscr.* 1 vel. 2, A || 8 igitur parte V || neces sit A^1 necesse esset A^2 || et om. in ras. C || 9 agriora A^1V^1 || 10 iamque res B^1 eam quaeret C^1 || omnes, s in ras. 2, B || 11 eo eoque A^1 (eoque B^1) || 12 feruor] ferulor A^1V^1 || mobiliorque, om. est, AB^2CFMPV mobiliorquē ut vid. B^1 || 13 multu A^1 multum C^1 || cummouendos A || 14 noster* (e?) V || quae om. M^1 || § 31, 15 cum] B^2FM^2 et in ras. A^3 om. B^1 quin CP cum quin M^1 || 16 ac] hac B^1 || 17 qui] quin C^1 || acerrumo P || mollissimo C || 18 teneantur F (sed corr. 1) V^1 || his ABF^1V^1 || 19 neque] V^3 add.: al. h. neque extrinsecus hoc ab aliquo accipiat || 21 quo] quod B^1 || illo A || § 32, 21 enim] nunc V^3 || 22 filosoforum B^1 (filosof. B^2FP) || duos C^2MV^3 || 24 moueat quod A^1 corr. 2 || motum in] i in ras. 2 A motumen V^1 || 25 esse ponit — motus om. C^1 ; C^2 in *mg. suppl.* ponit—

32. motum || isque A^1 *iisque, *pr. i in ras.* 2, B iisque F iisque P || quodpropter M^1 || 26 oritur omnis M || his BF^1M^1 || 27 impulsus B^1 (impulsu V) || moueatur A^1 (a *del. 1 ?*) || 28 animam tem A^1 || 29 intelligentium A^1 *corr. 3* (intelligentiam V^1) || 30 pars nulla M || minor sit Z || 31 quam] qu*** (id *vel ed*) A || 33 qui est] V^{2-3} quiesset $ABCFMPV^1$ || 34 rationis est] $A^2B^2F^1MV^2$ r. esset A^1B^1CP r. esse (?) V^1 || § 33, 35 inquohatisquae A^1 incoatisque B^1 incho*** | atisque V || 1 deorum] eorum A^1 || primo] C^2PV^3 prima $ABCFMPV^1$ || 2 gignantur Z || aeterra A^1 aeterna B^1 || 3 atque bis *scr. A* (adquae B^1) || § 34, 5 salutaris om. B^1 || hoc] ho B^1 || 6 addidit*, t m. 2, A addidit V^1 || 7 est gradus Z || et *in ras.* B^2 || s errorum *ut vid.* B^1 erorum V^1 || sapientisque (-quae B^1) BCF^1 (sapientesquae A^1) || 9 de eoque B || deoque, o *in ras.* 2, F || § 35, 11 in nulla Z , *sed post. n eras. in V* || 12 non om. C || inuitae AV^1 inuitet B^1 || 13 impecede A || uis, i *spscr. 2, A* || obstitit, *post. t corr. 2, A* ostitit C^1 optigit (*in mg. V^2*) || quoddam B^1F^1 || 14 pictura A^1B^1 (*vel ut vid. picturae fabrica, om. et, B^1*) || 14 habent* C || 15 quaedam C^1 || absoluti, abso *in ras.* 3, A obsol. V^1 || multa C^1 || 17 autem] atem A^1 hanc B^1 || 18 propteream M^1 || omnes *corr. 1 ex omnis P* || cohibet ipsa M || 19 quolibet A cohibet B^1 || quantum, r *spscr. et tum in ras.* 2, C || 20 quod A || § 36, 20 his BF^1 || 24 optimam (-ma C^1) $ACMPV$ et F *corr. 1 ex obt. ; optimam B* || 25 aut cum et *praeced. i in ras.* B^2 || optimam $A^1(\text{?})PV^1$ optimam A^2 optimam CM || primam P || 26 consilio M^1 || computem (?) C^1 || 27 optima...optima $ACMPV$ optima...optima BF || 28 deterrima $ACMPV$ || nec] ne C^1 || 29 sitamem B^1 || potius om. P || 31 incipiens C^1 || profecto, *post. o in ras.* 2-3, A || § 37, 34 cui] B^2FM quo $ACPV$ cum (?) B^1 || quodque—expletumque sit om. C || 35 sit om. A || numenis V^1 || 36 scit enim B^1P || clipe $A^1B^1V^1$ clypei B^2FV^2 || 37 uagina C || 1 equum A^1 eum V^1 || uehen uehendi A^1 || 2 est om. C || 3 contemplandum et imitandum *add. C^2, prim. litt. in ras.* || 4 quaedam (qued. B^1) particula BF^1 partic. quaedam M || § 38, 5 neque est, est *corr. 2, C* || 6 quid igitur Z || ei deesse] iidesse B^1 || id om. B^1 *del. C^2V^2* || s similitudines C^1 || imperfecti, n *spscr. 1, verba distinct 3, A* || 9 in equo quam] nequoquam A^1 nequoquam V^1 (*corr. 3*) || eculo A^2 equulo C^3M^2 || canem B^1 || 11 id] is A^1BFPV^1 his M^1 || imperfecto B^2 || § 39, 13 et] ut A et *del. V^2* || efficitur, t *in ras.* 2, A || 15 et *spscr. 1 (?)* B || 16 hac] ac V^1 || perspecta, s *in ras. duar. litt. 3, A et tot. verb. in ras. m. 1 V* perespecta P || tribuenda C^1 || 17 mollissima C nobilissima PV^3 || 18 est] sunt Z || 19 rectissimae C (-imae A) || amantia C^1 || § 40, 21 cleanThes A || oeu] M^1 || 22 solis calor et candor Z || ullus C || qui in-

menso (imm. V) Z || 23 his V^1 || tactu A^1V^1 || est non ut] est ut non BFM , *sed in B* est *in ras.* 2 et non *add. 2* || tepefacit B^1 || 25 sit om. M^1 || sit | ***ocean. A || ocean. V^2 || 26 necesse esse C nec. esset V^1 || 27 eis V^1 || usum *in ras.* A^3 || 28 contineatur, a m. 1 (?) *del., B* || § 41, 28 atque Z || 29 usu B^1 || omnium om. V^1 *add. 3* || 30 cuncta, *post. c corr. 2, B* || corpo*reus M ; A^3 *add. id est qui in animantium est corpore* || 32 esse *spscr. 1 (?)* A || utri *in ras.* B^2 || simili V^1 || his B^1CV^1 || 35 atque item] et quidem Z || 36 *celesti A || qu*** | ther (*duae litterae agnosci non possunt*) B^1 quia ether C^1 (qui ether C^2) quia aether V^1 || § 42, 1 sit bis *scr. M^1* || 2 aere* (a ?) B || arestoteli M || 3 ad gnenda V^1 || 4 aethereum BFV^2 || 5 animalia... gignantur A^3 || id et] BF id est $A^1M^1PV^1$ idem C , *sed m in ras.* 2-3, id M^2 eademque *spscr. A^3* *ad est add. que V^2* || 6 acerrumo BF || celerima B^1 (caelerr. M) || aetherea C || 7 est] esse M^1 || his Z || et om. V^1 || 8 numerata B^1 || 9 intellendum C (intellig. V^1) || 11 caelo om. C^1 || § 43, 11 quo *corr. 2 V* || 13 *pr. et om. CP* || incolant *corr. ex -unt V* || 14 longe A^1 || 15 maxime $ACMPV$ || atque] aque B^1 || 17 quo *in ras.* A^3 || 19 amica, *pr. a in ras. ampl. 2, C* || 20 uarietate P et, *corr. -ti ead. m., F* || § 44, 21 aristotiles P || laudandus in eo, om. est, Z || 22 ino quod A^1 || naturam B^1 || uia | ut B^1 || 24 naturam B^1 || leuitatem C^1 || in sublime $ABCFM^2PV$ || 25 astris om. C^1 || *eorum (d) C || 27 naturam astra] m a *in ras.* 2 C ; u *in ras. et m add. 2 V* || 30 utrum *corr. ex -om A* || procuratorie A^1 procreatione, *sed ead. m. ut vid. corr., B* || 32 perspicu | spicuum *ut vid. A^1* persp., per *in ras. ampl., B* || est *in ras.* A^2 || id *spscr. m. 1 ut vid. A et C* || 33 existi* mem (s ?) B || § 45, 34 sane restat V || consideremus, si *spscr. 1 ?*, V || 35 cogitare A^1 cogitare C^1 || leuita C^1 || 1 orationem, o *in ras.* 2, C || cum talem, m t *corr. 2, B* || esse* (t ?) A || nocioni B^1 || 2 in om. V^1 || 4 potius] totius B^1 || accommod. M || huc V^1 || § 46, 7 minimeque F (minimaeque $A^1B^1M^1$) || respiciens $ABCF^2MPV$ om. F^1 || se] si V^1 || s rutundis A^1 (rotundus B^2CFMPV^2) || 9 esset deos B^1 || 10 qua] quam B^1C^1 quia M^1 || mundo bis *scr. A^1* || 11 melius] potius M || sit id sit habeatque C^1 || 12 his] B^1 iis AB^2CFV hiis M is P || § 47, 13 mentem P || 15 his BFM || 16 noli, n *in ras.* 2, B || quaesio (queso) P Z (quaero *err. typ.*) || 17 quonum AV^1 et *ut vid. B^1* || celindrum C || speram BFV^2 (spher. $ACMPV^1$) || 18 uideri* C || olulorum B^1 || iucium habetis A^1 habens iudicium M || 20 omnes ZK || 21 quaeque, que *spscr., A* || *pr. nihil* mihi C^1 (*per comp.*) nichil C^2 || offensiones A^1 || potest, st *in ras.* 2, C || 22 laciniosum C^2 || cumque] cum B^1 || 23 praestantis A^1P praestantis V^1 praestanti B^1 || exolidis B^1 et (?) sol. V^1 || spheram (*sper. V^2*) Z || 24 cielus

47. *ACMPV* cyclus *BF* || 25 omnis *A¹BCFMPV* || 26 in se *C* || simillumae] *A¹B²FP* simillimae *A²MV* similume *B¹* simillyme *C* || tantum (tandum *B¹*) absit *Z* || extremum] *V³* add. in *mg.* quantum idem a summo || § 48, 28 ne] anne *V²* || fisisici *C¹* (fisici *AC²PV* phis. *M* fysicy *BF*) || intelligere *C* (intellig. *V¹*) || 29 aequalitatem (equ. *C*) *Z* || 30 seruare *C* || po* test esse, test esse in *ras.* 2, *B* esse om. *ACPV* || indoctius, ius corr. 2, *C* || 31 ***** mundum *A* || § 49, 33 quot] *V²* quod *AB¹CPV¹* quid *B²FM* || didicisset, t in *ras.* 2, *C* || 34 plato *B¹M* || 35 palatium *A³* || 1 genera sint *M* || 2 huncquam *B¹* (nunqu. *C*) || curus *ACV¹* || 3 conuersione *B¹* || duas] suas *A²* om. *P* || iisdem *F²V²* hisdem *M* || 4 conficiat (1?) *B* confeciat, iat in *ras.* 3, *A* confectat *CP* confecta *V* || 6 tenet corr. ex -it *V* || 7 his] iis, pr. i 2?, *V* || 8 officins corr. 1? ex eff. *V* || 9 aequalitas *C¹* || diornorum *A¹V¹* || eiusdenique *B¹* || 10 modicum recessus om. *C* mod. cum rec. *V¹* || modum] mundum *BFK* || 11 circuitus *C²MK* || solis om. *M* || urbium *F¹* || quinque et sexaginta (1x^a *K*) et trecentorum *A²BFMVK* quinque defecti est (defectibus *C* defectibus est *P*) et sexaginta et trecentorum *A¹CP* || 13 septemtriones *ABCFMK* septentr. *P* || 14 ihemi, post. i *spscr.* 1, *A* hyemi *V²* || 15 omnium, um in *ras.* 2, *C* || 16 ducuntur corr. 1 (?) ex dic. *C* || § 50, 17 menstru *F¹* || *cuius (*eras.* q, post u *spscr.*) *A* || 19 solum] solem *V¹* || ac] ad *A¹B¹* || tum defectibus in initia recurrendo hic omissa infra (v. 21) post cursu exhibet *B¹*; corr. *B²* || 20 aquilena *ZK* || tum in *ras.* *V²* aut *ABCFMPK* || 21 Inde] om. *ZK* || est om. *B¹* add. *B²* in *erasis litteris extremis verborum hic interpositorum* (cf. v. 19) || solstitiis *C* solstiti *V¹* (?) || 24 etterra *AB¹* || § 51, 24 maxime *A²BCFM* maximae *VK* || 26 constantes *B* || 27 dicimur *V¹* || 28 abeunt (hab. *A³* *ab. *B*) *Z* || 30 ne om. *P* || insistit. Quartum *C* || 32 et quinque *spscr.* 1 (?) *A* || 33 inter, r corr. 2, *A* || comperationem *B¹* || § 52, 35 diffinitam *C* || saturnis *AB¹* saturnia *C* saturni** (sa vel iā?) *V* || 1 faenonque (-quae *P*) *ABFMVK* fenonque *C* || greci *C* (grecis *FMPV¹*) || qua eterra *C* || 2? quo cursum *B¹* || 3 delitescendo *M²V²* || 4 sursum *V³* || aperiando *B¹* || nihil om. *C* || saeculorum *BCF* (secl. *AMP*) || 5 iisdem *F²V²* hisdem *M* his *C* || efficiatur *P* || 6 faethon *F²PV* fethon *C* faeton *AMK* fethon *BF¹* || 7 duodecim signor.—annis om. *V¹* xii^m signorum—annis xii^m efficit add., part. in *ras.*, *C²* || § 53, 9 pyrois *ZK* || 10 ut bis ser. *V¹* || oppinor *A* opinio ut vid. *B¹* opinior *C¹* opinor *P* || quem, sed corr. 1 (?) quam *P* || 11 stellam *BFK* || mercuri est *A* (sed i est m. 2, e in *ras.*) *BFV¹K* || 12 stilbon *ZK* || a graecis om. *A¹* (a grecis *A²FMPV¹K*) || anno* *C* || uertente, extr. e corr. 2, *A* feruente *C* || 13 a sole] a se *C¹* || unquam, um in *ras.* 2, *A* || 14

infirmi *A¹C¹V¹* || errantum *C* || tertreque *C¹* (terreque *V¹*) || 15 proxima *BF* proxima, xim in *ras.*, *P* || phosphoros *C* fosph. *M* fosh. *AB¹V* bosf. *B²FK* fossoros *P* || 16 hesperos (hasp. *B¹*) *Z*, sed hesperus corr. *V³* || 17 lustans *C¹* || signiferioribus *C* || 18 a sole *C* || § 54, 20 igitur stellis, om. in, *BF* || 21 si mente *A¹* || 23 ipsa om. *V¹* add. *V³* || inde | horum *V¹* || eae] ea *B¹* heae *M* || 24 inerrantes, inerr in *ras.* 2, *B* || uocantur] nominantur *M* || 25 cottidiana *C¹* || constanque *C¹* || 27 ut uisu stellas *A¹B¹* aut uis ut stellas *A³* (quid *A²* correxerit incertum) ut uisu a stellis *F¹M¹* ut ui suas stellas *M²* || 28 ac] hac *A* || suffusus] perfusus *C* || § 55, 32 declarant] dederant *V¹* || uim, i *spscr.* 1?, *A* || 33 is] his *AB¹M¹PV¹* || § 56, 36 uacat *C¹* (uacante mentita *A¹B¹PV¹*) || et falsa in *ras.* *P* || erroris, post. r supra *ras.* 2, *A* || ea] eunt *V²* || 1 luna *C* || uersatur *ABFM¹PV* || caelestem *Z*; caelestem ergo bis scripta erant, sed priora erasa, *A* || 2 constantia *P* || conseruatio, s et uatio in *ras.* 2, *B* conuersatione *C¹* || 3 uacarem *B¹* || his *B¹F¹M¹* || ipsi *V¹* || § 57, 4 aut *A¹B¹* haut *A²* || 6 diffinit *V³* || 7 proecedentem *B* || uia* (m?) *B* || maxime *ACMV¹* maximae *PV²* || 9 efficiat ** id (et?) *A* efficiat ad (?) *B¹* || artificiosus *B¹* (artitiosius *P*) || naturam] ut naturam *P* || 10 artium, ti in *ras.* 2, *C* (arcium *B¹*) || hac] ac *A¹V¹* || 11 uiam ** quandam (et?) *A* || § 58, 13 *coerceset *A* coerceset *MV¹* cocerceset *P* || planem (?) *V¹* || 14 zeneno, sed corr. 1?, *V* || contrix *A¹* || opportunitatum, om. que, *V¹* (oportunitatumque *BCFM*) || 15 ut | ut *C¹* || 16 continent *B²FM* || omnes *ABFMV* || 17 uolumtarios *A* || hormas *Z* || his] is *AB²F¹P* is *F²* || 18 consentaneos *A¹* || ipsi, post. i in *ras.* ampl. 2, *B* || mouetur *V¹* || 19 uel prud.] uerba prudentia *F* || 20 prudentia uel om. *C¹* uel prouidentia om. *V¹* (prudencia uel prouidentia *B¹*) || greci *C¹* (grece *C²FV¹* graecae *P*) || pronoea (prono ea) *Z* || 21 et] ut *C¹* || in iis *BF* 23 nulla regeat *B¹* (n. re aegeat *M*) || maxime *ACMPV* || § 59, 25 dictum est in *ras.* min. *B²* || uniuerso | deficit *P*—63, 33:

Z = *ABCFMV*.

etiam de, om. est, *C* || 26 sidebus *C¹* || prope mundum *B¹C* || necessantium *A* non cess. *BFM* || 27 nec aquae *B¹* || mollentiam *A* molenciam *B¹* mollentium *V¹* || aperoso hac *B¹* || 28 ueni set *B¹* uenis sed *ACMV¹* || his *ACMV* his *B¹* || 29 agres *A¹V¹* || 30 is *A* his *B¹* his *CMV* || morbus *F¹* || 31 defatigatione *C* (sed fa corr. 2) et *V³* || monogrammos in *ras.* *V²* || 32 agentes, post. e corr. 2, *F* || § 60, 32 pulcherruma *ABFV²* pulcherruma *V¹* || 33 plurissimaeque *V¹* (purissimaeque *A¹B¹*) || collati *C* || feriuntur *C¹* || 35 et magnis *M* || 36 graeci *B¹* (grece *F¹* grecae *CF²MV¹*) || 1 humano afferret *M* (aff. hum. *CV*) || addiuiue *B¹* diuinae *B²* diuine *F¹* || *fieri (e?) *A* || 3 noncupabant *A* numcup. *B¹* ||

60. 4 terenti $A^1B^2C^1FV^1$ terrenti B^1 || 5 cerere*
(m?) F || § 61, 6 inest maior—ea ipsa om. B^1 ||
aliquae A^1V^1 || 7 ipsa] B^2F ipsa uis $ACMV$ || 8
proximae A^1 (proximae A^2) proxime BCF ||
atilia M || 9 uides...uide $ABFVMV^1$ || honoras
(?) C^1 || 10 legustico AB^1V^1 || Q.] quae A q in ras.
 B^2V^2 om. M || 11 maximo BF || 13 quod ex A^1 ||
14 uoluptatibus C^1 || 15 quaquam V^1 || ueleius
 A^1 ueleius, i in ras. 2, C || existumat B (corr.
1 vel 2 ex -imat) et F || 16 natura AB^1 || § 62,
17 ei] ii V^{3+4} || 18 is quidem nominibus A is nom.
quidem M || qui paulo A || uis corr. 2 ex ius (?)
 C || 19 consuetudo quae B^1 -tdoque B^2 || 20 excel-
lentes A^3B^3 || uoluntate A || 21 ercules AM || e-
sclepius C^1 (esculap. C^2F) || 22 hunc om. B^1 || semel
natum A^1 semel anatum B^1 (?) C^1V^1 semele na-
tum $A^{2+3}B^2C^2FM$ || 24 quod quale sit ex mini-
steriis in ras. V^2 (misteriis CM) || qualessit B^1
|| potes C^1 || 25 natus B^1 || cerere, c in ras. 2,
 C || 26 etiam hinc M || romulum Z , sed ro in
ras. B^2 || 27 quem quidam AB^2CFMV quemq; |
uidam B^1 || eundaem A^1 || 28 aetern.] adaetern.
 B^1 || fruerunt $A^1B^1V^1$ || 29 cum optimi CF ||
eterni (a ?) A || § 63, 30 e ratione C (ex
ratione A) || quidem] quid est B^1 || 31 inducti
 ZK || 32 atem A^1 || uita A^1 (?) C || 33 tractatur
 F || et om. B^1 || 33 pluribus] denuo inc. P :

$Z = ABCFMPV$.

pluribus P || 34 nam uetus ut vid. A^1 nan
cum uetus A^3 || oppinio V^1 || oppleuisset Z ,
sed oppleuit sed corr. V^2 || 35 caelum om.
 A^1 caelium V^2 || Saturno] saturnum B^1 ||
§ 64, 36 rationem C^1 (racio P) || inelegans,
in spser. 1, B || incussa BFK || est om. B^1 ||
impia fabulas, sed s eras., C || 1 caelestem AC^1
caelestem B (sed corr. 1 ex -um) et V (sed em
in ras. 2) (celestem P) || id est] idem C^1P ||
4 esse om. FK || conuersacionem P || 5 cronos
 A^2BFMPV cronos A^1C chronos K || 6 cronos
 $ABCFPV$ cronos M || 7 saturretur M^1 || comesse,
se in ras. sex litterar., B || 8 solitis (?) V^1 || quia
om. B^1 || etas A^1 etates A^2 aetates B (sed ates
in ras. 2) et FMK || spatia temporum M || 9
inmoderatos P (immoder. B^2CFMK) || 10 eum,
u corr. 2, A || syderum, rum in ras. 2, C || iup-
piter $BCFMK$ || 11 pater quem] B^2C (sed pater
cum praec. s in ras. C^2) $FMPV^3K$ partemque
 A et sine dubio V^1 partemquae ut vid. B^1 || ad-
iuuando B^1 || 12 diuumque] V , sed que in ras.
2; diuinumque P diuomque B || 13 optimumus
maximus B^1 optimum maximus $ACFMPV^1K$
(maximus V^2 -musque V^3) optimum maximus
 CP || ante optimum $ABCFMK$ (et quidem ante

in ras. A^1) || id est om. B^1C || 14 maximus quia
 $ACMPV^1K$ om. B^1 || § 65, 15 hanc C || 17 asd-
pice, d del., P || sublime $AB^2CFMPVK$ suplimim
(?) B^1 supplime P || 19 planius quam] BFP
planius (planus A^1) quem AMV^1 planiusque
 V^2 || 20 ex ecrabor A || quo V^2 || licet V^1 || 22
ioue fulgente et tonante BF^1 i. fulgorante
(fulgur. M) et ton. F^2M iouem fulgentem
tonantem P || 23 caelo] BFM caelo A^2 melo
 A^1CPV || fulgenta (-ae 3) et tonantae A ful-
gente (fulgorante F^2 fulgur. M) et tonante
 $BCFMPV$ || eurippides $ACMV$ || et multa C^1 ||
praedare C^1 (praeclarae AM) || 26 circumiectum
 C || amplectitur, c spser. 1 ? , A || 27 habeto, h
in ras. 2, A || diuum hunc perhibeto om. B^1
(peribeto A^1) || § 66, 28 autem om. B^1 || 29
iuononis om. A^1 || consecratum C^1 || coniux AB^1
|| 30 ei] et ZK || cum eo, praeter c in ras. 2, A
|| coniunctio A^1 || effeminauerunt BMK (de F
nihil notavi) effeminarent P (aefeminarunt
 A^1) || 31 est om. C || 32 adiuuando (pr. d spser. 1
vel 3) AM^1 || nominatum C || 1 ex om. M^1 ||
diuisa, di spser. 2, A || alterum $A^1BCFMPV^1$
altero B^1V^2 || 2 uolum (?) A^1 uolumus B^1V^1 ||
maritimum, rit in ras. 3, A maritimum
marium B^1 || 3 porta AB^1C^1PV portu, sed u m.
1 corr., M || neptun P || anando, pr. an 2, part.
in ras., B (atando ? B^1) || primus V^1 || 4 uis in
ras. C^2 || 5 ut om. C^1 || pluton ZK || recidant
 ZK , sed ci corr. B^2 (ui 1 ?) || terras et] A^2B
(sed s et in ras. B^2) FMV^2K terra sed A^1
(sed extr. litt. incerta) CV^1 terram sed P || 6 *e
(fuit ae vel de) A || nuptam dicunt om. ZK
|| proserpina*nam (n ?) B proserpina CM^1 || quod
Graecorum om. C || nomen, men in ras. 2, C || 7
**ea B ea enim est om. C || persefone ZK ||
Graece om. M^1 (grece CFM^2V^1) || § 67, 10 de-
meter quasi gemeter ZK || 11 *nominata B ||
maiores B^1 || 12 minaretur] minueretur F^2MK
|| habere V || 13 maximam $CMVK$ || primam C
|| sacr|ficando A || 14 habeundo A || dictum C
|| 15 iani] iam B^1 || profanarum, rum in ras. 2,
 F || aeduum AM^2 haeduum M^1 || ianue B^1P
ianae C lanuae AV^1 || 16 hestia $ACMV$ aestia
 BF^1 estia F^2PK || § 68, 19 neclonge**** (cl corr.
2 ex d) A non longe C || ui di] ui dii A^3V^3
diui B^2FMK || penu—ab eo quod om. C^1 ab eo
quod suppl. C^2 eras. praeced. a || ductu
 $A^1B^1PV^1$ ducta (?) M^1 || nomen est || est B^1 ||
20 uescunt APV^1 || 22 dianam autem | deficit P
—111, 21 :

P. SCHWENKE.

(Continuabitur).

NOTES UPON LATIN HYBRIDS.

IN 'Ein Beitrag zum Vulgärlatein' (*Philol.* xlvii. p. 45) O. Weise has called attention to the fact that hybrid compounds and derivatives played an important part in the *sermo vulgaris*.

The list which he offers, from all periods of literature, of hybrid words taken from those writings in which so much has already been found that belongs to the language of conversation, can leave little doubt as to the correctness of his position.

The most prolific author in this line is naturally Plautus and the series which Weise gives including such words as *ferritribax*, *multiplagus* and *hamiota* is representative and exhaustive enough for its purpose, but when he states that only two such formations are to be found in Cicero, viz. *facteon* (*ad Att.* i. 16, 13) formed after the analogy of *φιλοσοφητέον*, which occurs in the same sentence, and *Pseudocato* (*ad Att.* i. 14, 6), he has failed to notice *decemscalmis* (*ad Att.* xvi. 3, 6) made up of *decem* and *σκαλμός*, and *tocullio* (*ad Att.* ii. 1, 12) which the writer believes can be shown to be a hybrid formed from *τόκος* in the same way in which *libellio* (Varr. *Sat. Men.* 256: *Stat. Silv.* 4, 9, 21) is derived from *libellus*. (Comp. also *tripecchio* *C.I.L.* vi. 17857.)

The word *tocullio* is doubly interesting in this connection, in that it seems to have two points of contact with the *sermo cotidianus*, being at the same time a hybrid and a diminutive, for as Wölflin and Lorenz among others have pointed out, the use of diminutives was one of the most striking characteristics of vulgar Latin.

And in connection with all these words it is worthy of notice not simply that they are found in the letters of Cicero rather than in

his orations or philosophical works, but that they occur in his letters to Atticus, in which Cicero allows himself the greatest freedom of expression; while in the letters *ad Familiares*, in which it is almost always possible to notice a certain care or even anxiety in the choice of words, no such hybrid is to be found so far as the writer is aware.

As additions to the list of hybrids from later writers, which Weise gives upon pages 49-52, the following may be mentioned; *melofolia* (Plin. 15, 14; 15, 52) made up of *μήλον* and *folium*, *monoculus* (Firm. Mat. 8, 19; 8, 22) from *μόνος* and *oculus*, with which may be compared *monoloris* (Vop. Aur. 46, 6), *diloris* and *penteloris* from the same author.

The following compounds of *quattuor* and *septem* with the Greek substantives *γάμος*, *σῆμα*, *σῶμα* and *δρόμος* may be added: *quadrigamus* (Hier. *adv. Jovin.* 1, 8), *quadrisemus* (Mart. Cap. 9, 981), *quadrisomus* (Inscr. Rein. col. 2, 437) and *septidromus* (Th. Prise. 4, 3). There are further found the Graeco-Latin compounds *semipodius* (Mar. Victorin. *de Metr.* 4, 3, 41, p. 166, 28 K), *semisphaerium* (Boet. *Inst. Mus.* 4, 18), and the Latino-Hebraic *semicorus*¹ (Ambros. ep. 44, 7 and 8) and *semigomor*¹ (Ambros. ep. 9, 76), and finally *protosedere* (Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 15) and *paraveredus* (Cod. Just. 12, 51, 2 and elsewhere) made up of *παπα* and *veredus*, upon which Diez i. p. 232 under *palafreno* may be compared.

FRANK F. ABBOTT.

¹ The Hebraic elements in *semicorus* and *semigomor* doubtless came through the medium of the Septuagint in which both occur.

WESTCOTT'S EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. The Greek Text, with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L. London: Macmillan and Co., and New York. 1889

THE appearance of this volume is significant in its bearing upon Biblical exposition. At a time when the demand for commentaries giving in the briefest form the accepted re-

sults of exegesis, in order to exempt the reader from any effort beyond that of remembering what is told him, is enforcing compliance even from leading German scholars, we are presented with a work containing discussions of an exceptionally wide, varied, and at times recondite character, and presuming on the reader's part a willingness to give it patient and studious attention. Almost every topic of moment which the

exposition starts finds ample treatment by means of 'Additional Notes' appended to each chapter. These 'Notes,' which are forty-two in number, and frequently amount to compendious treatises, discuss not merely the more difficult exegetical problems, the adequate treatment of which would have disturbed the proportions of the running exposition, but handle besides matters of theology, both speculative and Biblical (such as the *τελείωσις* of Christ, the idea of *λύτρωσις*, &c.), questions of archaeology (for example, the *prae-Christian* idea of sacrifice and of the priesthood—discussions, by the by, especially valuable), of history, of anthropology (for instance, the origin of the soul and the destiny of the race), of philology (such as telic and hypothetical sentences); and the volume closes with an essay of twenty-five pages on the Epistle's use of the Old Testament. Both these more extended discussions, and the volume as a whole, are characterized by admirable condensation, and by the prominence given to the *Biblical* data. The reader is everywhere put in possession of a satisfactory, often a complete, statement of the Scriptural facts, as gathered evidently at first hand. Indeed, the volume is singularly abstinent in its references to other modern commentators. By omitting the recent history of opinion the author gains room for the adequate presentation and enforcement of his own interpretation, and the reader is the more free to judge it on its merits. But Dr. Westcott would have rendered a welcome service had he given us the benefit of his wide reading by cataloguing and characterizing the leading modern expounders, as he has done for example (p. vii. *sqq.*) the patristic commentators. As it stands, however, it would be difficult to find in the whole range of exegetical literature a volume at the same time so comprehensive and so compact as this octavo of five hundred pages. No wonder that 'many years of continuous labour' have entered into its preparation.

Notwithstanding the noteworthy expositions of this difficult Epistle which have appeared in our time from such experts as Weiss, Keil, Kurtz and the rest, running back to the monumental work by Bleek, Dr. Westcott's volume possesses characteristics which will command for it the permanent attention of scholars. Conspicuous, for instance, is its careful treatment of words. In lexical research it surpasses Bleek, if possible, and in the comparison of kindred terms it shows a delicacy of discrimination which indeed is not without its perils (of which

more presently), but which makes it very fresh and suggestive. A list of synonyms treated would be a welcome supplement to its index. The words peculiar to the Epistle, and the debated terms, such as *αἰῶνες* (i. 2; xi. 3), *ἀπαύγασμα* (i. 3), *παραρρῆν* (ii. 1), *ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι* (ii. 16), *τελειοῦν* (ii. 10), *θυμιατήριον* (ix. 4), *εὐπερίστατος* (xii. 1), *διαθήκη* (ix. 15), *τραχηλίζειν* (iv. 13), and the rest receive careful and in the main satisfactory treatment. Yet in the case of *τραχηλίζειν* it does not appear how the notion of 'prostrate,' to which Dr. Westcott seems to incline, is made to evolve that of 'manifest,' which in the case occurring (iv. 13) he admits to be clearly its sense. And as respects *διαθήκη* (ix. 16, 17), after acknowledging the full weight of the philological facts adduced, one cannot feel satisfied with Dr. Westcott's conclusion. The contextual evidence overbears lexical probabilities made to rest merely on Biblical usage. Those probabilities, surely, are nothing like so strong as they are, for example, in the case of the 'key-word' *πνεῦμα* in John iii. 8. And why should Biblical usage be the decisive criterion in the case of a writer whose phraseology, however largely influenced by the Septuagint, is also exceptionally non-Biblical? Moreover, with the meaning *covenant*, the reasoning becomes intelligible only on the assumption of an identification of the maker of the covenant and its ratifying victim, which, recondite and even debatable as it is, could hardly be tacitly taken for granted and used, without a hint of explanation, as the warrant for such bold and bald statements as *ἔπον διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου*. *διαθήκη* γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μὴ τότε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος. In truth, however, the two senses lie much nearer together in Greek than 'covenant' and 'will' do in English, which indeed Dr. Westcott frankly admits in citing the well-known passage from Philo where the word is used of God in both senses in the same context. To the primitive readers perhaps the cross-play hardly seemed more difficult than, for instance, in the case of *παδεία* in xii. 6, 7, 11.

Nor is this commentary less attentive to grammatical niceties than to lexical. The reader is reminded constantly of the delicate shadings of thought due to changes of tense, mood, number, and the like. Not that here, again, Dr. Westcott's discriminations always command assent. For example, that there is a rhetorical difference between *ἀμαρτία* in the singular and in the plural—the singular having often an abstract or a collective force, while the plural is individualizing or semi-

concrete—no one would be disposed to deny. But that by *θυσία περὶ ἁμαρτιῶν* in x. 26 the author of the Epistle intends a contrast to *προσφορά περὶ ἁμαρτίας* in verse 18, and ‘appeals to individual experience,’ many of Dr. Westcott’s readers will feel less confident than he seems to be. Again, *ἐγένετο βέβαιος* (ii. 2) is held to differ from *ἐβεβαιώθη* (ver. 3), not merely in rhetorical explicitness, but by suggesting the idea that ‘there is in the divine law a self-executing power.’ In ix. 23 *τὰ ἐπουράνια* differs from *τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* in the same context by designating ‘not simply those things which are in the heavens, but those things which have their proper sphere in the heavenly order.’ In ii. 9 the perfect *ἡλαττωμένον* (not *ἡλαττωθέντα*) is thought to warrant the comment, ‘The human nature which Christ assumed he still retains.’ But in general, as respects the use of the perfect in this Epistle, it may be doubted whether our commentaries, Dr. Westcott’s included, have yet quite hit the mark. The latter says, to be sure, in connection with the partial catalogue of instances given on p. 177, that ‘In every case its full force can be felt’; and apparently in vii. 6; xi. 5, &c., he accepts the view of those who regard the tense as marking the fact of record: ‘It stands written in Scripture as having a present force.’ But this explanation is inadequate in examples like those of ch. xi. vers. 17 and 28; for all the intermediate historic instances, though cited in the *aorist*, are as truly matters of record as these. Furthermore, why should the Epistle exhibit so many peculiar instances of the perfect that need explanation? One can hardly repress the conviction that we have here, if not a rhetorical mannerism of the writer, a blurring of the distinction between the two tenses, especially since the phenomenon in question is not confined to this author (see the examples given by Sophocles in his *Lex.*, Introd. p. 45 par. 4). Another idiosyncrasy, also shared with the Biblical author by some of his contemporaries, is the use of *πou* in reference to quotations the source of which must have been definitely in mind. This *πou* Dr. Westcott (on iv. 4) felicitously translates ‘as we know,’ and illustrates from Philo and other writers.

Another distinctive characteristic of the book before us consists in its copious quotations illustrating the Epistle’s interpretation and use by the Fathers. Nowhere else can such a treasure of patristic lore relative to this Epistle be found, or so ample and exact a comparison of the early versions. The care and research with which this part

of his task has been performed by Dr. Westcott appears in incidental rectifications of current texts, and at times in fresh readings from unpublished manuscripts. Among the patristic elucidators of the Epistle is one (Herveius Burgidolensis, of the 12th cent.), whom Dr. Westcott has summoned, as it were, from the dead, and who by his good sense justifies Dr. Westcott’s estimate of his discovery. Dr. Westcott pays, of course, no blind homage to the Fathers. Once and again he calls on the reader to observe how wide of the mark their comments fall, and reminds him (*e.g.* p. 7) how completely sometimes the exact force of the original is missed—even by men among them whose vernacular was Greek—through oversight of some of the simplest grammatical laws, or shows (as, for example, in the case of *ἐπιλαμβάνεται* ii. 16) how the true meaning has been hid quite down to modern times.

Noteworthy, further, is the prominence given in this commentary to the doctrinal element. The vast store of material it contains for the student of Biblical theology has already been indicated. Its presentation gives evidence of the well-read and cautious theologian; on occasion, too (for an example see on ii. 16 *fin.*), there are signs of a discreet reserve which, though among the rarest, is not the least of the theological virtues. But on the general subject more in a moment. Here we are concerned merely with the doctrinal problems imbedded in the text of the Epistle. In ch. i. 8, 9 it is refreshing to find—as however one might have anticipated from the punctuation of the text of Westcott and Hort’s Greek Testament—that the word *θεός* is taken as a nominative, with a recognition of the fact that ‘the direct application of the divine name to the Son would obscure the thought.’ But why in iii. 4 it is unsatisfactory to understand *ὁ πάντα κατασκευάσας θεός* as guarding the sovereign authorship of God, is not made to appear. The treatment of the immemorial problem vi. 4–6 lacks sharpness and explicitness, and consequently, in spite of its fulness, and an ‘Additional Note,’ leaves the reader unsatisfied. Have the persons described by the sacred author actually experienced the new birth? On this point Dr. Westcott’s opening remarks on verse 5 seem to make his own opinion clear. How then can he say (p. 149) that ‘light falls upon the passage from Matt. vii. 22 f.; 1 Cor. xiii. 1 f.?’ But did they actually apostatize? That is confessedly ‘presented in its past completeness’ by the *καὶ παραπεσόντας* of vers. 6. Nevertheless on p. 149 they are described as ‘those who are

conceived of as afterwards falling away,' and on p. 165 we are unequivocally told 'There is nothing to show that the conditions of fatal apostasy had been fulfilled . . . indeed, the contrary is assumed.' Wherein then lies the 'impossibility' mentioned in ver. 4? In 'human agency. This is all that comes within the range of the writer's argument' (p. 150). 'It is impossible for man to renew' them; 'the preacher cannot again renew to repentance' (p. 147). But does '*man*,' does '*the preacher*' work renewal in the first instance? Again, 'Some divine work may be equivalent to this renewing, though not identical with it. The change in such a case would not be a new birth but a raising from the dead' (p. 150, cf. 165). But in the spiritual realm how, except in metaphor, does a 'new birth' differ from a 'raising from the dead'? (Cf. Eph. v. 14; Luke xv. 24.)

Many individual passages, of course, invite comment. Probably in some cases surprise will be felt that an interpretation is given as though no alternate were possible, where the best expositors are not yet in agreement. But Dr. Westcott evidently expects his readers to remember that the disregard of other opinions in such instances merely indicates that he himself feels no real doubt (see the Preface, p. vii.). Chap. x. 34 is an instance in point. Here the translation which takes *ἐαυτοῦς* as the subject-accusative is utterly ignored, although it received the preference of the Revisers of 1881, is the construction adopted by recent expositors that follow the reading, and accords both with this author's rhythmical transfer of words and with the slight emphasis the pronoun offers to the 'goods' and their unlawful possessors. And, by the way, as respects this Epistle's peculiar fondness for the rhythmical transposition of words, Dr. Westcott sometimes allows it (e.g. in the case of *κριτῇ θεῷ πάντων*, xii. 23) to draw him (with many other expositors) into subtleties, although in the case of *ἐλεῖμιν κ.τ.λ.* (ii. 18) his good sense recognises it.

But further specification must give place to two reflections of a general character. We have here unquestionably the masterpiece of a certain type of exposition. It starts the inquiry whether it has escaped the peril of disproportionate attention to philological details. Just as the overstrained eye often seems to itself to see what it is looking for, so overtaxed verbal scrutiny is liable to detect distinctions of thought which can hardly be believed to have dawned upon the consciousness of the writer. Dr. Westcott's readers will in many an instance be unable

to repress a misgiving whether the conclusions he reaches, even in expounding this Epistle, confessedly the most elaborate piece of Greek composition in the New Testament, are not a little too subtle and over-refined; whether his scholarship is not occasionally so tenuous and microscopic that the resultant exposition is over-pressed—in forgetfulness of the caution which Luther couched in his simile likening Scripture to a *mutter-brust*. This criticism is uttered with reluctance; for the failing, if it exists, certainly leans to virtue's side. And a stricture of this sort may be thought to involve both obliviousness of the inestimable service Bishop Westcott has rendered now for more than a generation by his public inculcation of thorough methods of Biblical study, as well as a scanty appreciation of the several commentaries in which he has exemplified conscientious exposition as no other living English scholar has done—among which commentaries this last is indisputably the first. But renewed examination of it only renews the misgiving here expressed. This tendency to over-work words seems to be responsible for occasional subtilty or obscurity of thought, which leaves a reader somewhat uncertain just what is meant, as well as here and there for an inclusiveness of exposition which comes perilously near combining things incompatible. For example, in iv. 1 we are told that the insertion of *δοκῇ* both softens the expression, and at the same time makes it 'more comprehensive in warning'; again, *ὑπὲρ παντός*, ii. 9, can 'hardly mean "for every thing" (*neut.*). This thought, however, is included in the masculine'; once more, of the *ρέφος μαρτύρων*, xii. 1, it is stated, 'The testimony which they bear can only be the testimony which they bear to God. . . . There is apparently no evidence that *μάρτυς* is ever used simply in the sense of a "spectator." . . . At the same time it is impossible to exclude the thought of the spectators in the amphitheatre. . . . They are spectators . . . who bear testimony to the certainty of our success,' &c.

The second query, though more general, is even more fundamental. Is not a considerable part of the contents of this teeming volume out of place in a commentary? Undeniably the prime business of an interpreter is to reproduce his author's thought: to give us nothing more, nothing less, nothing other than what lay in the mind of the writer. Hence he has primarily no concern with the aims and interests of the preacher or the theologian. Exposition is one thing, application quite a different thing. The meaning

and purpose of the writer are not to be confounded even with the purpose of Providence through him, as the latter may have been disclosed by the educative uses his writings have subserved in the history of the Kingdom of God on earth. It is not easy, may not always be possible, to draw hard and fast lines in this matter. The history of opinion is a convenient if not a legitimate part of a commentary's contents, as has been indirectly acknowledged above. Moreover, the jejuneness and at times timidity that have characterized certain attempts at a more scientific treatment of the sacred text have not tended to command admiration for it, hardly even respect. But after all it holds true that the province of the exegete is distinct from that of the homilete and from that of the speculative theologian; and the distinction cannot be disregarded without detriment. The book before us is avowedly constructed on a different theory. Its opening sentence strikes its key-note: 'Every student of the Epistle to the Hebrews must feel that it deals in a peculiar degree with the thoughts and trials of our own time.' Its author frankly declares that 'he has endeavoured to suggest in the notes lines of thought which he has found to open light upon problems which we are required to face.' Now the objection to this is not that the

remarks are not rich, instructive, judicious; but that they tend to burden and distract a reader intent simply on understanding what the sacred author has said—tend to make that author look through our eyes, rather than to enable us to see through his.

In conclusion a few trivial matters may be noted, worthy of correction in subsequent editions. Page xlv. line 1, for '168' read '169' (Dr. Westcott is not responsible for the error); p. lviii. second paragraph, line 3, for 'xiii. 18' read (probably) 'xiii. 9'; p. ~~xl~~ lx paragraph 2, line 7, for '22' read '22, 23'; p. 6, col. 2, line 2, for 'Wünsche' read 'Weber'; p. 8, col. 1, fifth par., last line, for 'vi. 10' read 'vi. 12'; p. 136, col. 1, par. 2, last line, for 'ψυχῆς' read 'καρδίας'; p. 168, lines 3 and 4, for 'Ps. xiv. (xv)' read 'Ps. xxiv. (xxv.)'; p. 353, col. 2, par. 2, line 4, for 'note' read 'Additional Note'; p. 400, line 1, for 'παίδιαν' read 'παιδέαιαν'; p. 413, line 2, the comma should come *after* πανηγύρει (not before it); frequently we find Ehlert, sometimes (p. 225) correctly Oehler; in the case of re-edited works the editor's name is sometimes prefixed to the author's (e.g. Moulton-Winer, pp. 223, 224, 245, 342, 350, &c.), sometimes (*correctly*) appended (e.g. Winer-Moulton, p. 78).

J. H. THAYER.

HUDE'S THUCYDIDES.

Thucydidis Historiarum, libri vi.-viii. ad optimos codices denuo collatos recensuit CAROLUS HUDÉ, Dr. Phil. Hauniae MDCCCXC. Impensis Librariae Glyden-dalianae [F. Hegelii et Fil.]. pp. xv. 219. 5 Mk.

THIS is the first instalment of the critical edition of Thucydides on which Dr. Hude is engaged. That the last books appear first will cause no surprise to those who know the author's *Commentarii Critici*, which formed his exercise for the degree of Doctor at Copenhagen in 1888. None the less, the odd plan, which threatens to become a recognized system, of beginning anywhere in an author but at the beginning, is to be deplored. In the present case an additional reason is that A. Schöne's revision of Bekker has already forestalled Dr. Hude to some extent in books i. and ii. But the edition under notice differs from Schöne's in that

it includes all the readings of AEFG, while it omits the *testimonia veterum* and the *scholia*. The collation of ABCEFG is careful and elaborate, and it is improbable that anything remains to be discovered from the best MSS. in regard to these latter books. With regard to M, our own MS. of the first rank, Hude has been content to use the collation which was made for Stahl. That collation was very incomplete, and I have often lighted on mistakes in it, apart from the many omissions. Where the reading of M is unrecorded, Hude signifies the fact by the sign m. This is inconvenient, because the symbol m is already in use to denote the *manus recentior* which supplied the lost leaves of M. What is Dr. Hude to do if he edits, as every one will hope that he may do, the first and second books, to which the leaves are supplied? Scholars have not lost much by neglecting M. I know of no constant reader of it but the indefatigable

and ingenious Herr Müller-Strübing. Herwerden, who read through the eighth book when in London many years ago, rightly judged that the MS. is old enough to be better.

Below will be found all the hitherto unpublished readings of M for the first nine chapters of book vi. I deeply regret that the great demands on my time prevent me from carrying my collation of this part of the MS. further at present. It may be of interest to add that there is strong ground for believing that the MS. in the Cambridge Library marked T, which was collated by Shilleto, is very closely related to M. The latter has many foolish blunders, such as *οἱ ἀθηναῖοι for οἰαθῆναι*, and many omissions and transpositions. In all these respects T almost exactly corresponds to M. With regard to the *iota subscript* in M, Hude says 'testimonia inter se valde dissentiunt. Stahlus quidem plerumque id omitti, rarius adscribi adfirmat.' This is wrong: the *i* is regularly added, rarely omitted. In vi. 1, it is present in four cases out of five: in c. 2, in twelve cases out of sixteen. It is always wanting with the aor. pass. of *οἰκίζω*.

The new readings are: C. 1. Heading *θουκνυδίδου συγγραφῆς* Σ' with many embellishments. || C. 2. *ὀποθεν* | *πη γινώσκει* | *μεταντούς*—this is regular with *μετά* and of course common with other preps. | *αὐτοὶ φασὶ*—as regularly; so *τὲ* oftener than *τε* | *ὀπικους* | *ἄλλως πῶς* | *νῦν ἐν τῇ*—omission of *ἐτι* | *χωρα* | *ἰταλοῦ* | *τοῦνομα* | *εἰς*—this blunder is common | *οὕτω ἰταλία*—*not οὕτως* | *ἄκρας ἐπὶ*—omission of *τε* | *ἐπεισέπλεον* | *συννοικήσαντες* || C. 3. *χαλκιδεῖς*—generally, but not always, *-εῖς* appears for *-ῆς* | *ἐστὶν ἰδρύσατο*—*ἐστιν* is regularly accented | *ὅτ' ἂν* | *συρακούσας*—there are continual blunders and inconsistencies in proper names. Yet, in some cases, the true form is preserved, as in ii. 22, where Stahl wrongly says that only Lugd. has *κρανιώνιοι* | *ἐρχομένων* *ἔτους* | *σικελους* | *χαλκιδεῖς* || C. 4. *ὥκισαν τοὺς ὑβλαίους κληθέντας* inserted by later hand | *συρακουσίον ἀπέστησαν* | *πάμιλλον* | *συγκατωίκησε* | *συρακουσσῶν* | *τοῦνομα* | *περύρηης* | *ὑστερον οὐ πολλῶι*—order wrong || C. 5. *χαλκιδεῖς* | *συρακουσσῶν* | *συρακουσσίων*—below *συρακοσίῳ* | *συρακούσας* | *δ' ἔγγυς* | *συρακουσίῳ* | *διῷπστασιν* | *συρακο+σιων* || C. 6. *συρακουσίους* | *συρακούσιοι* | *δωριεῖς* | *δυναμιν* | *συρακουσίους* || C. 7. *ἄπωθεν*—in other places *ἀποθεν* || C. 8. *ἔτοιμα*—as usual | *τάλλα* | *καθότι*—twice | *ορθῶς* ||

In order to exhibit Hude's method clearly, I add a collation of the same nine chapters, as they appear in his text, with the same

chapters in the editions of Herwerden (Hw.), Stahl (St.) and Classen (Cl.). Spelling only counts in so far as it illustrates a principle. C. 1. *Σικελίας* | *Σικελία* Hw. | *ἐν εἰκοσι σταδίῳ* | [*ἐν*] *εἰκοσισταδίῳ* Hw. | *ἡπειρος εἶναι* | *ἡπειροῦσθαι* Hw. So Shilleto and Badham || C. 2. *τὸ ἀρχαῖον* | *τάρχαῖον* Hw. | *παλαῖτατοι* | *παλαιότατοι* St., Cl. | *ἐσπέραν τὴν Σικελίαν* | [*τὴν Σ.*] Hw. | *πρὸς τὴν Σικελίαν* | Hw. brackets | *Ὀπικούς* | *Ὀπικας* Hw., St., Cl. But St. has since corrected this. Hude deserts the Vatican group in favour of the Laurentian and G, and this reading is supported by Dion. H. Strabo and Steph. Byz. | *οὕτω Ἰταλία* | *οὕτως* Hw., St., Cl. The only authority for the *-s* is G and a correction in the Laurentian. [*Ἰταλία*] Hw. | *καὶ . . ὤκησαν ἔχοντες* | [*καὶ*] . . [*ὤκησαν*] Hw. | [*βορρᾶν*] *βορέαν* Hw. | [*ἐμπορίας ἔνεκα*] *ἔνεκεν* St., Cl., and all MSS. Hude follows stone records | *Σολόεντα* | *Σολοῦντα* Hw. | *ξυνοικήσαντες*, with the Laurentian | *ξυνοικήσαντες* St., Cl., with the Vatican | *ὅστις* | *ὅς* Hw. | *θύνουσι*. *Συρακούσας* | *θύνουσιν*. Hw. Hude does not attempt a rule with regard to this || C. 4. *παράδόντος* | So Hw., St., on Cl's conjecture. Cl. printed *προδόντος* | *οἰκίσαι* with the Laurentian | *οἰκήσαι* Cl., with the Vatican group | *Πάμιλλον* with Herodian | *Πάμιλον* Hw., *Πάμιλλον* St., Cl., | *ἐπελθῶν* | *πλήθος ἔλθον* Hw. | *ἡ πόλις* | *ἡ ἡ πόλις*† Hw. | *καλεῖται* | *καλοῦνται* Hw., St. || C. 5. *ἐστὶ* (*τὸ δὲ δρέπανον οἱ Σικελοὶ ζάγκλον καλοῦσιν*), *ὑστερον* | *ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ . . καλοῦσιν* | *ὑστερον* Hw., Cl. | *τὴν πόλιν* | [*τὴν*] Hw. | *ξυμμείκτων* | *ξυμμίκτων* St., Cl.—St. has since adopted the correct form | *ἀντωνόμασε* | *ταῦτ' ὀνόμασε* Hw., *αὐτὸ ὦ*. St., *ἀντωνόμασεν* Cl. Again a question between the Laurentian and the Vatican. Probably both readings are wrong | *χρόνῳ* | *Ἰ. ὑστερον* | *chr. ὦ*. *Ἰ.* Hw. || C. 6. *ἐφέβειον* . . *ἄρξαι* | *ἄρξεν* Cl., [*ἄρξεν*] Hw. Cf. ii. 29, 5. Hude follows St. | *προσγεγενημένους* | *προγ.* Hw., St., Cl. [*Ἐγεσταίων* | *τε*] . . *ἐπικαλούμενοι ὄμοροι γὰρ* | *γε* for *τε* St., *Ἐ. τε* . . *ἐπικαλούμενοι ὄμοροι γὰρ* Cl., assuming an anacoluthon, which seems improbable here | *ἐπαγαγόμενοι* | *ἐπαγόμενοι* St. | *κατεῖργον* | *καθεῖργον* Hw. | *πόλεμον* | [*Λεοντίων*] after Cl. | *π. Λεοντίων* St. | *διαφθείραντες* | *διαφθείροντες* St., Cl. | *μήποτε* | [*μήποτε*] Hw. | *ἐκπέμψαι* | [*Πελοποννησίοις*] after Cobet | *ἐκ*. Π. Hw., St., Cl. | *ὑπολοῖπον* *ἐτι* | *ὑ.* [*ἐτι*] Hw. | [*εἰσομένους*] Hw. brackets || C. 7. *σίτον ἀπεκομίσαντο* | *σ. ἀνεκομ.* Hw., St., Cl. Hude's change improves the sense | *τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς* | *μὲν om.* Hw., St., Cl. with the Vatican group | *ἄπωθεν* | *ἀποθεν* St. Cl. | *δέκατον* | *ἔτος τῷ π. ἐτελεύτα τῷδε* | *ἐτελεύτα τῷ π. τῷδε* St., Cl. [*ἐτελεύτα*] Hw. This is one of the

burning questions in Thucydidean criticism || C. 8. ἤν <τέ> τι περιγίγνηται αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου—an ingenious and probable correction] †τοῦ πολέμου† Hw.—καὶ <τοῦ> τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ψηφισθῆναι—the addition is quite unnecessary || C. 9. ἐς Σικελίαν ἐκπλεῖν] Hw. brackets ἐς Σ. | εἰ καὶ ἄμεινον—a combination of the Vatican and Laurentian] εἰ ἄμεινον Hw., St., Cl. | οὕτως βραχεία] οὕτω Hw., St., Cl. | πειθομένους] πιθομένους Hw. | ἀρεσθαι with the Laurentian] ἀρασθαι Hw., St., Cl. with the Vatican | νομίζων] νομίζω δ' Hw. | ἀλλ' ἢ ἂν γινώσκω] ἀλλ' ἢ ἂν γ. Hw., Cl., ἀλλὰ ἢ ἂν γ. St. | τὰ γε ὑπάρχοντα] τὰ τε ὕ. Hw., St., Cl. | τῶν ἀφανῶν καὶ μελλόντων] τῶν ἀ. [καὶ μ.] Hw. ||

Now in the first place it will be seen that the new text represents a timely protest against the tyranny of the Vatican. Hence it differs considerably from Classen's text. Another merit is that the spelling is reformed in accordance with the teaching of Herodian, Stahl and Meisterhans. In introducing corrections Hude is temperate, and his views on the subject are thus stated: 'duae maximae sunt res quibus difficultas hujus scriptoris recensendi continetur, . . unum quod memoria librorum per se ipsa haud ita magna fide digna est. . . , alterum quod ea Thucydidei sermonis proprietates est, quae multa ab vulgari consuetudine dicendi abhorrentia exhibeat.'¹ But on the serious

¹ He gives in the *Not. Crit.* the more important conjectures which are not admitted into the text. A good proof of his general candour and consideration for the labours of others is found at vi. 46,

question of interpolation—a question which confronts us at the very outset—Hude has no clear views. In one sentence of his preface he admits as much as Cobet ever contended for, but just afterwards he utterly condemns the 'rationem expungendi quam Batavi invenerunt.' So would every one, were that *ratio* such a preposterous fad as Hude imagines it to be: 'pleraque quae nullo aut fere nullo sententiae damno abesse posse videntur, hi glossematum nomine expungunt.' Any one, Dane or Dutchman, who went to work on such a plan would justly incur the ridicule of the whole republic of letters. The problem is one which cannot be solved in a few lines. Was the text of Thucydides extensively annotated or edited for the use of schools before the Christian era? Was the text interpolated before Cicero's time? If to all this we answer 'no,' then Thucydides knew very little of his own language. Granted that the language was 'in the stage of infancy,' yet Thucydides could not understand the infant whose ways his contemporaries Gorgias, Antiphon, Andocides, had thoroughly mastered. Is this possible?

The printing of this book is admirable, and the Greek type is most beautiful. Would that the English printers could acquire a fount of type from Copenhagen.

E. C. MARCHANT.

where he duly recalls Roscher's proposal and defence of ὑπάργυρα for ἀργυρά, though Hude himself successfully replied to that proposal in the *N. Jahrb.* for 1889 (p. 829).

WESTERMANN'S DEMOSTHENES.

Ausgewählte Reden des Demosthenes, erklärt von ANTON WESTERMANN. Drittes Bändchen: Aristokrates, Konon, Eubulides. Dritte verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von DR. EMIL ROSENBERG. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1890. 1 Mk. 80.

THIS is the third instalment of Dr. Rosenberg's reissue of Westermann's Demosthenes, in the Haupt-Sauppe series. In the revision of the text the editor has enjoyed special advantages: the new recension by Blass has been available throughout, and in the *Aristocrates*, the most important of the three speeches, the valuable labours of Weil and

his collation of MS. Σ. The variations of these two editions are given in the critical appendix, a new feature not to be found in Westermann, with whom textual criticism was a subordinate point. Rosenberg's text, however, is much more conservative than Blass's, sometimes even than Westermann's. Quoting Blass's dictum in the preface to his third volume (1889) '*dies diem docet, et alia multa fortasse olim rectius cognoscam quam adhuc cognovi*,' he remarks that in an edition like the present, *i.e.* intended for school use, the beaten path must not be quitted too often. We have failed to discover any guiding principle save that of departing as little as possible from the MSS.

Yet the editor is not wanting in initiative ; he often strikes out or brackets words which have hitherto passed muster, and in one passage at least proposes a considerable excision. In the concluding words of *Aristocr.* § 178, πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποιήκε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ δικαίως ἔπραξεν, Cobet had struck out πεποιήκε, Rosenberg thinks the whole sentence spurious.

In *Aristocr.* § 72 a discrepancy between the notes and the text is, we suppose, merely a misprint. Westermann had retained διέρρηκε, while noting that Dindorf was probably right in giving διήρηκε after Dobree's correction. Rosenberg condemns the alteration in his note, but prints it in the text. Conclusive evidence in favour of διέρρηκε, both here and in § 140, will be found in Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*, p. 331. In § 78, where Blass wishes to introduce τῆς αἰτίας from Aristides after ἀθῶς ἀφίεται, the editor simply brackets φυγῇν: 'doch wird δίκην leicht ergänzt und φυγῇν besser entfernt'; a good correction, but made by Cobet after Dobree. In § 108 Westermann had introduced Cobet's τοσοῦτον ἀπέχει and § 191 Εὐβοᾶς: Rosenberg goes back upon the old readings τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχει and Εὐβοέας. In § 117 there is a well-known difficulty in μὴ βουλήσεσθ' εἰδέναι: Westermann had already taken it imperatively, Rosenberg further refers to 'Whitelaw in *Classical Review*, ii. 18' (p. 322). In the same section he approves, but does not adopt, Blass's πάσης ἄρξας Θράκης for εἰ πάσης ἄρξεις Θρ.: in bracketing ἕως ἂν οἶν δύνωνται, πίστιν οὐκ εἶναι he follows Dobree and Cobet without acknowledgment: he throws out a good suggestion to drop φασιν after ἐκείνον. In § 125 Cobet is again ignored: he had bracketed the words δεύτερον δὲ and τοῦτω δοτέον: the former is taken and the latter left equally without explanation. In § 186 κὰν φύλακας κατέστησαν is read upon Cobet's certain conjecture, which accounts for the reading of the inferior MSS. καὶ φύλακας ἂν κατέστησαν: Weil alone among recent editors adopts κεί, a suggestion of his own. In the same section, where Dobree and, after him, Cobet had bracketed τὸ τοῦ and ἐφροῦρει Χαρίδημον, Rosenberg takes no notice of these omissions, but would like to read φρονῶν Χαρίδημον. In § 192 omitting ἡγοῦμαι is rather a good suggestion. In § 201, while bracketing, with Cobet and Weil, τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γραφόντων ἐτοίμως, he further suspects καὶ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν δωρεάς. In § 211 αὐτὸν before ἡξιώκεναι and again § 219 λέγειν after ἐπιτρέπετε are denounced as glosses, but not marked in the

text: ὑπερβὰς § 220 on the other hand is bracketed.

Conon § 2 there is an ingenious suggestion ἀδικεῖσθαι for ἡδικῆσθαι, following traces in Σ, which has ἀδικῆσθαι. § 3 the question between εἴωθαμεν, the common reading, and Blass's εἴωθεμεν he would settle by omitting the word altogether. § 15 the proposed omission of φῆ ἢ seems hardly intelligible. § 30 the proposal to write ἅπερ νῦν instead of ἅπερ παρ' ὑμῖν is certainly no improvement.

The *Eubulides* is the least important of the three speeches, but throws much interesting light on two points; the demotic sacra, and the abuses connected with the registration of citizens. § 3 τοῖς ἡδικημένοις is not unreasonably regarded as suspicious, συναδικηθείημεν following. § 5 the editor's conjecture ἀνπευθύνως for -ω is contrary to idiom and to the usage of the Orators, who never employ the adverbial form of this word. § 34 the text and notes do not agree; the former gives τί οὐ from conjecture, the latter retains Westermann's explanation of οὐδέν τι, the reading of ΣFQ. The reading of οὐδέν τι has nothing but diplomatic authority to recommend it; and Blass has the courage to retain the common reading οὐδὲν ὃ τι οὐ. The editor, in the critical note, appears drawn two ways, common sense pointing one way and his favourite MSS. the other. § 36 the proposal to write ταύτας [τὰς] διαβολάς without the article is rather startling. § 42 he thinks ποιούσα perhaps a gloss, and we are disposed to agree: the change of tense from ποιήσασα to ποιούσα is difficult to account for, and Westermann's explanation certainly not satisfactory: 'ersteres vom Uebernehmen, letzteres vom Vollziehen des Auftrages zu verstehen.' § 49 his final conjecture οὐδ' ἦδει for οὐδεὶς ἦδει is a decided improvement.

Westermann's strongest point, his knowledge of Attic law, comes out with especial force in these three speeches: his explanatory notes required little alteration, but have been sparingly and judiciously revised. Some notes of Weil (on the *Aristocrates*) and Sandys (on the *Conon*) are cited in the original languages. The English quotations however are not altogether happy: § 4 he writes *abut* for *but*, evidently thinking of *aber*; § 7 'the inner Cerameicus, the N.W. district of Athens, lying [within the walls, as opposed] to the outer Cerameicus,' the sense is not improved by omitting the words in brackets; in the concluding section he prints 'Grec writers on Rhetorik.'

W. WAYTE.

HEADLAM'S POEMS OF MELEAGER.

Fifty Poems of Meleager, with a Translation
by WALTER HEADLAM. Macmillan & Co.,
1890. Pp. xx. + 108.

THIS book contains a translation into English verse of fifty poems of Meleager. The Greek text (which does not claim to be critically revised) and the translation are printed on opposite pages; and a short introduction is prefixed, telling the few facts known about the life of Meleager, and containing a translation of part of the dedicatory preface to his Anthology.

The translations are throughout remarkably literal and, with few exceptions, good. For example, the translation of the epigram beginning *Βεβλήσθω κύβος' ἅπτε' πορεύσομαι* (p. 43) is a triumph of faithful rendering under difficulties; and the translation of *Εἰπὲ Λυκαίνιδι, Δορκάς* (p. 83) is no less skilful. In one or two cases, however, a literal rendering is obtained only at the cost of a failure in other respects. The couplet

Παμμῆτορ Γῆ, χαῖρε' σὺ τὸν πάρος οὐ βαρὺν
εἰς σέ
Αἰσιγενὴν καὶτῇ νῦν ἐπέχους ἀβαρήs.

is rendered thus (p. 85):—

Hail, Mother Earth! Aesigenes
That erst was unto thee
Not heavy, now in turn may'st please
To press not heavily.

Nothing could be more literal than this; but 'not heavy,' 'not heavily' are clumsy in English, and do not reproduce the effect of *οὐ βαρὺν* and *ἀβαρήs*, which are not clumsy in Greek. Moreover the whole quatrain is not far removed from doggerel. This however, is not a fair specimen of Mr. Headlam's verse, and we must quote some of the epigrams which show him at his best. The well-known lines

Ἦδη λευκόιον θάλλει, θάλλει δὲ φίλομβρος
νάρκισσος, θάλλει δ' οὐρεσίφοιτα κρίνα·

are rendered thus (p. 9):—

Now bloometh the white violet,
Now bloom the daffodils
That love the rain, the lilies bloom
That ramble o'er the hills.

Now, love's delight, among the flowers
The fairest flower that blows,
Zenophile is in her bloom,
Enchantment's own sweet rose.

Ye meadows, why so vainly smile
For blossoms in the grass,
When as your fragrant posies all
My lady doth surpass?

The real test of a verse translation is whether it reproduces the melody and indefinable charm of the original; and tried by this touchstone some of Mr. Headlam's verses are of the true metal. For example the first couplet of Meleager's epitaph on himself (*Ἀτρέμας, ὦ ξένε, βαῖνε*) is translated (p. 101):—

Tread softly, stranger: here at rest
Among pure souls below
An old man, Meleager, sleeps
The sleep that all men owe:

or again the haunting lines

Αἰεὶ μοι δινεῖ μὲν ἐν οὐασιν ἦχος Ἔρωτος,
ὄμμα δὲ σῖγα Πόθοις τὸ γλυκὺ δάκρυ φέρει·

retain some of their magic in the English (p. 37):—

The sound of Love dins ever in mine ears;
Silent mine eyes to Longing bear sweet
tears:

The book also contains four epigrams by Mr. Headlam himself, in parallel Greek and English. The Greek versions of these are decidedly good, and more successful than the English. Mr. Headlam translates Meleager better than he translates himself. The third,—

Such the blossoms that were borne
By the Grecian soil outworn,—

is a piece of involved and even obscure English which ill suits the simplicity of the metre in which it is written. The second ingeniously applies to Meleager the phrase which he wrote of Heliodora:—

Τὸν στέφανον Μελέαγρος ἀπανταχόθεν
συνέπλεξεν.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐκλάμπει τοῦ στεφάνου
στέφανος.

The points which call for criticism are few and small. On p. x. σκολιότριχος is misprinted σκομότριχος. On p. 43 θυμέ is not satisfactorily translated by *mind*. The dialogue is between the voices of reason and passion; and *mind* in English implies reason and not passion. ἀνωρύοντο (p. 69) is translated *waited*. A word is needed which would apply to cries both of mourning and

of rejoicing. It would have saved the reader trouble if a reference had been given (in the index or elsewhere) to the place of the epigrams in the Anthology; and the book would have been more convenient and more suitable to its matter if it had been smaller in size. 'A little pipkin fits a little jelly.'

H. BABINGTON SMITH.

MELBER'S DIO CASSIUS.

Dionis Cassii Cocceiani Historia Romana.
Editionem Primam Curavit Ludovicus
Dindorf, Recognovit JOANNES MELBER.
Vol. I. Leipzig: Teubner. 1890. Pp.
xliii. + 604. 4 Mk. 50.

THIS volume, which covers the same ground as vol. i. of the old edition (Fragments—end of bk. 40), is, on the whole, a distinct advance on any of the previous texts of Dio Cassius, yet scarcely perhaps so great an advance as might have been expected considering that it is a quarter of a century since the last edition appeared. The conditions under which the Fragments and the continuous books have come down to us being different, in an estimate of a volume which includes both, they must be carefully distinguished. It is in the Fragments that the advance is most striking: it is in the continuous part of the text (bks. 36-40) that disappointment, if any, is felt, but of the latter circumstance Dr. Melber has a satisfactory explanation. The question of MS. authority is in the case of Dio a comparatively simple one, and Dindorf had already reached conclusions which have, in all essentials, only been confirmed by the most recent investigations. It is not surprising therefore that the text of the continuous books in the present volume, for which there is practically only one authority (Mediceus A), does not contain many important variations from that of Dindorf's edition. The retention of Dindorf's name on the title-page is only a proper acknowledgment of this fact.

We will now examine separately the Fragments and Books 36-40 with the parts of the Preface that relate to them.

1. Two distinct and important sets of changes have been made in the present edition, the one relating to the selection of the Fragments, the other to their order. Since the edition of Dindorf various investigations (notably by Mommsen in an

article on the *Excerpta de Sententiis* and the *Excerpta* of Planudes in Hermes vi. p. 89, and by H. Haupt in two articles on the Fragments of Dio in Hermes xiv. p. 36 and p. 431) have considerably diminished the number of excerpts attributed by Mai to Dio and incorporated by Bekker and Dindorf. On the other hand a certain amount of new material has been provided by the assignment of Dio as the source of a number of passages in the compilations of Zonaras and Tzetzes. In this way 43 passages printed by Dindorf have been rejected, while 29 new ones have been admitted. The grounds for all this are too elaborate to be discussed here, nor are they fully explained in the edition, and reference to the articles of Mommsen and Haupt is necessary. The clue to an identification of a passage as Dio's is often to be found in the Epitome of Zonaras, and hence Dr. Melber has printed the text of Zonaras in full at the foot of the page, emphasizing the passage which has been identified by spaced type, so that the eye grasps at once the connection between the Fragment and the passage in Zonaras. This arrangement, which is the only striking novelty in the form of the new edition, is still more valuable for the other set of changes which Dr. Melber has made. These concern the chronological order of the Fragments, and form perhaps the most positive gain in the new edition, and the most original part of the editor's work. The continuous narrative of Zonaras printed at the foot of the page not only represents the general course of the early part of Dio's history (somewhat as Xiphilinus does for the last part of the work) and thereby enables us to fill up the gaps in sense and connection between the Fragments, but the spaced type of the identified quotations corresponding to the Fragment on the same page, or sometimes, where no identification is possible, merely the order of events in Zonaras, gives us the

Fragment in its proper historical setting. Many passages have been thus restored to their true place. For the justification of most of these reference must be made to a paper by the editor in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy for 1889. One example of Dr. Melber's changes must suffice. In the Fragments relating to the Latin war of B.C. 340 (35 in Dind.) it is clear from a comparison with Zonaras that the passages about the self-sacrifice of Decius (5-8) ought to follow the account of the punishment of the son of Manlius Torquatus (1, 2; fragment 3 being now rejected). But Bekker-Dindorf interposed, because it contained a general reflection on the conduct of Manlius to his son, a passage (4) which refers to his treatment of some people of whom it is said *ὅτι περισκοπήσαντες τὴν ἑκβασιν τῆς τύχης πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν ἔστησαν*. Who can these be? Zonaras is no help, for he concludes his account of the war with the death of Decius. But cf. Liv. viii. 11. 2: *Romanis post proelium demum factum Samnites venisse subsidio expectato eventu pugnae apud quosdam auctores invenio*. The order therefore should be 1, 2, 5-8, 4, 9.

Before passing to the second part of the text we may notice that the preface gives an account of the MSS. containing the various *Excerpta*.

2. Dindorf had already seen that the MSS. of the continuous books fall into two classes, and that only the first of these is of independent value for the constitution of the text. It consists of two codices, the *Mediceus* plutei 70 No. 8 (Ma), of the 11th century, containing bks. 36 (so far as it is preserved) to 50, 6, 2; and the *Venetus* (Marcianus) 395 (Va), of about the same date, containing bks. 44, 34 to 60, 28. Only the first of these comes into use in the present volume, but Dr. Melber's preface treats of the whole subject in preparation for the coming books. Only he has reserved the consideration of the oldest of the MSS. of Dio (Vaticanus 1288 bks. 78, 79) for his 5th volume. This part of the preface is based on an article by Boissevain published in *Mnemosyne* for 1885 (N.S. xiii. p. 311), which Dr. Melber has with commendable self-denial simply reproduced, sometimes in the original words. With the relation of the MSS. of the second class to those of the first (the only important point in which Boissevain has had to correct Dindorf, by showing that the archetype of the former was derived directly from the latter) Dr. Melber does not concern himself. With regard to the beginning of bk. 36 an important fact was discovered by Boissevain (and independently by J. Maisel,

Observationes in Cassium Dionem, Berlin, 1888). Ma begins with the words *φείδεται δυναστείας τε ἑρῶν*, and accordingly this is printed as the opening of bk. 36 in Bekker's and Dindorf's editions (36, 1 and 2). The Vatican MS. 144 (A) begins differently with the words *καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ τῇ τύχῃ*, which introduce a passage of considerable length (ending with *ὀλίγον διεφθάρη*) wanting in Ma; this being the only case in which a MS. of the second class is an independent authority for the text. This passage was inserted by Bekker and Dindorf in the following manner. Ma and Vat. A proceed in common from the chapter which begins *λέξω δὲ ἥδη* (20). It was assumed that there was a lacuna in Ma between the end of 2 (*ἐκείνῳ προσχωρήσαντας*.) and the beginning of 20, and accordingly the passage from Vat. A was inserted here as 3-19. Now Boissevain has established two things. In the first place he has proved conclusively (the evidence is given fully in *Mnemosyne*) that Vat. A was transcribed directly from Ma. The passage from Vat. A must therefore have existed in Ma at the time of the transcription. In the second place, while there is no indication of a lacuna in Ma between the end of 2 and the beginning of 20 (thus *ἐκείνῳ προσχωρήσαντας*. *λέξω δὲ ἥδη*), there is such an indication in Vat. A at the end of the passage wanting in Ma, *i.e.* after the words *ὀλίγον διεφθάρη*. The inference is that when Vat. A was written (15th. cent.) Ma began with the passage 3-19 in Dindorf followed by a lacuna and the existing beginning *φείδεται* &c. (1 in D.). Moreover there is no break in the sense between *προσχωρήσαντας* and *λέξω δὲ ἥδη* to suggest any lacuna in Ma. The beginning of bk. 36 as printed by Dr. Melber is therefore as follows:—

- c. 1-17 (*καὶ ὅτι ἰσχυρὰ—διεφθάρη*) = Dind.
c 3-19.
c. 18, 19 (*φείδεται—προσχωρήσαντας*) = Dind.
c 1, 2.
c. 20 &c. = Dind.
c 20 &c.

It remains to notice a few of the readings adopted, including some in the part containing the Fragments. Fr. 2, 3 (= Dind. 2, 4) *ἀρκοῦντως ἔχοντες*, we wonder that Bekker's suggestion *ἐχέτω* has not been admitted into the text. In Fr. 10, 13 = 11, 14 Herwerden's *πότῳ* for *λόγῳ* is admitted (cf. Liv. 1, 52, 9, in *convivio luxuque*), though something might be said on the other side. In Fr. 39, 2 = 39, 3 for the incomprehensible MS. reading *ἐν σκέπῃ φαβρίου*,

Boissevain's ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου is accepted on the strength of Herod. 1. 143 where the same words occur, although Madvig's φοβεροῦ is preferable as accounting for the MS. reading while preserving the imitation of Herodotus (to which Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* 3 p. 79, makes no allusion). In the same section the remains of the word in the MS. which follows νομίσαντες γοῦν ἢ have been settled by Boissevain thus δ.α. . λειν (of which λ is doubtful), but we are not satisfied with his suggestions διασιλλοῦν or διαφεύγειν. The Tarentines hoped for one of two alternatives of which the first (expressed by the missing word) is evidently something short of the result expressed by the second (ἢ πάντως γε λανθάνειν), in other words it is being detected by the Romans and 'squaring' them in some way or other (cf. what follows, ὅτι μηδ' ἔγκλημα ἐλάμβανον). Possibly the word is διαλύειν. The lacunæ created and supplied by Boissevain in Fr. 40, 17 = 40, 21 (between ἐπιτιμῆσας and ἔδεισε), and Fr. 46 = 48 (between κατασκοπῇ and Γαίου) are quite gratuitous. In bk. 37, 16, 3, Madvig's πτοίησιν is accepted for the certainly corrupt ἐμποίησιν of Ma, but though it seems to be confirmed by 17, 4, ὅπως τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτόνηται, the word in its ordinary sense of a display of violent emotion is not particularly adapted to express the customary reverence of the Jews for the Sabbath, and one would like to see a confirmation of the meaning attributed to it by Madvig here, 'furor et instinctus superstitiosus.' In 37, 53, 2,

Schenkl's χηλῇ is a decided improvement on Madvig's πέτρῃ (for γῇ of Ma) though perhaps not perfectly satisfactory, for an artificial jetty or breakwater which is the sense in which Dio uses the word (*e.g.* in the description of Byzantium 74, 10, 5) is scarcely appropriate to the scene of the event. Among other corrections of Cobet's which are accepted, the two cases of a lost numeral (38, 50, 4, μεθ' ἱππέων <πεντήκοντα> *i.e.* ἱππέων ῥ' and 39, 25, 1, καὶ <δέκα> ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνδρας *i.e.* καὶ ἵ) may be mentioned.

We have detected very few misprints or omissions, and those not important ones. In the comparative table of the Fragments in the previous and the present edition (preface p. xx.) in the first column after 3, 4, 1a should be inserted corresponding to 3, 1 of the present edition; 4, 1, should be 4, 1b, 2; 4, 2-15 should be 4, 3-15. In the fourth column 11, 1-12; it ought to have been stated that 11, 4 is a new passage not in Dindorf. On p. xxi. first column near the bottom 29, 1-5, = 27, 1-5 should be 1-6 in each case. On p. xxii. third and fourth columns after 57, 47=56, 50 the new passage 56, 51 († in Dind.) is to be inserted. P. 78, third line from bottom, the reference to the book of Tzetzes (3) is omitted. P. 108 at the end of 35 and 36 the reference to Mai's 2nd. vol. has been omitted: it should be p. 166 in each case, as also in 33, 32 on p. 107 (not 167). P. 394 *adv. Crit.* 2, 3, the reading of Ma φιλαρχοῦντα should have been added.

G. McN. RUSHFORTH.

KAIBEL'S ATHENAEUS.

Athenaei Naucratis Dipnosophistarum Libri xv. recensuit GEORGIUS KAIBEL. Vols. i. and ii. 1887; Vol. iii. 1890. Leipzig: Teubner. 7 Mk. 50.

A SHORT notice of the second vol. of Kaibel's text appeared in the *Classical Review* for February 1888; but now that the work is complete by the publication of vol. iii., it will be suitable to call attention to the editor's views as to the date of the work and the transmission of the text. He shows ingeniously that a passage in the fifteenth book was probably written in 228 A.D., the year of the historical Ulpian's death. For there (686 f.), when the fictitious Ulpian makes an end of speaking, Athenaeus adds, for the benefit of the reader, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας . . . ἀπέθανεν εὐτυχῶς. This argument depends on three suppositions: (1) that, in inventing

Ulpianus Tyrius the grammarian, Athenaeus was thinking of the lawyer, his own contemporary; (2) that, granting he did mean the famous Ulpian, he would have used the words 'died happily' of a praetorian prefect who was slain by the praetorian soldiers; and (3) that he would not have feigned the death of a *dramatis persona* unless the original had really died. It is certainly rather curious that the only contemporary introduced in the Banquet should be introduced without any disguise save that of turning a lawyer and imperial minister into a grammarian and sophist. Ptolemy Philadelphus is disguised as Philadelphus of Ptolemais, Scipio Africanus Aemilianus becomes Aemilianus Maurus, Nicomedes of Bithynia becomes Pontianus of Nicomedia, and, if Rudolph is right in his identification, Herodes Atticus appears as Larensius. Ulpian, on the other hand,

although alive when the work was being written, is treated like Galen and Democritus.

Kaibel spends a good deal of work in proving that the *Deipnosophists*, which has come down to us incompletely in the Codex Marcianus A, is not the original work of Athenaeus but only an epitome, written in the sixth or early part of the seventh century by some one of whom we can tell nothing more than that he was acquainted with the life and works of a certain lawyer (σχολαστικός) named Eustathius (see *lemma* to Bk. xii. p. 533). But one epitome was not enough. Another epitomator arose in later years and abridged the abridgment. This short work was used by another Eustathius, but one of whom we do know something—the famous Archbishop of Salonica; and it has been preserved to us in several MSS. As to the author, Kaibel guesses from the nature of his excerpts that he was either an epicure or (more probably) some hungry wretch who wished to season his own thin fare by feeding in imagination on the delicacies of the rich. We may note with interest an attempt at humour in a preface to a Teubner text. Whether we accept all Kaibel's ingenious arguments or not, we may admit that he has shown that we have not the text of Athenaeus as it left the author's hands.

The third volume contains four excellent indexes: I. of the speakers in the dialogue, II. of the writers quoted, III. of proper names occurring in the text, and IV. of strange words (*glossarum*). In this volume, as in the two former, there are many successful emendations both of the editor himself and of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff. On p. 11 in a quotation from Aristotle's *περὶ Μέθης* we have this list: *σμύρνης, σχοίνου, ἄνθους, κρόκου, βαλσάμου, κ.τ.λ.* Wilamowitz restores *ἀνήθου*. On the same page, the words *ὁ Χρυσίππος ἐν τῇ εἰσαγωγῇ τῇ περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν Πραγματεία* are corrected with absolute certainty by Kaibel, who reads *ἐν τῇ Εἰσαγωγικῇ κ.τ.λ.*

On p. 20 (xi. 782 d), in the line of Kratinos

πιεῖν δὲ θάνατος οἶνον ἂν ὕδωρ ἐπῇ

ἐπῇ will not do; Kaibel's suggestion *ρέπῃ* is excellent, and far superior, both palaeographically and in point of meaning, to

Kock's *ἐνῇ* (C.A.F. i. 93). In the fragment of the famous skolion, which Pindar wrote for Xenophon of Corinth, and which is preserved in Athenaeus xiii. 573 f. (p. 265) these verses occur—

πολλάκι ματέρ' Ἐρώτων οὐρανιαν πτάμεναι
νόημα ποττὰν Ἀφροδίταν.

Editors of Pindar generally read *οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι*, but Kaibel's *οὐράνιαι πτάμεναι* probably hits the truth. On p. 297 (xiii. 588 e) will be found a very plausible emendation, which occurred to Kaibel and Wilamowitz independently. In a story about Aristippos they propose to read *ὑπὸ Ἰκέτου* for *ὑπὸ οἰκέτου*, getting Hiketas of Syracuse from Diogenes Laertius, viii. 7, 3.

In conclusion I may mention two guesses which occurred to me in reading the late books of Athenaeus in Kaibel's third volume. (1) In xi. 464 a (p. 10) the following passage occurs: *παραιτητέον δ' ἡμῖν τὰ κεράμεια ποτήρια. καὶ γὰρ Κτησίας 'παρὰ Πέρσαις, φησίν, ὃν ἂν βασιλεὺς ἀτιμιάσῃ, κεραμέοις χρήται.'* Χοιρίλος δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς φησιν

χερσὶν ὄλβον ἔχω κύλικος τρύφος ἀμφὶς
ἑαγός,
ἀνδρῶν δαιτυμόνων νανάγιον, οἳα τε πολλὰ
πνεῦμα Διωνύσοιο πρὸς Ὑβριος ἔκβαλεν
ἁκτάς.

Kaibel regards *ὄλβον* in the first line of this fragment as corrupt. I believe the corruptness lies in *χερσὶν* and propose

Περσικὸν ὄλβον ἔχω,

which is supported by the preceding fragment of Ktesias; in fact the context suggests, if it does not demand, a Persian cup in the quotations from Choerilos. (2) On p. 230 a fragment of the *Neottis* of Anaxilas begins thus—

ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἐταίραν ἡγάπησε πώποτε,
οὐ γένος τις ἂν δύναιτο παρανομώτατον φράσαι.
Perhaps we should read
οὐ γένος, ὃ τις ἂν δύναιτο παρανομώτερον
φράσαι.

At least this would involve less change than any of the other proposed corrections.

J. B. BURY.

SCHMID'S ATTICISM OF DIONYSIUS.

Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halicarnassus bis auf den zweiten Philostratus dargestellt von Dr. WILHELM SCHMID. vol. i, pp. 432, 1887; vol. ii, pp. 316, 1889 (Kohlhammer) Stuttgart. 6 m. and 5 m.

THESE volumes are a valuable contribution to the history of Greek prose under the earlier Empire. They trace in fullest detail the story of the endeavours made by a series of writers, extending from the time of Augustus to that of Alexander Severus, to give an artistic form to prose composition by reviving the language and style of Attic authors of the classical age.

The first volume includes a minute examination of the chief representatives of Atticism in the persons of Polemo, Dio Chrysostom, Herodes Atticus, Lucian, Ælianus and Philostratus. It rightly begins with an analysis of the linguistic and stylistic principles of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the leading Atticist of the times of Augustus. Among other points of interest it gives an excellent account of Dio Chrysostom, who, wearied with the frivolity of the rhetoricians of his day, spent part of his half-voluntary exile under Domitian in searching for the traces of a simpler, sounder and more genuinely Greek life amid the woodlands of Eubœa and on the banks of the Borysthenes (*Or.* vii and xxxvi). We learn from himself that, among the Greeks of the northern outpost of civilization at Olbia, he found men who, in spite of their Scythian surroundings, were passionate admirers of Homer and knew the *Iliad* by heart; and one of them, Callistratus, a manly youth with genuine Ionic features and conspicuous for his beauty, was a zealot for literature and philosophy, but above all things for Homer (*Grote, H.G.*, chap. xcviii). The Atticism of Dio, as our author shows, is by no means of a pedantic type; thus, among other minor peculiarities, he does not refrain from the poetic future ελεύσομαι, the use of which in prose is denounced by purer Atticists such as Phrynichus and Mœris. Like other non-classical writers, he confounds the uses of the perfect and the aorist tenses, and often writes μή where authors of the best age would have written οὐ (pp. 95, 99). For his vocabulary (which is here elaborately examined) he is mainly indebted to Plato and Xenophon (p. 147). Even his

similes have been patiently enumerated with the result that, in his 80 speeches, there are no less than 397, many of them borrowed from the art of healing (p. 169). Lastly, he is characterized as presenting a refreshing phenomenon among the representatives of the Attic renaissance, in so far as he is not merely concerned with the *minutiae* of artistic style, but really aims at saying something of genuine and practical value (p. 190). More than 200 pages of the rest of this volume are devoted to a much better known author, Lucian; and students of that interesting Atticist will here find a minute investigation of his diction, showing in detail that it is mainly derived from Plato, Xenophon and the poets of the Attic Comedy.

The whole of the second volume, which has been recently published, is assigned to Aristides, the imitator of Demosthenes. The author justifies this course by pointing out the historical importance of this rhetorician, as a standard by which we can examine the performances of those of his successors, whether in pagan or in Christian literature, who made any pretensions to style. By far the greater part of this volume consists of lexicographical matter, the general result of which is to show that the vocabulary of Aristides is mainly taken from Plato, Xenophon, Herodotus, Thucydides and Demosthenes. But there are not a few readable pages of literary criticism, in which (amongst other observations) the author points out that, notwithstanding all the rhetorician's verbal accomplishments as an imitator of a bye-gone style, he is intellectually nothing more than a dwarf struggling beneath the armour of a giant (p. 298). Whatever dignity there is in his writings is entirely confined to echoes of the past, while his references to his contemporaries are generally in a querulous tone suggestive of unsuccessful endeavours to win their applause. It is probably this Aristides and not a younger namesake, that is the subject of a cruel epigram on his seven pupils, namely, the four walls and three benches of his empty lecture room:—

χαίρειν Ἀριστείδου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐπὶ μαθηταί,
τέσσαρες οἱ τοῖχοι καὶ τρία συνῆλια.

But, towards the close of his life, it must have been some consolation for him to remember that a passage in his description

of the desolation of Smyrna (after the earthquake of 178 A.D.) moved Marcus Aurelius to tears, and prompted that emperor to grant his aid in the rebuilding of the city (Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.*, ii 9, 2). In the times of the Byzantine renaissance the *Panathenaicus* of Aristides, together with the funeral oration of Psellus in memory of his mother and that of Gregory Nazianzen in

honour of Basil the Great, was mentioned by the side of the *De Corona* of Demosthenes, as one of the four masterpieces of eloquence; and at the close of the fourteenth century that memorable eulogy of Athens supplied the patriotic historian, Lionardo Bruno, with an appropriate model for his Greek encomium of Florence.

J. E. SANDYS.

FIERVILLE'S QUINTILIAN.

M. F. Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria Liber Primus. Texte Latin, publié avec des notes biographiques sur Quintilien, l'histoire de l'institution oratoire et de ses abrégés, la classification et la description des manuscrits, le texte abrégé par Étienne de Rouen et par Jean Racine, des notes critiques, les variantes principales et deux facsimile de manuscrits par CH. FIERVILLE. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1890. f. 10.

IN this volume M. Fierville has brought to bear on the first book of Quintilian's *Institutes* the wide knowledge of MSS. of which he gave proof in a former work (*De Quintilianeis Codicibus*, Paris, 1874). He believes that Halm's text (1868) rests on too narrow a basis, depending as it does mainly on the *Ambrosianus*, the *Bernensis*, and the *Bambergensis*; and he puts prominently forward certain MSS. of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as others of the fifteenth which are obviously copies of older codices now no longer extant. In fact the most valuable feature of the book is the account given of no fewer than sixty-seven MSS., twenty of which M. Fierville claims to have himself examined, either in whole or part. He proposes a classification of his own, differing from those of Zumpt and of Halm, according to which the various families of the *incomplete* MSS. (those with the great lacunae in Books v.-viii. and ix.-xii.) take first rank: examples are the *Bernensis*, the *Nostradamensis*, and the *Pratensis* (the last as representing the *Beccensis* now lost). In the second class he places the *Ambrosianus*, the *Bambergensis* G, the *Florentinus*, and the *Turicensis*—combating the view by which Halm inclined (rightly, as we shall see) to regard the last named two as copied, either directly or indirectly, from the second. Lastly come the various MSS. of the fifteenth century.

It is remarkable that M. Fierville nowhere notices Meister's edition (1886), which made a distinct advance on that of Halm, embodying as it does the main results of German criticism—which has lately been very busy over Quintilian—and setting forth in particular the readings of the *Nostradamensis*, as furnished by MM. Chatelain and le Coultre. It is not even mentioned in the list given on p. clxxv. The only references to one of the highest authorities, who has made Quintilian a life-study, occur on p. xci. where Meister appears as 'le récent éditeur de Darès le Phrygien' (the Teubner text, 1873), and in a foot-note on p. xv., where mention is made of Meister's early paper 'Quaestiones Quintilianeae,' Anhalt, 1860. And it is still more to be regretted that a work which its author evidently intended to be final, so far as it goes, should have been completed without a careful examination of the various MSS. in this country, some of which have never been collated at all. Perhaps it was his unfortunate experiences of certain English libraries (pp. lxx. and cxxviii.) that led this laborious scholar to confine his attention practically to the MSS. of France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Spain; and yet if he had ever visited the British Museum a prize would have been within his grasp. To say nothing of seven more or less interesting fifteenth century MSS. (one of which I think can be proved to be a copy of Poggio's), there is in the Museum a MS. of the greatest value, which must be reckoned with, at least in part, before any final text of Quintilian can be arrived at. After careful examination I can venture to affirm that it must take rank above both the *Turicensis* and the *Florentinus*, on which Spalding depended so greatly for the constitution of his text. This MS. (Harl. 2664), which was first noticed by Mr. Purser in *Hermathena* (No. xii.—1886), I

have now collated in considerable parts, and have also been at some pains to trace its history. It may be affirmed with certainty that it is the missing *Codex Dusseldorpianus*, referred to by M. Fierville at p. cxxiv. as having disappeared from the library at Düsseldorf before Gesner's time (see the preface to his edition of 1738, § 20, where he describes it, on the evidence of one who had seen it, as 'Poggianis temporibus certe priorem, necdum, quod sciatur, recentiori aetate a quodam collatum'). The following are the grounds on which I base this identification. We know from his diary that Harley's librarian, Humphrey Wanley, bought the codex (along with several others) on August 6, 1724, from Sig. John James Zamboni, Resident *Chargé d'affaires* in England for the Elector of Hesse Darmstadt. Hearing that the correspondence of this somewhat remarkable man (in twenty-one thick folio volumes) had found a resting-place in the Bodleian library, I examined it a short time ago, and ascertained that the Quintilian came to him from M. Büchels, who was librarian of the Court library at Düsseldorf in the beginning of last century, and with whom Zamboni drove a regular trade in MSS.

The correspondence is of a very interesting character, and throws light on the provenance of several of the Harleian MSS. The transactions of the pair began in 1721, when Büchels receives 1200 florins (not without much dunning) for a consignment of printed books. Zamboni, who was something of a humourist, is constantly endeavouring to beat down the librarian's prices: 'j'aime les beaux livres,' he says on one occasion, when pretending that he will not entertain a certain offer, 'j'aime les beaux livres mais je ne hais pas l'argent.' The trade in MSS. began in 1724, when Büchels sent a list from which Zamboni selected eleven codices, assuring his correspondent that if he would only be reasonable they would soon come to terms. Early in the year he offers 500 florins for the lot, protesting that he had no intention of selling again: 'sachez, Monsieur, que je ne vous achète pas les livres pour les revendre.' Three weeks after it came to hand he made over the whole consignment to Harley's librarian. It included our Quintilian and the great Vitruvius—the entries in Zamboni's letters corresponding exactly with those in Wanley's diary. In the end of the same month Zamboni is writing to Büchels for more, protesting that his great ambition is to make a 'très-jolie collection' of MSS. (Bodl. MSS. Add. D, 66.)

Where did this Quintilian originally come from? There is a clue on the first page, where we have the inscription *Iste liber est maioris ecclesiae*. This Mr. Purser has ascribed with great probability to Strasburg. The *Florentinus* has an inscription bearing that it was given by Bishop Werinharius (probably the first of that name, 1000–1029) to the Cathedral of St. Mary at Strasburg; and Wypheling, who catalogued the library there (*circa* 1508) says of this bishop: 'Multa dedit ecclesiae suae praesertim multos praestantes libros antiquissimis characteribus scriptos; quorum adhuc aliqui in bibliotheca maioris ecclesiae repositi videntur.' The last phrase shows that there was a greater and a less church at Strasburg, and the inscription is too remarkable in point of form to allow of much doubt on this head. I cannot hear of any 'maior ecclesia' likely to dispute the title with Strasburg, though Mr. Madan tells me there was a minor one at Mendovi (Mons Regalis) in North Italy. Our MS., which is either late tenth or early eleventh century, evidently belongs to Fierville's second class. I have found in the margin marks which show clearly that at an early date it was used to supply the great lacunae in some MS. of the first or incomplete class; and for a time it seemed quite legitimate to infer that the Harleian codex was no other than the original of Bambergensis G (see Halm, Praef. p. viii.: Fierville, p. xc.). The courtesy of the Bamberg authorities has now, however, given me an opportunity of comparing the two codices side by side; and though on palaeographical grounds there was room for doubt, the Harleian MS. being written in a neater hand and seeming to be of older date, a full examination has convinced me that it was copied directly from the Bambergensis, as soon as the latter was completed by the addition of G and of the readings supplied by the hand now known as b (which indeed H slavishly follows). We may still claim for H, however,—in view of the defective state in which the *Bernensis*, *Bambergensis*, and *Ambrosianus* have come down to us,—the distinction of being the oldest complete manuscript of Quintilian in existence.

I must reserve for a volume which will shortly be issued from the Clarendon Press a more detailed statement of the relationship of the *Harleianus* to known MSS. of Quintilian. The settlement of the question involves a testimony to the critical acumen of that great scholar, C. Halm. In the *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1866, i. pp.

505-6, Halm sought to establish the dependence of the *Turicensis* and the *Florentinus* on the *Bambergensis*, by pointing out, among other proofs, the insertion at a wrong place in the text of both these codices of a marginal addition in Bg which was obviously meant to follow the words *legis quam* in ix. 2, 52 (see Fierville, p. xci.). Noticing that in FT this addition is inserted after *Clodius*, and not after *legis quam*, Halm drew the inference that FT had not been directly copied from Bg, but from some intervening manuscript. Now in the *Harleianus* the words referred to do come in between *quam* and (*Clodius*), which in Bg begins a new line on a fresh page. This among many other indications must be taken as proving that H was copied directly from Bg, and is the parent of both F and T. To it may therefore now be diverted the controversy which M. Fierville touches on at pp. xcii.-iii. The *Harleianus* and not the *Turicensis* may very possibly be the MS. which Poggio found in 1416.

In comparing the readings of Bg (and G), H, T, and F, I have found H, if not always in exact agreement with the Bamberg MS. (often owing to the fact that the copyist knew but little Latin), invariably nearer the parent source than either T or F. Here are a few scattered instances: i. 11, 4 pinguitudine Bg and H, pinguedine FT: i. 6, 14 diceres H (following b), dici FT: x. 1, 4 sit G H, om. FT: i. 1, 16 formandam Bg H, formandum FT: i. pr. § 1 pertinenter H pertinent T: *ib.* § 6 amore H, studio F: i. 1, 3 hoc quippe uiderit Bg H, hoc quippe T: i. 2, 24 depellendam Bg H, repellendam T: ix. 4, 32 nesciat G H, dubitet F: *ib.* dignatur GH, digne dicatur F: viii. pr. § 3 dicendi G H, discendi T: ix. 4, 119 ignorabo G, ignoraba H, ignorabam T: *ib.* § 129 et hac fluit G H et hac et hac fluit T. To H must be attributed the remarkable gloss *vin demoni* in x. 3, 23, repeated in F but not in T. Noteworthy cases of the close adherence of T to H are the following:—Empedoclena. i. 45: *vesperuginem* i. 7, 12 (where Fierville gives a wrong account of T): *tereuntur* i. 4, 27: *flex his* x. 1, 2: *gravissimus* x. 1, 97: *ipsae illae quae extorque eum credas* x. 1, 110 where both give also *trans usum* for *transversum*, and *non repe* for *non rapi*: *morare refinxit finxit recipit* x. 3, 6: *nam quod cum isocratis* x. 4, 4. In other instances the writer of T has evidently tried to improve on the reading of H: e.g. in the title of book x. H gives an abbreviation which T mistakes for *quo enim dandum*: also *extemporal facilitas* which appears in T as *ex-*

tempora vel facilitas. So in i. pr. § 6 H gives *ir* and T makes it *iter* (while F omits the puzzle altogether): x. 1, 79 *ven iudicis* (in mistake for *se non iud.*) which is made into *venit iudicis*. Many similar instances could be cited both in regard to T and F; the reading *tantum*, for instance, in x. 1, 92, which occurs in both, has evidently arisen from H which here shows something that looks more like *tantum* than *tacitum* (the reading of G). Again in every place where Halm uses the formula ‘FT soli ex notis’ H will be found to correspond.

M. Fierville devotes a long note (pp. xxxv.—vi.) to the discussion of a point which he could have cleared up in the British Museum. He inclines to believe that the Epitome often ascribed to P. P. Verger was really the work of Fr. Patrizi, who was Bishop of Gaeta from 1460 to 1494. There is in the Museum a beautiful copy of Quintilian, with the Epitome attached, which establishes this point. It is dated 1467, and on the last page the letter which is partly quoted by M. Fierville appears *as from Patrizi himself* to one Tranchedinus—the inscription being Franciscus Patricius F. Tranchedino s.p. dicit. There is another copy of the Epitome alone in the Bodleian at Oxford, with the same letter (beginning Franciscus Patricius francisco tranchedino), and at the end the following: M. Fab. Quintiliani abbreviatio per Franciscum Patricium Senensem nuper edita feliciter urbane et luculenter explicit.

Cum legeris nostri compendia parva laboris

Dicere non pudeat gratia magna tibi.

Nam quae vix poteras multis ediscere in annis

Mensibus haec paucis nunc meminisse potes.

Of the other MSS. of Quintilian in the British Museum one is a very scholarly work which I find anticipates several readings quoted by Halm from the Cologne edition of 1527. It bears an inscription showing that it was finished in January 1434. Another (from which I have derived some valuable readings for an edition of the tenth book) is dated 1470, and is probably a copy of the *Vallensis*: it contains copious notes, and reproduces the anonymous criticism on iv. 1, 1, given by M. Fierville on p. cxix. *non bene intellexit curam*. The copyist must however have had an older MS. by his side: at x. 6, 2 there is no lacuna, but in the margin the words *hic deficit antiquus codex*. This points to an explanation of the false lacuna shown here by Bn. and Bg.

In the Bodleian M. Fierville would have found the *Codex Dorrilianus*, which has never been collated at all (though it is mentioned by Ingram in his edition of 1809). It is Italian work, of the early part of the fifteenth century—earlier, Mr. Madan thinks, than the *Codex Bodleianus*. In some places it shows a remarkable resemblance to the *Ambrosianus* (e.g. Getae 1 pr. § 6: et quantum *ib.* § 8). In x. 1, 20 it gives the reading which Herzog conjectured, and which is probably right: neque vero tanta esse unquam debet fiducia facilitatis. This MS. is deserving of further study: a marginal note at ix. 3, 2 (*hic deficit codex vetustissimus*) shows that it must be copied from sources much older than itself.

For the *Codex Ioannensis* (in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge) M. Fierville is dependent on the account given by Spalding (Vol. ii. pr. p. 4). A recent examination has shown that this account must be amended in some particulars. Though in its present condition the MS. begins with *constaret* (i. 2, 3) a portion of the first page has been cut away for the sake of the ornamental letter: originally it must have begun at the beginning of the second chapter, like the *Nostradamensis* (N) Voss. 1 and 2, and Par. 7719, 7721 (see Fierville, p. 165). Again the reading at xi. 2, 33 is clearly *multiplici* not *ut duplici*, and in this it agrees with the Montpellier MS. which M. Bonnet has shown to be a copy of the *Bernensis* (*Revue de Philol.* Jan.—Mars, 1887). It is evidently a thirteenth century copy, probably indirect, of the *Bernensis*, and shows a distinct resemblance to N. For example I have found in it (unnoticed by previous collators) the reading lately accepted from N at x. 3, 2, *alte refossa*. It is wrongly quoted by Fierville at p. 50 as reading *notam* in i. 4, 9, just as the Balliol codex (from which I have derived some new readings) is wrongly quoted on pages 76 and 83. In the former place (i. 5, 33) the Balliol MS. gives *de quibus* quite distinctly, and in the latter (*ib.* § 50) *intro loci adverbium*.

The changes which M. Fierville has made in the text of the first book can hardly be considered commensurate with the great amount of labour he has expended; and it is somewhat depressing to think that the same methods might be applied to the other eleven books without altogether transforming the existing text. No new reading of first-class importance is established. There are numerous instances of unimportant inversions in the order of words: of these the

best is perhaps i. 2, 4 *Nam et potest turpis esse domesticus ille praeceptor* (the reading of Bg and H): cp. *sapientiae studia* pr. § 14 for *stud. sap.*: *ib.* § 18: 1 § 20: 2 §§ 11, 13: 4 § 5: 5 § 3: 8 § 6: 12 § 13. The following (of which M. Fierville ought himself to have given a list) are the main divergences from Halm and Meister's texts: Pr. § 4 *summam inde* (which I have found in the *Codex Dorrilianus*, though M. Fierville says it occurs in no MS.): *ib.* § 6, where (ignoring Mommsen in *Hermes* xiii. pp. 428—430) he has Marcelle Victori: *ib.* *festinabimus for destinabamus*: *ib.* § 7 *bini iuvenes for boni*: *ib.* § 27 *ingenita quaedam quae adiuvant*, an unsatisfactory change for *ingenita cuique adiumenta* (H and probably also Bg): 1 § 12 *latinus... se perhibet*: *ib.* § 17 *qui id senserunt*: *ib.* § 20 *scisse se gaudeat*: 4 § 20 *attractionem*: *ib.* § 27 *feruntur*: 5 § 40 *dividunt*: 5 § 46 *diminutionem*: 6 § 14 *nomina*: 6 § 16 *quidquoque modo*: 6 § 30 *aliaque quae* (as H) 1 § 33 *agendi*. In Pr. § 6 *studio* seems an unnecessary change for *amore*: in 2 § 29 *paulatim* has been unaccountably left out, as also has *duas* in 2 § 7 and *est* in 7 § 13: and there is no note at 5 § 71 to show that some words are omitted in certain MSS. In only one place is a conjectural emendation attempted: i. 5, 45 *sane for ne*.

There are evidences (besides the omission of any reference to Meister's edition) that M. Fierville has been too much absorbed by his study of the MSS. to keep pace with the results of recent German criticism of Quintilian. The name of Kiderlin is nowhere mentioned, though his papers in the *Jahrbücher f. Class. Philologie* Vol. 131 and in the *Blätter f. d. bayer. Gymnasialschulwesen* ought to have been in the hands of an editor of the *Institutes*. The consequence is that readers of the First Book will still have to go elsewhere for Kiderlin's emendations, many of which (e.g. *inhonoratam* for *inhonoratam* 1, 5, 31) have already been received into the text by Meister. Even Madvig's certain conjecture *loquendi* for *loquendo* (1, 4, 3) has no place in M. Fierville's notes. Much more excusable than want of acquaintance with the recent work of Becher, Meister, and Kiderlin is M. Fierville's failure to find a place for Mr. Lane's excellent suggestion about the passage (1, 4, 16) hitherto considered altogether hopeless: in the recent volume of *Harvard Studies* he proposes to read '*nutrix Culcidis*.'

The notes at the foot of the page illustrate the critical bent of M. Fierville's scholarship, consisting as they do in considerable part of

the grounds on which the editor discriminates between the mass of variants which his industry has brought together. While grateful for this guidance the student will probably find that something beyond mere critical notes is needed for a full understanding of Quintilian's text. In *Pr.* § 4 an explanation of *quibus id praestabatur* would have been by no means superfluous. In 1 § 11 it is hard to see how the editor explains *non rationi defuerit sed homini*; Halm's *defuerint* is certainly the easier reading. On 1 § 20 *nunquam non scisse se gaudeat*, M. Fierville cites *Cic. De Fin.* v. 55: but the passage (which has the present instead of the perfect infinitive) is hardly an apt parallel. Most codd. read *fecisse* = 'let him always feel pleased at having done his task,' which suggests the suspicion that *p.* (the contraction for *pro*) may have fallen out, and that the true reading may be *profecisse*. Parallels from the literature of Quintilian's own day might have been adduced in illustration of the reference

to the sham philosophers in *Pr.* § 16. In the very difficult passage 5 §§ 22—31 the editor's full notes would have been improved by a reference to Kiderlin's theory that Quintilian is here writing against the fashionable practice of accentuating the last syllable of Latin words. In 7 § 5 he might have defended his reading by pointing out that both with *per q* and *per c* the *duae sequentes* are to be supplied, the reference in the first instance being obviously to the form *qum*. In spite however of such drawbacks as these, M. Fierville has incorporated in his notes a vast amount of matter which is otherwise hardly accessible; and scholars will feel grateful to him for the labour he has spent on his task. The volume, which is enriched by two fac-similes of MSS. (the *Nostradamensis* 10th cent. and the *Pratensis* 12th cent.), will greatly facilitate the work of any future editor.

W. PETERSON.

BAUER'S SILIUS.

Sili Italici Punica, edidit LUDOVICUS BAUER.
Leipzig. 1890. Teubner. 2 Mk. 40.

At last we have the first volume of a new text of this little read and much depreciated author. It contains the first ten books. The remaining seven with the index are shortly to appear in another volume.

Of editions of Silius there is no lack. From the *editio princeps* [Rome 1471] to Lemaire's reprint of Ruperti [1823] they number not less than 53 of one kind or another. But in purifying and establishing the text of the *Punica* little has till now been done by editors since the time of Drakenborch [1717]. Recent efforts have for various reasons fallen short of the production of a complete edition. G. Thilo took up the work but eventually abandoned it. Hermann Blass, who followed him, came so near success that he left little but the details of execution to his followers. His treatise '*Die Textesquellen des Silius Italicus*' [*Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie* 1875, also issued separately] is a model of minute learning and clear argument. He determined the value of the evidence now extant of the readings of the lost *liber Coloniensis*. He traced the history of the discovery of the *Sangallensis* [1417 or 1416],

also lost, and proved it to have been very nearly equal in authority to the *Coloniensis*. Let them be called respectively S and C. From copies (or a copy) of S come all the existing MSS. Blass then examined with care the 25 MSS of which he could procure or make collations, a work for testing purposes exhaustive. He classified them in groups, the best of which consists of three Florentine MSS [L³ L⁴ F]. Upon these copies, particularly on L³ and F, occasionally supplemented by three others, particularly the Oxford [O] and the Vatican MS 1652 [V], the present text in general rests. The scattered evidences of C are numerous and striking enough to show even to a casual reader how splendid a manuscript we have lost. Bauer indeed holds it far superior to S. Thus in iv. 775 he adopts *genitoris* in preference to *redeuntis* of S, while Blass rather considers the former reading as indicating the reception of a gloss in C.

After the early death of Blass, his collections were handed over to L. Bauer, who now undertook the work. Following the principles of Blass with skill and industry, he has produced a standard work, which I trust will soon be completed. Students of Latin literature owe him much thanks for his labours. I have a few remarks to offer in detail.

The critical notes are excellently clear and compact. Whether it was necessary to give so many conjectural emendations of various scholars may perhaps be doubtful. That it was well worth while to record exactly the several authorities for the readings of C (Modius, Carrio, N. Heinsius, Drakenborch) admits no doubt. Some time back I went through the whole of the evidence of Modius and Carrio; and so far as I have tested Bauer's record I find it minutely accurate, even to such matters as the misprint *omenti* for *ument* in iii. 522, as given by Modius in one of the two places where he refers to the passage.

The steady caution of the editor seems to give way now and then. No doubt the lines i. 421-5 are rather awkward where they are found, but to transplant them to between 532 and 533 without any authority, only to make 533 come very awkwardly after them, is too strong a measure, and I am pleased to find [preface p. xv.] that Thilo disapproves it.

It must be remembered that the critical notes do not pretend to give a complete record of the manifold corruptions of the inferior copies of S, or of their offspring, the early editions. It was impossible no doubt to note all the numberless little points thus arising. For instance in i. 28 *optauit profugis aeternam condere gentem* it is a very small matter that the conjecture *sedem* long disputed the place with *gentem*. Still it is almost as interesting as many of the modern emendations.

Some passages still remain in doubt. Thus i. 425 seems to have stood in C (and perhaps in S also) *iamque gemet geminum contra uenabula dentem*, and after all efforts of conjecture [see note, and preface p. xv.] we are little nearer to a reasonable solution of this oldstanding difficulty. In iii. 229 surely *tam durum* fills the place of some word equal in sense to *Troianum*. Hence Blass acutely *Atridum*. So in iv. 45 for the unnecessary *quondam* Schrader not unnaturally conjectured *Senonum*. But this passage is less desperate as it stands than the last mentioned. I could wish that the editor had said plainly whether he believes that *tam durum*, though allowed to stand, is really

genuine. And I doubt whether we are to regard the text of i. 71 as finally settled.

Of orthography the editor says [preface p. x.] 'codices ita sum secutus, ut neque manifesta librariorum menda sequi neque sine causa a libris discedere vellem.' I observe that in i. 259 no MS authority is given for *hument*. The note says: *ument* Ch [= C teste Heinsio], *inuenta* LOV, *inueni* F sed m 2 *supraser*. l' *inuenta*. The word is regularly given with the aspirate, as ii. 469 where the note is *humentis* ex corr. L, *umentis* Ch O, and iii. 522 where the note supplies *ument*, *omenti*, *uienti*, *ingenti*. In i. 602 *Poenicus* is given on the authority of Carrio. But Carrio only says that the then vulgate *protinus* is wrong 'cum scribi debeat *Poenicus*.' And Carrio is in the habit of spelling *Poenicus* not *Punicus* [see emend. lib. i. 6, ii. 4 (twice), ii. 11]. It would be well, in default of an explicit statement on Carrio's part that such was the exact spelling of C, to know whether there are other reasons for adopting the unusual spelling here while habitually using *Punicus* as i. 621, ii. 567, etc. Brevity requires mere mention of *tentare* ii. 480, 518, 523, *retemptare* iv. 211. The forms i. 201 *Athlas*, ii. 209 *trophaeum*, iii. 597 *Thylen*, 600 *Idymen*, and so forth, are to be noted.

Of punctuation he says 'in verborum distinctione, cum summa mihi lex esset sententiarum perspicuitas, fortasse nimius fui.' Punctuation is perhaps a small matter, and opinions will vary. But I will give ii. 422, iii. 170, 177, 266, 538-9, ix. 401, as instances of what seems to me excess not resulting in clearness.

In so good a book misprints are a pity. Such as i. 33 *conanime*, vi. 682 *feras*, will no doubt be corrected on the first opportunity.

The history of the gradual establishment of the text of the *Punica* is one of absorbing interest. But it would serve no purpose to add details here. It is impossible to enter into the problems involved without at least carefully studying Blass' *Textesquellen* and the *Novantiquae Lectiones* of Modius. Those who have done this will form a just estimate of the great services of the present editor, Ludwig Bauer.

W. E. HEITLAND.

DE VRIES' STUDIES IN PALAEOGRAPHY.

Exercitationes Palaeographicas in bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduno-Batavae iterum indicit S. G. DE VRIES. Leyden: Brill. 1890.

THIS short disquisition of thirty-one octavo pages gives an account of a MS. fragment of Pliny's *Letters* found by De Vries (the well-known editor of Ovid's *Epistula Sapphus*) in the University Library at Leyden. The codex containing it is numbered Voss. Lat. Q. 98, and was written by two different scribes in the ninth century. The interval between these two parts (the former containing S. Augustin *de baptismo parvulorum* and *de patientia* with the six books *de Sacramentis* ascribed to S. Ambrose, the latter S. Augustin *de perfectione iustitiae hominis, de natura et gratia, de libero arbitrio* with most of his *de correptione et gratia*), a space occupying fol. 73^v to fol. 74^r, has been filled with a variety of excerpts; our Plinian fragment is on 74^r. The fragment extends from the beginning of *Epp.* i. 1 to *nisi tamen auribus nostris* in 2, a too inconsiderable excerpt in point of length to be of much value for the criticism of the *Letters*, but marked by this singular and unique peculiarity, that much of the writing is in *notae Tironianae*.

M. De Vries has appended a photograph in which the strange mixture of early minuscule with the *notae* is exactly reproduced. To the decipherment of the *notae* he devoted many hours of his vacation, and in most cases has satisfied himself as to the meaning of each one of them: in cases where he was in doubt he has taken the opinion of that most skilful of tachygraphical experts, M. Wilhelm Schmitz, on whose labours in

this obscure region of palaeography—combined with the great, but in England much neglected, work of Kopp—he has throughout founded his interpretation.

This is the one only specimen as yet discovered of any part of a Roman *classic* written in Tironian symbols. De Vries mentions the other excerpts where they are also employed pp. 19, 20: a fragment of Boethius *de consol. philosophiae*, of Isidorus' *Origines*, an epigram edited by Hagen from a MS. at Bern, and several extracts from ecclesiastical or medieval writers. From a letter of Cardinal Bembo written Jan. 18, 1513, to Julius II. (*Bemb. Epist. Fam.* v. 8) it appears that there then existed a MS. of Hyginus 'On the Stars,' written in these characters. Bembo's words are: 'Liber superioribus diebus e Dacia ad te missus [est], notis perscriptus cum vetustissimis, tum aetate nostra inusitatis atque incognitis, quaeque legi posse nullo plane modo uidebantur.....Erat autem is quidem liber Higini commentariorum de sideribus quaedam portio.'

For this codex Schmitz made a careful search in the Vatican, but in vain. M. De Vries comes to the conclusion that it is doubtful whether such a codex ever existed! *Non talem Bembum novimus*. This is much of a piece with the German disparagement of Cardinal Mai. The MS., I do not doubt, existed: but as Bembo does not describe the *notae vetustissimae*, we cannot be sure that they were Tironian. Supposing, however, that they were, the Vatican library is a large place, with infinite recesses and possibilities of stowage: *may* it not be in a corner still?

ROBINSON ELLIS.

PECK'S SUETONIUS.

Gaii Suetoni Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum Libri Duo. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary by HARRY THURSTON PECK Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1889. pp. xxxv. 215.

WE have here an edition of a most interesting author with a commentary adapted in the main to the needs of the American college student; and the volume is the more to be welcomed because it has no predecessor

and brings a new author into the circle of those read in our colleges.

Prof. Peck follows Roth's (Teubner) edition closely as to text, differing from it only in some nine instances, all but one of which are noted in the commentary; though it can scarcely be said that all are defended. In *Jul.* § 2 *regi* has been omitted after *prostratae* without comment, and in *Jul.* § 20 sub fin. the corrupt *inductum* [*quendam*] *praemiis* is the occasion of an unfortunate error. Baum.

Crus. gives *induxit Vettium praeiis* (following Ursinus, Burmann, and Ernesti), Roth marks a lacuna, but suggests (p. xxxvii.) *indicem subornavit Vettium inductum praeiis*, and Peck reads *quendam induxit*: yet in his commentary he cites Ursinus' reading as from his own text and comments thus, 'This is the emendation generally accepted for the MS. reading—etc.' By a similar oversight in *Jul.* § 73 we have in the text Roth's reading *simultates contra nullas*, while in the commentary we read—' *Simultates contra nullas*. This reading of course makes *contra* a preposition. The majority of the MSS. have it so and there seems no good reason for reading with Roth and others *nullas*, making *contra* the adverb.' On page 208 Roth is censured for a similar error.

In *Aug.* § 2 init. after *adlecta*, the words in *Senatum* are omitted on account of the following in *patricios*, but the 'I have therefore omitted them' gives no credit to previous scholars who have also struck them out.

No information whatever is given the student as to the sources of the text of Suetonius, and the MSS. are very rarely alluded to.

On account of the author's freedom of speech, the following passages are relegated to the notes: *Jul.* § 7 *occasiones in urbe*—fin.; *Jul.* § 22 *omnium capitibus*—fin.; *Jul.* § 49 entire; *Aug.* § 68 entire; *Aug.* § 69 *exquireret*—fin.; *Aug.* § 71 *confleverit omnia*—*Aleae rumorem*; but it may be doubted whether this device obviates the objections to such passages. All will however agree that Prof. Peck is right in making these omissions sparingly.

Pp. i.—xiii. of the introduction treat, in a somewhat too florid style, of the position of Suetonius in literature and of his writings. Here, under § 9 Στέμμα Πομπῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων, we have mention of the lives of Terence, Horace and Pliny, but the life of Vergil prefixed to the commentary of Donatus, and which has for so long passed under his name, is entirely passed over. We should gladly have seen the arguments in favour of ascribing that life also to Suetonius briefly stated. The second part of the introduction (pp. xiv.—xxxiv.) is more important, dealing as it does with the author's language and style. In this, while much of interest and value is given, e.g. the technical expressions, rare words, fondness for adverbs in *-im* and participial constructions, numerous evidences of Greek influence, etc., much more was to have been desired. Particularly faulty is the treatment of the subjunctive on pp. xxv. f.,

where, with the exception of examples of irregularities under the head of the tenses, this important subject is dismissed with a reference to the frequent potential use. Under the head of conjunctions § 17, we do have a bare mention of *quamquam* occurring with the subjunctive *Jul.* § 3, but it is made in such a way as to lead the student to regard the construction as an exception, although it occurs again in §§ 54, 69, 79, and 81, of the same life, and Baum. Crus. index gives no case of the indicative. Altogether the treatment of the conjunctions is very unsatisfactory, and a lack of system mars the whole introduction. The student will be unable to discriminate between what is peculiar to Suetonius and what is common to Silver Latin or to tell whether a given phenomenon occurs once or many times in Suetonius himself.

A genealogical chart of the family of the Caesars would add to the value of the work as a text-book, and an historical introduction would have been of great assistance. It may be said also that the notes on history, biography, and geography in the commentary are not judicious.

The commentary itself is interesting and instructive. More help might have been given the student in some passages, though opinions will always differ as to the proper amount. The grammatical notes are few and unsystematic.

A few details may be noticed here.

In *Jul.* § 1 *Annum agens sextum decimum patrem amisit* is so characteristic of Suetonius as to deserve a note; cf. *Aug.* § 8, *Quadrimum patrem amisit*, *Nero* § 6, *Trinulus patrem amisit*; cf. also *Tib.* § 6, and the *vita Verg.* with Nettleship's note. For *designatus* = *designatus* cf. *Calig.* 12, *Tib.* 31, *Dom.* 10. The writer questions the value of the many etymological notes scattered through the commentary, pp. 121, 122, 123, 127, 129, 134, 156, 162, 169, 176.

In *Jul.* §. 6 the practice of delivering funeral orations over matrons might well have been illustrated by *Plut. Caes.* § 5, as in *Baum. Crus.*; and in *Jul.* § 11 the section of *Plutarch* should have been given. It is *Caes.* § 6. In *Jul.* § 9 the note on *sed et* is not quite clear: 'In this sense *sed* is regularly accompanied by *etiam* as here.' The student would gather from the note on *medicinam professos* in *Jul.* § 42 that the two passages cited were the only ones where the noun *professor* occurs in Suetonius; but, see also *Tib.* 14, *Gram.* 4 fin., 9 fin., *Rhet.* 1 fin. For the expression in the text cf. *Rhetoricam professos* in *Rhet.* § 3. The note

on *equos dimittebat* in *Jul.* § 60, citing *B. G.* 1. 25, might well have included *Tac. Germ.* 30 fin., ‘*Equestrium sane virum id proprium, cito parare victoriam, cito cedere. Velocitas iuxta formidinem, cunctatio propior constantiae est.*’ In *Jul.* § 74, for the idiomatic use of *a* in *a manu*, cf. *Vesp.* § 3, same phrase; see the *Harper Lexicon* (Lewis and Short) s. v. *B.* ii. p.

In commenting upon *Jul.* § 81, the interesting parallels between what Suetonius says of the prodigies announcing Caesar’s death and those mentioned in Vergil’s fifth eclogue in the lament for Daphnis should not have been passed over. I cite them in full:

Suet. ‘Proximis diebus equorum greges quos in traiciendo Rubicone flumine consecrarat ac vagos et sine custode dimiserat, comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinere ubertimque flere.’

Verg. *Ecl.* v. vss. 24ff.

Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina nulla neque
ammem

libavit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam.

Suet. Ea vero nocte, cui inluxit dies caedis, et ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum Iove dextram iungere.

Verg. vss. 56f.

Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.

See Nettleship, *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, on the purport of the fifth eclogue.

In the note on *Jul.* § 83, the statement *plerosque* = *multos* gives the student nothing by which to judge the frequency of its occurrence; see *Jul.* §§. 50, 52, 68, 83; *Aug.* 40, 59; *Cal.* 36, 39; *Claud.* 46; *Nero*, 11, 38, 45; *Dom.* 19.

In *Jul.* § 86 *adinspectantium* deserves a note, especially as it does not occur in Harper’s lexicon. The reading both here and just below *sollicitum maluisse* is passed by unnoticed. Caesar’s words ‘Non tam sua quam rei publicae interesse ut salvus esset’ might well have been paralleled by *Aug.* § 28, ‘Sed reputare et se privatum non sine periculo fore et illam (i.e. rem publicam) plurimum arbitrio temere committi, in retinenda perseveravit, dubium eventu meliore an voluntate.’

In *Aug.* § 17 Prof. Peck translates *Bononiensibus—gratiam fecit* by ‘he even pardoned the people of Bologna.’ Surely this is an error. The student will now be unable to translate *coniurandi* so as to give any satisfactory sense. The true rendering is ‘he even excused the people of Bologna from swearing etc.’, and so I see it is taken

by Baum. Crus. (= *concessit ut ne coniurarent*; see his index s.v. *gratia*). Prof. Peck gives the same rendering in the note on *gratiam fecit eis Aug.* § 38, and again it is wrong. That passage should be rendered ‘He permitted those—to give up their horse.’

In § 17, as a parallel to *exactorare*, the *cum ignominia dimisit* of § 34 should have been included.

In *Aug.* § 21 med., in the note on women as hostages, *Tac. Germ.* 8, might well have been cited, ‘Adeo ut efficacius obligentur animi civitatum quibus inter obsides puellae quoque nobiles imperantur.’ To the note on *Aug.* § 24, *citra commoda*, ‘without reference to what was due them,’ it might well have been added that *commoda* is very frequent in Suet. in this sense, *Aug.* 49, *Cal.* 44, *Nero* 32, *Vit.* 15, *Galb.* 12.

In *Aug.* § 32 the criticism of the Lewis and Short Lexicon, while just, is not quite accurate. Both Prof. Peck’s passages are cited there, not *Dig.* 48. 19. 16 only. Curiously *Aug.* 32 is the omitted one. In *Aug.* 45 *Corollaria* means *garlands* (a meaning not given in L. and S.), see the whole passage in Pliny cited by Prof. Peck, and Baum. Crus. note. For *xystici* = *athletes* add *Galb.* 15.

In *Aug.* 53 the *grandi iam natu* need give no trouble; cf. § 89, *quem iam grandem natu*. In *Aug.* § 58 *prima plebs* deserves a note. Is it τὰ πρῶτα or = prior?

In *Aug.* § 80, *Cozendice et femore et crure sinistro non perinde valebat*, the concise use of *non perinde* with the suppression of the second member of the comparison should have been noted, the more so as it is so common in Suet. that its occurrence in the *vita Verg.* is one of the arguments for attributing that life to him; see Nettleship *init.*

In § 83, from the note on *pumilos* the student would gather that *nani* (νᾶνοι) is pure Latin. In § 86 another argument for writing *myrobrechis* in Greek letters is that the student will not find the word in L. and S. We miss a reference to the *calamistris inurere* of *Jul.* 56, although in the note on that passage the present one is cited. In this connection, it may be doubted whether all students are sufficiently familiar with the *vetus comoedia* § 89, and ‘the famous κοῤῥ’ § 94 to need no explanation. In § 95, *puro sereno* is criticised as ‘an awkward use of *sereno* coupled with another adjective.’ We doubt the awkwardness. It may be paralleled by *nitido sereno* Sil. 5. 58 and *serenum nitidum* Mart. 6. 42. 8. (both in L. and S.), and seems to us simply poetic. No one

thinks of awkwardness in Keats's 'pure serene' (on Chapman's *Homer*), and we have but to open Milton to find a host of similar phrases, e.g. *P.L.* 2. 406, 'the palpable obscure,' 2. 829, 'the void immense,' 3. 12, 'the void and formless infinite,' 3. 45, 'ever-during dark,' 3. 380, 'excessive bright,' 4. 770, 'his proud fair, etc.'

Throughout the commentary Suetonius's favourite words are noted, e.g. *contionor* Jul. 2, *compello* Jul. 17, *acies* (= battle) Jul. 30, *dum taxat* Jul. 55, *civilis* (= courteous) Jul. 75, *demando* Jul. 76, *confisco* Aug. 15, *dignatio* Aug. 46, *conflo* Aug. 52. The list might be increased by *commoda* (= pay) (see above), *non perinde* as used in Aug. 80 (see above) and *plurifariam*; see Aug. 46, 80, T. 43, Cal. 54, Cl. 21, N. 24, Vit. 9, while of *multifariam* Baum. Crus. gives only three examples.

The typography of the work is excellent. Perhaps a dozen misprints have been noticed,

of which only *quin est* for *quin et*, p. xxxiv., and *rationiarium* for *rationarium* p. 65, would be misleading. Errors in the Greek passages cited or occurring in the text are also rare, although by a process of assimilation we have *συγγενείς* καὶ *κηδεστές* on p. 117, and the accents and breathings are occasionally wrong. The note on *notavit* p. 186, should come under § 39 instead of § 38, and that on *profectus est* in *Jul.* 18. p. 129 is a little late in its place.

Occasionally a note seems needless, e.g. that on the conative imperfect p. 7, on *ad viginti milibus* p. 132, *reus* > *accusator* p. 133, *umbo* = ἄμβων p. 157, and the many etymological notes alluded to above.

Post-Augustan and poetical words and ἀπαξ εἰρημένα are often but not always noted, and an incomplete index concludes the work.

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OTTO'S ROMAN PROVERBS.

Die Sprichwörter und Sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer: gesammelt und erklärt von DR. A. OTTO. Leipzig: Teubner, 1890. Pp. xli. 436. *M.* 10.

THE plan of this work includes an introduction, an alphabetical list of proverbs (1950 in number), and two valuable indices. The result is a scientific apparatus for the study of Roman proverbs, as distinguished from those which are Latin in form but Biblical in origin or mediaeval in date. Such an apparatus has been much needed, and has not been satisfactorily supplied by the latest successors of Erasmus in this department, Binder and Vannucci, who have included too much in their collections, and have not indicated with sufficient clearness the earliest written sources to which the proverbs given can be traced. Particular portions of the ground have, however, been adequately covered in recent articles and monographs, not only by the author himself, but by Pflügl, Landgraf, Wölfflin and von Wyss, and the way has thus been paved for the present work.

In his Introduction, Otto refuses to apply too rigid a definition in the admission of proverbs to his collection. The use of the phrase 'proverbial expressions' in the title prepares the reader for some freedom in

this respect; but no undue laxity is shown, and doubtful cases are marked as such. For one thing, Otto rightly insists (and this at once narrows the field) that a saying must at least have *vogue* if it is to qualify as a proverb; otherwise it is probably simply a quotation. After further clearing the ground, he discusses, by the aid of an elaborate index, to be referred to presently, the subject-matter of Roman proverbs, and shows how they may be supposed to reflect the national life and characteristics. He also directs attention to some interesting points connected with their form (alliteration, rhyme, etc.), and with their comparative frequency in various authors. On the latter point he remarks, for instance, that they are oftener to be met with in Plautus than in Terence, in Livy than in Caesar or Tacitus, in Cicero *ad Atticum* than in Cicero *ad Familiares*.

The proverbs themselves are arranged in the alphabetical order of the leading word contained in them. They are carefully numbered for convenience of reference, and are illustrated abundantly from Greek and Latin, sparingly from modern languages. The number of Greek analogues quoted—some on almost every page—leaves upon the mind the impression (true or false) that, in this direction also, the Romans were mainly imitators.

As the references to Greek and Latin authors aim at something like completeness, it may be mentioned that some omissions strike one even on a first reading; but these are not of great importance, and the general execution of this part of the book is so good as to leave little room for criticism.

Two indices are given—one of passages quoted, the other of subject-matter. The former gives a list of the literary sources for the proverbs, and includes a large proportion of later and ecclesiastical writers, though it is among these that Otto himself thinks that most omissions will be detected. The index of subject-matter is a most elaborate one, extending over more than twenty pages of small print, and arranged under such headings as: A. Nature. I. Inorganic Nature. (1) Heaven and Earth. (2) The Ele-

ments. (3) Relations of Time and Space. (4) Geography. II. Organic Nature. (1) The Vegetable Kingdom. (2) The Animal Kingdom. B. Man. I. The Human Body (with a great number of subdivisions). II. Human Life. (1) Private Life (with subdivisions). (2) Public life (with subdivisions). III. Human Action (with subdivisions). C. History. D. Mythology. E. Phrases and Formulae. (C.D. and E. also with subdivisions.)

The scale of this is no doubt formidable, but the student of ancient life and the comparative paroemiologist (if there is such an one) will feel grateful to Dr. Otto for having, while providing so much well-sifted material, made it easy to refer to it and to draw deductions from it.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

TEUFFEL'S HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE.

W. S. Teuffel's Geschichte der Römischen Literatur. Neu bearbeitet von LUDWIG SCHWABE. Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig (B. G. Teubner), 1890. 2 vols. pp. xiii. 1346. 14 Mk. 40.

THE late Professor Teuffel's *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, published in 1870, had gone through three editions previous to his death in 1878, and has been twice republished since that time with large additions by the editor, Dr. L. Schwabe, who undertook the work of revision in obedience to the author's wish. This revision (as the editor explains in the preface to the fourth edition, 1882) necessitated the recasting of much of Teuffel's work, while the alterations were too numerous and sometimes too radical to be merely thrown into notes. In the new edition the original has been still more freely modified, though the strict chronological plan and the general structure remain undisturbed. The divergence is frequently noticeable even without comparison of the author's last edition. We find Teuffel set aside, by name, in reference to several disputed points, *e.g.* the significance of the Greek letters standing for the names of the *dramatis personae* in the MSS. of Plautus and Terence (§ 16, n. 8), the story of Lucretius' suicide (which Dr. Schwabe does not, like Teuffel, regard as a pious fiction), the authorship of the 'Culex' (which he refuses to assign to Vergil) and that of the panegyric on Messalla (which he

denies to Tibullus). On the other hand the author's view is tacitly rejected, *e.g.* in reference to the length of Terence's life (§ 108, n. 7), the date of the first performance of the *Adelphoe*, (§ 110, n. 6), the nationality of Manilius (§ 253, n. 2), etc.

It is thought by many English admirers of Vergil that Teuffel, in common with most German critics, failed to appreciate that poet's artistic qualities. Dr. Schwabe—whose ability in this field of criticism is so well attested by his writings on Catullus—is even more emphatic than Teuffel in his strictures on the *Aeneid*, and his language in the present edition is stronger than in the last: a great part of the poem, he now insists, is 'flat and lifeless, not to say oppressively dull' (dumpe Leblosigkeit, ja einschläfernde Langweiligkeit); its *aequalitas* is simply monotonous; the over-elaboration of the whole leaves no room for gradation or climax. It would seem that he has been provoked to this counterblast by a new outburst of enthusiasm on the other side—'that adoring admiration of hidden beauties in which an hysterical aestheticism has recently indulged.' He has, however, made amends by considerably enlarging and improving the somewhat meagre characterisation of the poet in the earlier editions. He still retains the familiar spelling of the name, but only in its shorter form; that is, he keeps 'Virgil' alongside of 'Vergilius,' presumably regarding it as established in the

household of the German language like 'Horaz' and other adapted forms more numerous in German than in English (Diodor, Theokrit, Tibull, etc.).

The present edition is in two volumes. It is larger than the previous (fourth) by about a hundred pages. The original *History* has now been expanded from pp. xvi. 1052 to pp. xiii. 1346. The numerical increase is very far from representing the real addition to the contents, for the original has been at the same time greatly condensed by judicious abridgments and economies. Much new material has been amassed in the elaborate notes, especially in relation to inscriptions and manuscripts, scholia, etc., and early editions. The modern bibliography is carefully brought up to date. Not the least valuable part of this, for specialists, will be

found in the copious references to the German and other learned periodicals. One technical improvement—the printing of quotations in italics—is valuable, since it is a distinctive merit of the book that the more important quotations are given in full.

The critical review of this book is (I understand) reserved for the forthcoming English edition, which the publishers (Messrs. Bell) have entrusted to me. I need only add to this notice that the clerical part of the German editor's task has been carried out with admirable accuracy and completeness. He has, I think, entirely succeeded in his object of making the work a 'concise and trustworthy, scholarly and critical textbook.'

G. C. W. WARR.

TWO BOOKS ON THE *RIGVEDA*.

1. *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, herausgegeben von HERMANN OLDENBERG. Band I. Metrische und Textgeschichtliche Prolegomena. Berlin, 1888. 14 Mk.
2. *Vedische Studien*, von RICHARD FISCHER und KARL F. GELDNER. Stuttgart, 1888-9. 12 Mk.

IN these works there are many points of interest to classical scholars generally, as distinct from those which appeal to Orientalists. Of these the most important is perhaps the attempt to draw a proper boundary-line between what is of common origin in Indian and European language, custom, and myth, and what is of specifically Indian growth.

Prof. Oldenberg, whose *Buddha* is well known as an endeavour to popularize what he conceives to be the earliest and truest account of Buddhism, occupies himself in this volume (a preface to a complete edition of the *Rigveda*) with certain technical investigations, intended to clear the way for the student. Almost one half of the book is occupied with the metre of the hymns. The variety used is, if we look a little below the surface, very considerable: and if any history of metrical development can be traced, it must be of great assistance towards determining the relative ages of various poems: as for instance the relative frequency of vocalic *i* and *v* before vowels

has long been treated as a clear indication of an early date. Generally it may be assumed that what is common to the metre of the *Rigveda* and that of the *Avesta* points to the earliest form, and what is common to the metre of the *Rigveda* and that of classical Sanskrit points to a later development. We have therefore to examine the various metres used, to endeavour to arrange them chronologically, and to test any results attained by other indications.

The principal metres of the *Rigveda* fall into two groups, based respectively on the verse of eight syllables, and that of eleven or twelve. The older *Avesta* gives a parallel to the line of eleven syllables, whilst the younger *Avesta* employs exclusively the eight-syllable form.

Octosyllabic verses.—In these there is no caesura: the last half is usually of iambic rhythm ($\sim \sim \sim$), whilst of the exceptions about one half is of the type $\sim \sim \sim \sim$, where we may suppose that a short syllable bears the ictus. The Gâyatri stanza consists of three such verses: in this there is a rare but established variety with trochaic ending ($\sim \sim \sim \sim$), occurring in certain hymns only, e.g. viii. 2, 16, and most frequently in the third verse. In the Avestic metres the syllables seem to have been merely counted, and no rhythm has been discovered. Are we then to consider that the verse with a trochaic

ending is a development from the original non-quantitative verse, independent of the common iambic line, or that it is an intentional variation of the latter? Oldenberg decides (on somewhat slight grounds) for the former alternative: but, however this may be, it is to be noticed that whole stanzas with trochaic rhythm are but rarely to be found, and that therefore (whatever the origin of the trochaic verse) its use is to give variety to the stanza.

The Anushtubh (consisting of four octosyllabic lines) may fairly be presumed to be of later growth than the Gâyatrî. We find it in the *Veda* in various stages: (i.) each verse is of the form usual in Gâyatrî, i.e. with iambic ending; (ii.) the first and third verses shew occasional deviations (e.g. in ix. 112, x. 60); (iii.) the first and third verses shew, amidst numerous variations, a new prevailing type $\sim - - \sim$. This type when fixed gives the common metre of Sanskrit epic poetry, and may therefore be fairly supposed to be the latest form in the *Veda*.

Passing by the consideration of the rare stanzas of five or more verses, and occasional irregularities in the number of syllables in each line, we have only to notice a stanza (the Uṇhiḥ) in which two verses are of eight syllables, and the third of twelve. This third line however does not correspond in form with the twelve-syllable line called Jagatî, and must therefore be regarded as of independent origin, and a development from the Gâyatrî line.

Verses of eleven syllables (Trishtubh) and twelve syllables (Jagatî). These differ only in that Jagatî has an extra syllable at the end: the stanzas in each case consist of four lines of the same type. But in each kind there are two varieties found, according as the caesura falls after the fourth syllable (as in the corresponding Avestic metre) or after the fifth (as recognized in classical Sanskrit). This difference involves corresponding variations in the syllables immediately following, which have escaped many observers: but the last four syllables (in the Jagatî five) shew a well-marked rhythm which has always been recognized: thus in the Trishtubh the type is $\sim \sim - \sim$, and in the Jagatî $\sim \sim - \sim \sim$. The first seven syllables of the two metres alike fall then into two sections divided by the caesura, and consisting (a) of 4 + 3, or (b) of 5 + 2 syllables.

Of the first section the normal types are (a) $\sim \sim - \sim -$ (b) $\sim - \sim - \sim$. In (a) the fourth

syllable is not uncommonly $\sim$, shewing apparently *syllaba anceps* before the caesura. In (a) again, if the second syllable is short, the third will usually be long: in (b) if the fourth is short, the fifth is five times out of six long. This part therefore of the verse, though not bound by any *rules* of quantity, shews a marked tendency towards an iambic rhythm, and an avoidance of the consecution of two short syllables. The second section has the normal types (a) $\sim \sim -$ (b) $\sim \sim$: the (a) form has two varieties, which we may call subnormal $\sim \sim -$, $\sim \sim \sim$, each about one-fourth as frequent as the normal type: the (b) form has a much rarer subnormal type $\sim \sim$, hardly ever found in later hymns, but other variations are quite uncommon. In this section therefore the iambic rhythm is almost invariably interrupted, and two short syllables in the great majority of instances follow the caesura. In the concluding section the iambic rhythm is resumed, so that the middle part of the verse seems to be an intentional variation of the verse, corresponding to the later variations of the Anushtubh.

More detailed investigations, Oldenberg states, will not lead to any results other than chance will explain. As however any such calculations will serve to shew what degree of confidence can be placed in the results already stated, I subjoin a table shewing the frequency of caesuras after the fourth and fifth syllables respectively, and of the various types of the second section in each case (a) in the trishtubh hymns, i. 59, 60; ii. 27, 28, 29; iii. 5, 6, 7; iv. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23; v. 3, 4, 5, 6; ix. 87, 88, 99, 90; x. 1, 2, 3, 4: (b) in the trishtubh hymns, i. 164, vv. 1-20; x. 116, 120, 121, 123, 129¹: (c) in the jagatî hymns, i. 55, 56, 57, 151, 155, 156, 159, 160; ii. 1, 2, 25, 26; iii. 2, 3; vi. 70; vii. 82, 83; ix. 86, vv. 1-20; x. 38, 40, 41, 75, 76, 138, 167: (d) in the jagatî hymns in which occasional trishtubhs occur, i. 51, 52, 53, 54, 140, 141; ii. 17, 23; iii. 26; vii. 104; x. 32, 43, 44, 78. For uniformity's sake only two syllables after the caesura are considered, and the² normal ($\sim \sim$), subnormal ($\sim \sim$) and abnormal ($\sim \sim$, $\sim \sim$) forms are distinguished.

¹ These hymns are presumably of later date.

² Where the caesura falls after the fourth syllable, the normal type now includes two forms of the second section, $\sim \sim -$, $\sim \sim \sim$, the latter of which was formerly spoken of as subnormal.

Caesura after 4th syllable.					Caesura after 5th syllable.				Total.
	Norm.	Subn.	Abn.	Total.	Norm.	Subn.	Abn.	Total.	
A.	276	102	51	429	350	61	12	423	852
B.	78	23	18	119	131	18	4	153	272
C.	211	66	37	314	441	64	2	507	821
D.	{ Trishṭubhs	51	18	22	80	7	1	88	179
	{ Jagatis	192	72	26	201	23	9	233	523
	808	281	154	1243	1203	173	28	1404	2647

The results, reduced to percentages and compared with Oldenberg's figures, stand as follows :—

After early caesura.				After late caesura.			Proportion of caesuras.	
	Norm.	Subn.	Abn.	Norm.	Subn.	Abn.	Early.	Late.
A.	64	24	12	83	14	3	50	50
B.	65	20	15	85	12	3	44	56
C.	68	21	11	86	13	1	38	62
D.	{ Trishṭubhs	56	20	24	91	8	51	49
	{ Jagatis	66	25	9	86	10	55	45
General results	66	22	12	86	12	2	47	53
Oldenberg's results	71	21	8	93	6	1		

Although Oldenberg's figures, based upon a much smaller number of verses, require some correction, yet his general conclusions hold good for every large group of hymns: whilst the other variations shewn are not so marked as to be outside the possibilities of chance. But it appears that in bk. iii. there is a tendency to use the subnormal type after an early caesura (28 exx. as compared with 32 normal), and in bk. vii. the subnormal type after a late caesura is comparatively favoured (21 exx. as compared with 51 normal), and we have at least some confirmation so far of the traditional grouping of these hymns, and (as these peculiarities are not shared by the classical verse) of their relatively early date. The groups B and C (later trishṭubhs and jagatis) shew a preference for the late caesura which may be accidental. The trishṭubhs of group D shew more abnormal forms after early caesura, and more normal forms after late caesura: in both particulars, as well as in their being mixed with jagatī verses, they stand nearer to the classical verse, in which the fifth, sixth, and seventh syllables form a dactyl without regard to the caesura. There is every reason to assign these hymns to a later date. I see no evidence to shew whether trishṭubh or jagatī is the earlier form, nor are we entitled to assume that the Vedic Trishṭubh is of common origin with the Avestic verse of eleven syllables, in which the caesura always falls after the fourth syllable: we have no hymns in which the late caesura is not freely used, and in which the general quantitative character of the line is not

preserved. As Indian metre shares the laws of quantity in all essentials with the Greek and Italian, the negative evidence of the *Avesta* Oldenberg is perhaps inclined to reckon at too high a value: the presumption seems still strong in favour of the quantitative character of Indo-Iranian verse.

Oldenberg next discusses the arrangement of the *Rigveda*. The general principles, as is well known, are: (i.) the hymns are arranged in groups according to the priestly families which used them, the books ii.-vii. each consisting of one such group; (ii.) further, according to the deity to whom the hymn is addressed, Agni coming first and Indra next; (iii.) according to the metre in which the hymns are composed, Jagatī coming first and Gayatrī last; (iv.) according to the number of verses in each hymn. Deviations from these principles point to alterations in the canon after the time of the general redaction, and chiefly (i.) to the collection of a string of new verses and stanzas, which are joined together into a hymn, often of inordinate length, and yet placed after the shortest hymns addressed to the same deity; (ii.) the addition of later hymns. The results confirm what are sometimes considered old-fashioned theories as to later additions to the *Veda*.

The next point considered is the relation of the *Rigveda* as a collection of ancient poetry to the other *Vedas* which contain many of the same verses or hymns, and to the scattered verses to be found in the *Brahmaṇas* and other later literature. Oldenberg arrives at the conclusion that we have no evidence that any earlier recension was within the reach of the compilers of any

collection remaining to us, though in occasional instances a later version may give a good hint for an emendation, however this is to be accounted for. As regards diacritical marks, peculiarities of spelling, and like details, he shews that our edition of the *Rigveda* bears marks of a revision intended to bring it into uniformity with later technical rules, the rule having been usually deduced from a careless and mistaken study of the older recension.

The *Vedische Studien* have appeared in two 'Hefte,' at an interval of a year. This period has enabled the authors to some extent to check their earlier work, and one or two of the most ingenious suggestions of the first 'Heft' are thus overthrown in the second—a timely warning to the reader that he has before him speculations, often convincing and always 'geistvoll,' but not established results. The authors are not without the pretension of having opened a new era of Vedic study, and in the preface (in Heft ii.) they explain their fundamental principles. The first of these is a fuller recognition of the value of the native commentaries, and in particular that of Sâyana, as a storehouse of good old glosses. Here the authors are more conservative than Roth,¹ and in direct conflict with commentators such as Benfey and Grassmann, who have almost entirely ignored these sources of information: and they are thrown into line with Ludwig, who makes constant if somewhat arbitrary use of the native material. Secondly, the authors maintain that a much closer connexion exists between the Vedic and classical Sanskrit than is usually supposed: and that an intimate acquaintance with the forms and conceptions of the latter is essential to a right understanding of the former. Thirdly, they protest against the method of interpreting Vedic Sanskrit by the aid of the 'Science of Language' in general. Fourthly, they adopt (on Roth's suggestion) the principle that the greatest service can be done to Vedic exegesis by new explorers devoting themselves to the exposition of passages of peculiar difficulty. Fifthly, they reject the favourite 'illusion' that the *Veda* is the simple language of a primitive and untutored Indo-European village folk. On the contrary they find in it the reflection of a culture already in many points over-ripe, and particularly they refer to the limitless greed

for gold and the social importance of the courtesan world, as shewn in the poems. Sixthly, they maintain that the mythological and philosophical system found in the *Vedas* is altogether of Indian growth, and not Indo-European: such Indo-European conceptions as are there to be found being altogether in the background. And here the authors sum up their position in the statement that the *Veda* is an Indian monument, and must be interpreted as such.

It will be clear at once that these theses mark a change in the spirit of Vedic study, which appears considerably to diminish its interest for classical students in general. It is only fair to suggest that our authors have a tendency to exaggerate. Confining their studies almost entirely to the puzzles of the *Rigveda*, they have somewhat lost sight of the plain meaning of its more important part. They have ignored the evidence which divides the *Rigveda* into an older and a younger part: and because they find that the latter stands in manifold contact with later Indian thought, they have assumed this for the remainder. Certainly no 'untutored villagers' ever expressed themselves instinctively in the elaborate metres of the *Veda*: but the existence of a profession of bards is still consistent with a relative simplicity in national life. But these errors, if they be such, will correct themselves: the fresh help sought for Vedic study from native sources will certainly result in gain: and the labours of earlier scholars, even of the much-ridiculed Grassmann, will regain their due recognition. It may still be fairly held that few scholars have done so much for Vedic study as the author of the first European translation, and the compiler of the first methodical Vedic dictionary. And as to the general value of the Vedic poems as memorials of Indo-European thought, the main issue must in time come again to the front. What is common to *Veda* and *Avesta* is at least Indo-Iranian: what is Indo-Iranian is at least a starting-point for the study of what is Indo-European. But besides this, it may well be supposed that the reforms connected with the name of Zoroaster have often destroyed the evidence of more primitive Iranian habits and ideas, which nevertheless may be recognized as such through their reappearance, (say) in Italy. Even therefore when all that is distinctively Indian has been set on one side, there remain such important features as the ceremonial use of fire and intoxicating drinks: the worship of many of the powers of nature and (probably) of ancestors: the

¹ Cf. the Introduction to the St. Petersburg *Lexicon*: 'wir glauben, dass ein gewissenhafter europäischer Erklärer den Veda weit richtiger und besser verstehen könne als Sâyana.'

employment of formula and verse to aid in cursing and curing, and of the professional adviser in all matters of religion, which claim interest from their bearing on Greek and Italian usage quite as much as from their development in later Indian systems.

But even if some hesitation be shewn in admitting the new 'standpoints,' there need be none in recognizing the high merit of the suggestions made on particular points, some examples of which I now endeavour roughly to classify.

Mythology.—Upon vi. 49. 8 Pischel takes occasion to reconstruct from Vedic material the myths of Sūryā and her marriage. It is maintained that a *svayanvara* occurs, and the goddess chooses the Aśvins, possibly after their victory in a chariot-race. Amongst the wooers are the Viṣve Devāḥ, who send Pūshan as their ambassador: Pūshan is himself enamoured, but not successful, as Nala in a similar position. Upon ix. 86, 36 the *gandharvāḥ* are discussed. There Soma is entitled *apām gandharvāḥ*, a title which Pischel compares with Agni's *apām gārbhāḥ*, and translates 'embryo of the waters.' This meaning for *gandharvāḥ* will correspond with the Pali *gandhabbo*,¹ and make any connexion with the Κένταυροι impossible. Upon i. 127, 1 the Vedic etymology of *jātavedāḥ* as 'knower of the beings' is rejected as a mere happy thought, and the interpretation 'wise by nature' suggested. On iii. 1 it is shewn that *Viśpālā* is a mare whose leg is broken in a horse-race: but by favour of the Aśvins she receives one of iron in its place, and wins. In discussing *nadā*, the *Apsarāsāḥ* are connected with the *āpyā yōshanāḥ* and, like the *Gandharvāḥ*, are water-sprites, having control over the clearness of the intellect. The hymn x. 95 is discussed at length: and Geldner shews successfully that the *Rigveda* gives a dramatic version of the same tale of *Purūrāvas* and *Urvācī* as is given in the later literature, and that the view according to which the usual account rests upon misunderstanding of the Vedic hymn is mistaken. The tale is pretty. The water-maiden Urvācī provokes by an accident the anger of Mitra and Varuṇa, and is therefore condemned to dwell among mortals. There she weds king Purūravas, under certain

stringent conditions. These conditions the Gandharvas, missing the society of Urvācī, by a stratagem cause the king to break. Thereupon Urvācī quits him, and returns to the world above. Later on, as Purūravas is wandering, distracted by grief, by the side of a lake, he sees Urvācī swimming upon it in the shape of a swan. He appeals to her to return to him: but she reminds him of the breach of the conditions, and only comforts him by announcing that she will soon bear him a son, and that husband and wife will be reunited in the future life.

Social relations.—We have noticed above that the Vedic hymns were written by professional bards: when disappointed of their proper fee they avenged themselves (much like the London cabmen) by sarcastic remarks addressed to the public: in some cases by means of the next hymn published. Such sarcastic praise is found in i. 120, 10—12; 'a fine present this is, a waggon without a horse: I suppose the gods will somehow get me along to the sacrifice in it.' The gods come in for their share of the blame, and are punished, as Pischel thinks, by the bad metre of the next hymn. The greed for gold appears in prayers for blessings *candrā-agra*, which Gelder very happily understands to mean 'consisting of gold and so forth.' But the Vedic patron was not less anxious for lawful offspring: and hence Agni is besought for *nārīṇ pūramdhīm*, 'a fruitful wife': here *pūramdhī* is explained by classical *pūramdhri*. The peculiar intimacy between father and daughter-in-law may be due to this anxiety for the maintenance of the succession. So the wish to the bride on marriage is in the Atharva 'may you be welcome to your father-in-law.' By the corresponding wish to please Geldner explains Urvācī's visit to her father-in-law (x. 95, 4).

The sacrifice.—The conception that the sacrifice is a trap in which to catch the deity seems so Indian that Geldner's suggestion that *vrijāna* is regularly used to denote the sacrifice under the metaphor of a 'snare' or 'net' is tempting: but he has hardly proved his case. He has however collected interesting examples of the anxiety of the worshippers to be beforehand as against competing celebrants: so that the technical term *abhi yaj* (to sacrifice in rivalry with others) comes into regular use. The details of the sacrifice are no doubt constantly hid from us by the metaphors which express them: who would guess that such words as 'carpet' and 'horn' could express respectively the earlier (lower) and later (upper) of two successive libations of Soma?

¹ A more careful examination of the passages quoted, to which should be added (as Prof. Cowell points out to me) *Majjhimanikāya*, p. 265 (Pali Text Society), the clearest of all, will shew that the presence of the *gandhabbo* is the last of three necessary causes of conception, and that *gandhabbo* here too denotes a supernatural being, and not, as Pischel infers, an embryo.

Language.—An interesting discussion is that on ‘attraction in comparisons.’ The perplexing phrases in i. 65, &c., such as *sindhur nā kshódah*, and in many other instances are satisfactorily explained (*ut fluvius aqua* for *ut fluvii aqua*, &c.), as first suggested by Bollensen. A number of difficult passages are explained by assuming the existencē of feminine nominatives in -ā not recognized by the diaskeuasts: e.g. *dhīyā*, *ushāsā*, *purā*, *girā*, and *vasā*: these Pischel connects with the transition to -ā- stems which is so important in middle Indian, and with the use of -ā- as composition-vowel.

The following explanations of particular words and phrases may be noted by Vedic students for provisional use:

tanu, i. 120, 11, fem. voc. sing. ‘my dear’ addressed to a wife: lit. ‘thou delicate one.’

nir vid, i. 120, 12, as in classical Sanskrit, ‘to be vexed with.’

arkā, add the meanings (1) ray, (2) sun, sometimes questioned.

ṣurūdhaḥ (nom. acc. fem. pl.), (1) nourishment, (2) nourishing drinks, (3) strength.

nṛin, a form abbreviated for metrical purposes, which may represent any case of the plural: as gen. or dat. sing. very doubtful.

hēshas, ‘haste,’ from a root *his* = European *ghis*.

ṣrī, (1) wish: *sahā ṣriyā* ‘willingly,’ (2) dominion, power.

krāṇā, ‘mixed,’ from a root *krā*, cf. *κραιῖν*: *krāṇā*, adv. = Lat. *unā*.

nīrekā, ‘place of honour.’ This was on the right-hand side.

akrā, ‘horse.’

atharī, ‘elephant.’ Pischel argues against the supposition that this animal was strange to the Vedic poets.

dānā, dat. for *dānāya*, ‘for bestowing.’

vṛithā, (1) violently, (2) swiftly: whence is derived the classical meaning ‘clumsily,’ ‘uselessly.’

kārā, from rt. *kar*, ‘make,’ (1) ‘what is made,’ i.e. prize, booty, (2) struggle (after Sāyana).

radhrā, ‘poor,’ ‘miserable,’ ‘stingy’: *radhracōdana*, ‘who excites the stingy to liberality’: *āradhra*, ‘rich,’ ‘liberal.’

cārkrīshe, from a rt. *karsh* = Lat. *versari*. Used as an auxiliary.

pānta, where trisyllabic stands for *pāyanta*, ‘to be full of,’ ‘swell with.’

pāpaje = ἐπαῖρη, *obstupuit*. Here Pischel follows a suggestion made by Grassman on purely etymological grounds.

gharmastūbh, ‘singing with warmth’: i.e. with vigour.

īmāh, ‘the helpers, protectors,’ always of gods: so taken by Ludwig, and partly by Grassmann.

ēta as classical *ēna*, probably the animal to which the Maruts are most usually compared, the antelope.

dadhātha ōjah, ‘thou didst dedicate to me thy strength.’

It will be noticed that the writers by no means confine themselves to help derived from Indian sources, as their preface might suggest: the catholicity of their practice in this way is one of the surest signs that the foundations of Vedic study have been securely laid.

E. V. ARNOLD.

FRAZER'S GOLDEN BOUGH.

The Golden Bough; a study in Comparative Religion. By J. G. FRAZER, M.A. (Macmillan & Co.)

ANTHROPOLOGISTS are already well aware of the value of this remarkable book, and it is not intended in this notice to waste words in recommending it to them. The readers of this *Review* will rather wish to know what contributions are to be found in *The Golden Bough* to our knowledge of the religion and mythology of the old Greeks and Italians. But it may be as well to start by giving a very brief account of the general contents of the book, and also to say something of the remarkable German to whose

labours Mr. Frazer candidly acknowledges himself so deeply indebted, especially in his handling of classical problems.

The work may be described (if we may adopt for a moment the language of music) as a fugue with two subjects, several episodes in due subordination to these, and an elaborate *coda*. The two subjects are (1) the idea of the spirit of vegetation in its various manifestations; (2) the practices of god-killing and god-eating, with the ideas lying at the root of them. The *coda* introduces a new subject, that of the ‘external soul,’ and the myths and practices connected with it; but this subject is kept in strict relation to the others, and all are interwoven with

singular dexterity and clearness. The three are illustrated and developed with an extraordinary variety of material, drawn from the customs of races in all parts of the world; and in this labyrinth of detail the reader would often be lost, if the compassionate author had not hit upon a happy device for enabling him to discover his bearings at any moment. By starting with a single item of quaint old-Italian ritual, with myth adhering to it, and by bringing his three subjects successively to bear on the interpretation of these, he has provided us with a thread which at once increases both our comfort and our curiosity. There is therefore a real artistic unity in the work for which the English reader cannot be too grateful; it is not a laborious compilation bound up in two volumes, but, like Dr. Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, a real book, in the proper sense of that much-abused word.

We are enticed onwards by the increasing light thrown on the old puzzle of the 'priest who slew the slayer and shall himself be slain,' and the subordinate puzzle of the plucking of the Golden Bough; and as we thus follow our clue, we almost unconsciously absorb the real lessons which Mr. Frazer wishes to impress on us.

These lessons are, as we pointed out above, the doctrines of the vegetation-spirit, of the killing and eating of gods and godlike men, and of the external soul. In treating of the last of these Mr. Frazer depends chiefly on his own resources; in dealing with the second, he is largely indebted to his friend Professor Robertson Smith, who in his *Religion of the Semites* and elsewhere has for the first time really penetrated these mysteries. Lastly, in handling the various manifestations of the vegetation-spirit, Mr. Frazer has introduced to English readers the works and results of one of the most indefatigable and honest-minded Germans who have lived and worked in our time. Especially in those parts of the book which touch on classical problems, Dr. Mannhardt's labours have been laid under contribution; and it may not be amiss to say a word here about a man who is still so little known to English workers in the holes and corners of antiquity.

Mannhardt, who died in 1880, after a life of constant illness and trouble, had begun thirty years before to study the myths and folklore of the Teutonic peoples with an extraordinary ardour. He never had a complete philological training, and never succeeded to a professorial chair; all that he did was done from a passionate love for

his subject, and with a humility and deference to authority which give his books a singular charm as well as value. He never was in a hurry to produce, as is so often the case with German *savants*; he knew exactly when to be sure and when to be doubtful, always wrote with transparent honesty, and only wrote when he could not help writing. After passing through one or two preliminary phases of thought, and publishing his *Germanische Mythen*, he set to work to collect from all parts of Europe information relating to the customs of the people at Whitsuntide, Midsummer, harvest-time, and Christmas, whether still existing, dying, or extinct. It was an invaluable piece of work, worthy of Darwin himself; and in dealing with the immense stores of material thus collected, he showed a sagacity and moderation which may fairly be called Darwinian. The results were published in his *Baumkultus*, the main object of which was to show (1) that the tree-spirit, in which our forefathers so firmly believed, as had been made known by earlier investigations, was also conceived by them as a spirit of vegetation; and (2) that this mysterious power was the centre of innumerable quaint rites, regularly occurring among the country folk in almost all European countries, many of which survive to the present day, though their meaning has often been wholly lost by those who take part in them.

Feeling sure that he was right in his main line of interpretation, he went on to apply his results to some of those curious and puzzling rites and ideas of the ancient world, of which traces have come down to us. The *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* was published in 1877, and he was still working at the fascinating subject when his labour was cut short by death. A volume of valuable studies of this kind has since been published at Strasburg, and Mr. Frazer tells us that still more MSS. are in the Royal Library at Berlin. Some reviewers, ignorant of Mannhardt's works, have treated all that part of *The Golden Bough* which deals with the customs which he collected, as if the theory of the vegetation-spirit were Mr. Frazer's own invention; whereas the fact is that Mr. Frazer, while adopting the theory in its entirety, and availing himself to the full of Mannhardt's collections, which are to be found in page after page and section after section, has frankly told us in his preface that his book could scarcely have been written without them. We have yet to see whether the theory will survive entire, or will have to be modified or reconstructed as

our knowledge increases; but the collections at least are priceless. And that such a ripe anthropologist as Mr. Frazer should adopt the theory so unreservedly is considerable testimony to its soundness, and may justify this digression about a man whose labours now for the first time appear in an English form.

In what has just been said we do not wish for a moment to imply that Mr. Frazer has not added anything to Mannhardt's work. He has in fact greatly confirmed and strengthened it in several ways. For example, while Mannhardt's labour was almost entirely confined to Aryan peoples, and chiefly to those of northern Europe, Mr. Frazer has drawn on his vast accumulations from the customs of peoples of all races, and found quite enough to justify him in extending the idea of the vegetation-spirit as a possession of all or most people in the agricultural stage. And again, as he works from a much larger field of vision, and can bring to his aid all the work that has been done in the last ten years both in England and the Continent, he is able to throw much more light than Mannhardt did on that state of the savage mind in which all these curious practices originated. He is not a man of one idea, who fancies that there is a single key to mythology and ritual. And though he is hardly perhaps always so cautious as he might be, and uses his materials in a way that would lead us to suppose that he places unbounded confidence in them, he yet gives us such an admirable page of warning at last that we cannot refrain from quoting two sentences from it. 'In all that touches his inmost life and beliefs the savage is exceedingly suspicious and reserved; Europeans have resided among them for years without discovering some of the capital articles of their faith, and in the end the discovery has often been the result of accident.' . . . 'How close must be the concealment, how impenetrable the reserve, in which he enshrouds the inner keep and citadel of his being!' These remarks (vol. ii. pp. 341, 342) are drawn incidentally from Mr. Frazer at the very end of his work, in the course of his discussion of the idea of the 'external soul.' Would it not have been better if they had been placed, as a caution to the unwary, at the very beginning of the volume? When we are reasoning on accounts transmitted often at second or third hand, or on customs that are long ago extinct, the process of induction must be very slow and doubtful; and after all we can never be absolutely *sure* of the way in which the

mysteries of nature presented themselves to primitive man.

We may now turn to estimate the value of this book for classical readers. Two preliminary remarks suggest themselves. First, we are relieved to find that Mr. Frazer no longer finds 'the highroad of Greece and Rome' a weary one, or pours contempt on worthy scholars like Preuner, as he did some years ago in a valuable contribution to the *Journal of Philology* (vol. xiv.). But he had not then (as we may guess) read Mannhardt; and it must be from Mannhardt that he has learnt how fascinating a study it is to probe by the help of Comparative Religion into the life and thought of the *masses* among the most interesting of all races. Secondly, let us take this opportunity of suggesting that on the other hand scholars should not underrate the amount of help which a book of this kind may bring to classical study. To do so is to treat a useful servant with contempt instead of courtesy; and Comparative Religion, like every other department of archaeology, is a handmaid to ancient history. In a recently published selection from the Greek Anthology, its accomplished editor has warned us against 'the new pedantry,' and against digging ruthlessly for origins which the Greeks themselves preferred to leave hidden in a mist of mythology. There must be a misconception here; for, if there is a new pedantry, there must also be a new learning of which it is the parasite. And the truth is that there *is* a new learning, which must be taken at its true value, and used both with discretion and respect; not as a substitute for the old learning—heaven forbid!—but as its helpmate and complement.

Let us begin with the Arician rite, as it affords the thread by which the unity of the whole work is maintained. Mr. Frazer's explanation is as follows. 1. The priest 'who slew the slayer' was originally a tree-spirit, which gradually emerged from its tree and took human form. This apparently startling proposition will have nothing strange in it for those who are familiar with the thousand aspects of tree-worship as worked out by Mannhardt; nor will they quarrel with Mr. Frazer for further conjecturing that this anthropomorphised tree-spirit was also a vegetation-spirit, on whose vigour the prosperity of the crops depended. The title *Rex Nemorensis*, borne (as Suetonius says) by the priest, when compared with 'Mai-könig' and other such terms, incidentally helps to bear this out. 2. The priest was slain, because, as an incarnation of a spirit or power of fertility,

he could not be allowed to decay in old age, but must give up his place to a vigorous successor. To prove this, Mr. Frazer wanders over the world, collecting and comparing innumerable examples of god- and king-killing, puppet-killing (if we may so call it), and god-eating; and also over the whole range of ideas connected with the supposed revival of strength in the successor, slayer or god-eater. The result is an invaluable collection; but, as the author is well aware, only a strong presumption is raised in the particular case of the Arician priest. 3. The slayer had to pluck the golden bough from a particular tree in the grove at Nemi. That tree, says Mr. Frazer, was an oak, and the golden bough was the mistletoe in which was the heart and life of the oak; and, as the priest was the incarnation of the oak-spirit, he could only be killed by one who had possessed himself of the bough wherein was the life. And lastly, as the oak was the sacred tree of the Aryans, the priest was not only an incarnation of the tree-spirit, but as such also of the supreme Aryan god.

It is in this last part of his argument—in handling the third of his fugue-subjects—that Mr. Frazer shows his power of synthesis most brilliantly; and it is exactly here that his readers will begin to be most doubtful about following him. While they admire, they will begin to suspect that he has been led into the trap where so many of his predecessors have been caught—into the fallacious method of building hypotheses upon other hypotheses. It is not proved that the tree in question was an oak (see vol. ii. pp. 363 foll.), nor that the golden bough that grew on it was the mistletoe; and guesses based on these assumptions must be received with great caution. As an example of the weight often attached in combinations like these to points still unproved, we may notice the stress laid by Mr. Frazer on the statement of Grimm (taken, we find, from one Davies) that the mistletoe is called by the Welsh ‘the tree of pure gold.’ The writer has been unable to obtain any confirmation of this from two eminent Welsh scholars resident in Oxford. All hypotheses may have a certain value: but the more brilliant and ingenious they are, the more we are justified in testing minutely the basis on which they rest.

There is another old Italian puzzle about which Mr. Frazer has offered an original and interesting suggestion: viz. the Roman rite of the Regifugium. The Rex Sacrorum fled after sacrificing in the Comitium: a fact which is still referred by some to the expul-

sion of Tarquin. Mr. Frazer guesses that this was an instance of the priest-king being allowed to prove by fleetness of foot that his vigour was still unimpaired, and so to escape the fate of the priest at Aricia. He might have added that it took place at the very end of the old Roman agricultural year, *i.e.* at the appropriate time for such a ceremony. But here he has not taken into account that it was *after a sacrifice* that the Rex fled; and has thus been led to substitute a doubtful conjecture for the older and more obvious one that the sacrifice was in this case as in many others originally looked on as a *crime*. This last idea has been fully worked out in this very book (ch. iii. sec. 12), and was treated of long ago by Lobeck; and it seems odd that Mr. Frazer should not have applied it to the Regifugium. His hypothesis seems to cover only one of the known facts; the older one explains both flight and sacrifice.

There was another feature of this same rite, which Mr. Frazer’s conjecture does not seem to explain; and he has in fact left it unnoticed. That the Salii were present is almost the only fact which we can learn with certainty from the mutilated gloss in Festus (*s.v.* Regifugium). Now Mr. Frazer has himself a suggestive note on the Salii (vol. ii. p. 210), in which, mainly following Roscher, he conjectures that the object of their leaping &c. in March was to drive evil demons away from the city, and transfer them to the scape-goat Mamurius Veturius. If this was the meaning of their performances in March, then their presence at the Regifugium would rather favour the old explanation of that rite than Mr. Frazer’s own.

We may notice one or two other old Italian customs to which Mr. Frazer, though apparently without being aware of it, has suggested interesting parallels. In vol. ii. 75 foll. he has given an account of the festival of the firstfruits among the Creek Indians, when the corn was ripe in July. One of the first features of this was the clearing away of all old things—old refuse of all kinds—apparently to avoid polluting the new grain. The proceedings of the Vestals at Rome on June 15 seem exactly to correspond with this, and to find their explanation in it. On that day the *penus Vestae* was most carefully swept and purged, and all the refuse taken to a certain spot and buried. Here then we have some proof that the Vestalia was not a true harvest-festival, but a series of purificatory rites preparatory to the in-gathering—a conjecture borne out by other indications which cannot be men-

tioned here. Again, in treating the expulsion of evils and of devils, Mr. Frazer might have referred to the custom so graphically and ludicrously described by Ovid (*Fasti* v. 421 foll.) of clearing the ghosts out of a house at the Lemuria in May. The 'medicine' used in this case was that vegetable in whose properties Mr. Lang finds so much delight; and he will be pleased to find that beans turn up again (according to Mr. Frazer, vol. ii. 176) in Japan, in connexion with this very process of ghost-driving. Mr. Frazer, by the way, does not help us to a solution of this old riddle of the beans, but his researches are so wide and his ingenuity is so great that we need not despair even here of some day getting a better answer than that of O. Crusius in *Rhein. Mus.* vol. xxxix. Lastly, before we leave Italy, why has not Mr. Frazer made any use of that strange Roman rite in which the puppets called Argei were thrown into the Tiber? Every point in it may be paralleled from the Whitsuntide or harvest customs of other peoples, even more fully than was done by Mannhardt. Mr. Frazer touched on it some time ago, and referred it to river-worship; and his silence in this book seems to indicate that he holds to that opinion, in spite of Mannhardt's somewhat different conclusion. We should be glad to know: for beyond doubt it is one of the oldest and quaintest survivals of the most primitive forms of Italian religion.

As regards Mr. Frazer's treatment of Greek myth and custom, we have little to say, for it is perhaps the least original part of his work. In this quarter we may however expect more from him, as he is spending this winter at the British School at Athens, and working at the curiosity-shop of Pausanias. The stories and rites of Adonis, Lityerses, and other such figures, are treated on precisely the same lines as in Mannhardt's works; but Mannhardt's conjectures are reinforced by a much larger collection of parallels, and the death of the representative of the corn-spirit is treated with a much wider knowledge than Mannhardt possessed. Further, the question whether this representative, if a human being, was originally put to death, is answered on good evidence in the affirmative. At the same time we opportunely learn that such slaughter was not necessarily

a sacrifice; for there was no deity concerned in such practices, and it is the 'spirit' itself that is slain in its representative or incarnation. Eventually, however, the 'spirit' may become a god, and yet the rite may go on as before; and it is in connexion with such a harassing phenomenon in the case of Dionysus that Mr. Frazer explains to us with wonderful lucidity how a god may come 'to be sacrificed to himself on the ground that he is his own enemy.' Lastly, the story of Demeter and Persephone, though treated in the main after Mannhardt, is here made the subject of a very interesting analysis, in which the pair of mythical figures are compared with Isis and Osiris, and with the Diana and Virbius of the grove at Nemi, and explained in a way which rather increases than detracts from the immortal freshness and beauty of the myth. Space forbids us to say more of it here; it will be found in vol. i. pp. 358 foll., and will repay very careful study.

To sum up then, it will be seen that the chief value of *The Golden Bough* for English classical students lies in the fact that they are here introduced, by an author admirably qualified to do it, to Mannhardt's theory of the vegetation-spirit (or whatever name we choose to give to that conception of our forefathers) as a probably efficient agent in the solution of many curious rites and ideas of the peoples whose life we especially study, and now supported and supplemented by Mr. Frazer's own extensive researches and by those of Prof. Robertson Smith. Some time ago we were threatened by a serious attack of totemism; and those who, like the present writer, never could persuade themselves that much of Greek or Roman religious practice could be explained by totemism, may feel a certain satisfaction in learning from so able an exponent of that custom as Mr. Frazer himself that totemism is not as yet proved of Aryan peoples. As for the theory of the vegetation-spirit, which in this book has as it were squeezed totemism into a corner, it may of course be gradually dissolved away in the light of yet fuller knowledge; but it will be strange if it does not yield at least a precipitate for which future investigators will be thankful.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

SCHMIDT'S CORCYREAN STUDIES.

Korkyräische Studien: Beiträge zur Topographie Korkyras. Von BERNHARD SCHMIDT. Leipzig: Teubner. 1890. 2 Mk. 40.

A PARADOXICAL thesis is apt sometimes to call forth a clearer statement of the truth, and this is what seems to have happened in the present instance. Dr. Bernhard Schmidt visited Corfu and explored its antiquities as long ago as the year 1878, but the results of his investigations remained unpublished until Müller-Strübing, who in 1885 produced a considerable impression adverse to the credibility of Thucydides' account of the siege of Plataea, proceeded in the following year, in the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, to attack his narrative of the Corcyrean seditions on the ground that it is not historical, but a fanciful picture, and that the notices of Corcyra which it contains are full of inaccuracies. The object of the present work is to establish the exactness of that author's descriptions, and by so doing to render it probable that the scenes described as enacted there are not imaginary. Dr. Schmidt goes so far as to think it not unlikely that the historian was personally acquainted with the place, and suggests that he may have stopped there on the way to Sicily, which island he is supposed by many authorities to have visited, on account of his accurate delineation of the topography of Syracuse, which seems to be that of an eye-witness. But, if he did so, this must have been while he was an exile from Athens; and it is highly improbable that under these circumstances he would have ventured to set foot in a city which was then in close alliance with that state.

The site of ancient Corcyra has long been well ascertained. It occupied the hilly peninsula, now called Palaeopolis, which lies to the southward of the town of Corfu, and terminates at the well-known point of view which at the time of British occupation was known as the 'One-gun Battery,' and now is named τὸ Κανόνι. On the western side of this stretches a long shallow inlet, with a narrow entrance, which was the Hyllaic harbour of antiquity, while the second harbour mentioned by Thucydides, which we know from elsewhere to have been called the harbour of Alcinous, lay to the north of the city, facing the mainland of Epirus. The level isthmus which intervenes between the innermost waters of these must have been

narrower in ancient times than it is at the present day. A third harbour, which could be closed, is mentioned by Scylax, and this may have corresponded to the bight which is still in use on the northern side of the modern citadel. To the north of this again lay the island of Ptychia, which is now known as Vido. It may be remarked, in passing, that the last-mentioned name is explained in one of Dr. Schmidt's notes, on the authority of a local antiquary, as being derived from that of the former possessor of the island, the Venetian Guido (Vido) Malipieri. We do not know whether attention has before been drawn to the similarity of position of this city and its two main harbours to that of Syracuse, which was founded by the Corinthians about the same period. Dr. Schmidt has ingeniously—perhaps rather fancifully—adduced this similarity, together with the importance of Corcyra as an intermediate station between Sicily and the mainland of Greece, as evidence in support of the tradition mentioned by Strabo—which differs somewhat from the received story—that Archias, the founder of Syracuse, when on his way to Sicily, left behind his companion Chersierates to occupy this place.

An important point in the topography, in respect of which Dr. Schmidt differs from his predecessors, is the position of the station of the Corcyrean war-ships. This has generally been regarded as the head of the Hyllaic harbour, but Dr. Schmidt, while he accepts this view for the earlier period, maintains that at the time of the Peloponnesian war they were stationed by the outer harbour, and that the arsenal was also in that quarter. The Agora (Thuc. 3. 72) he places about midway between the two harbours, on gently-sloping ground. But the most debatable question in connexion with the narrative of Thucydides is what is meant by 'the island in front of the Heraeum' (Thuc. 3. 75). Most of the authorities, including Prof. Partsch, have maintained that by this description Ptychia is intended; but to this Dr. Schmidt rightly objects that in Thuc. 4. 46 the name of Ptychia is given, and that, had that been the island meant in the earlier passage, the name would certainly have been given there also; and he with good reason rejects Müller-Strübing's attempt to explain this away by saying that Thucydides had learnt the name in the inter-

val between the composition of the two books. Following Leake, he considers this island to have been the citadel-rock from which rise the twin peaks that give Corfu its name (*στοὺς κορυφούς*)—the *aëriæ Phaeacum arces* of Virgil. The insular character of this is now due to the deep moat, by which it is separated from the neighbouring ground; but, even if this is purely artificial, and the ground was originally a peninsula and not an island—a point which we have no means of deciding—a similar canal may have existed in ancient times, to afford a passage through to the northernmost harbour. This view is confirmed by an inscription which speaks of a property existing ‘in the island’ (*ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*), as if there was an island, otherwise nameless, which went by that title.

The Heraeum, in default of any evidence as to its position, was placed by Leake on the modern esplanade, which lies to the westward of the citadel. In 1845, however, an inscription was discovered at the northern extremity of the hill on which the ancient city was built, marking the limit of the sacred enclosure of Akria—a title with which we are familiar in the form *Ἀκραία θεὸς* to designate Hera at Corinth, the mother-city of Coreyra; and from this it is probable that the temple was situated in that neighbourhood. The identification is

an interesting one, and it suits the narrative of Thucydides excellently, because he implies that the Heraeum was within the city walls, but we can hardly agree with Dr. Schmidt that it favours his view of the position of the island. It is true that, on this supposition, the castle-rock is the only island for which a case can be made out, and we are willing to believe that this is the spot which the historian intended, notwithstanding the long distance which intervenes between the two places; but the expression *τὴν πρὸ τοῦ Ἡραίου νήσον* can hardly be said to strengthen his argument, for it ought to mean ‘the island in front of’—not, as he explains it, ‘the island opposite’—‘the temple of Hera.’ There is a passage in Diodorus (13. 48. 6), relating to the events that occurred in 410 B.C., which at first sight seems difficult to reconcile with this view of the site of the temple. For Dr. Schmidt’s explanation of this, and for a criticism of the accounts in Xenophon and Diodorus of the events of 373 B.C., when the city was besieged by the Peloponnesians under Mnasipus, we must refer our readers to what he has written. The rest of the paper is occupied with a discussion of the difficult question of the position of Mount Istone, which was occupied by the nobles at the time of the sedition.

H. F. TOZER.

RHODE ON THE TUNNY FISH.

*Thynnorum captura quanti fuerit apud
veteres momenti examinavit PAULUS
RHODE. Lipsiæ: Teubner. 1890.*

THE food-supply of the ancient world is one of the most important questions in classical antiquities, and that branch of it which relates to the supply of fish is certainly not the least interesting. From this point of view the tunny is deserving of careful study. Dr. Rhode observes that the two fishes which were in highest estimation among the Greeks and the Romans were the dolphin and the tunny; and that, while the former of these attracted men’s imagination, the latter appealed to their appetites, and consequently the value set on the tunny has been the more permanent. Various writers have treated of this subject, from the time when Belon the traveller, in 1553, wrote his treatise *De aquatilibus*; but it had not been

thoroughly discussed before the appearance of the present essay, which tells us everything that can be discovered about it, and is a model of careful research and good arrangement. The writer begins by mentioning the different names by which this fish was known to the Greeks, and gives an account of its appearance and habits, as described by ancient writers, and of the fables which existed concerning it. Not the least curious of these was the widely spread belief that the tunny saw more clearly with its right than with its left eye—a fancy which seems to have originated in the supposed fact that the shoals, when passing through the Black Sea on their way to and from the Palus Maeotis, which was their great breeding-place, always followed the right-hand shore. But this statement is proved to be erroneous by Strabo’s description of their return journey, according to which they took the same course

along the coast of Asia Minor as that by which they had approached. The section of Dr. Rhode's work which relates to the modes of catching the tunnies contains much that is amusing as well as instructive; and the investigation is not confined to antiquity, for we meet with notices of the mediaeval fisheries, derived from the charters of the kings of Sicily, and the modern methods of capture, as they are found in various parts of the Mediterranean, are fully explained. Perhaps the most interesting of all the descriptions which have come down to us is Strabo's account of the capture of these fish in the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn at Byzantium; and in this essay mention is made of the *θυνοσκοπεῖα*, which are erected at the present day on either side of that strait to watch for the approach of the shoals. The word here employed will at once recall to the reader Aristophanes' description of Cleon in the *Equites* (313) as ἀπὸ τῶν πετρῶν ἄνωθεν τοὺς φόρους θυνοσκοπῶν. The trident seems to have been adopted as the emblem of Neptune from its employment in this fishery; and the early date at which tunnies were caught in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont is proved by the vertebrae of that fish having been found in Dr. Schlieemann's 'third city' at Hissarlik. With regard to the migration of these fishes the

prevailing opinion of naturalists in antiquity was, that they came from the Ocean, and skirting the coasts of Spain, Gaul, Italy, Sicily and Greece, passed through the Propontis and the Black Sea to the Palus Maeotis, and that after the breeding season they returned by the shores of Asia Minor and Africa. Now, however, it is thought that the Mediterranean is their special home, and that, though the shoals passed, and still pass, along these coasts, so that fisheries exist at the present day at the same points as formerly, yet no great migration took place along the whole area, and they bred at different spots, and not only in the Palus Maeotis. Other sections of Dr. Rhode's essay are devoted to such points as the times when the fish was considered to be in season; the views of ancient epicures as to the choicest morsels; its use for medicinal purposes; and the representation of it on works of art. It is also shown to have been a considerable source of revenue to states as well as to individuals—a fact which is corroborated by its being introduced as an emblem on the coins of as many as twenty cities. In taking leave of this valuable dissertation, we cannot help adding that the pleasure of reading it is greatly enhanced by the excellent Latin in which it is written.

H. F. TOZER.

MAHAFFY'S GREEK PICTURES.

Greek Pictures, drawn with Pen and Pencil, by J. P. MAHAFFY. Religious Tract Society. 1890. 8s.

PROFESSOR MAHAFFY possesses the happy art of interesting all readers in the subjects of which he writes, and we cannot conceive a work better suited than the present book of sketches with pen and pencil to awaken enthusiasm in the general reader for Greece and its history. Every one, from the school-boy to the advanced student, will find in it something to attract him. The successive visits to various places and various parts of the country which are here described suggest to the writer numerous topics on which to descant, and these are sometimes recondite, sometimes simply amusing, but in all cases instructive. The traveller's personality is nowhere intruded; indeed, he hardly appears except as the *cicerone*, who introduces his readers to the most important

objects that present themselves; and the narrative of travel is scarcely more than the thread, on which are strung the descriptions and comments and notices which are naturally suggested on the way. Professor Mahaffy has brought forth from his treasure-house things new and old; and we pass without any strong sense of incongruity—we might almost say with a strengthened conviction of the continuity of Greek history—from ancient to modern life and thought—from the temple to the monastery, from the mines of Laureium, which Aeschylus celebrated in 'a fount of silver,' to the smelting-houses of the modern company. He has seized throughout on points of interest; and thus we find, in addition to the descriptions of landscape and famous buildings, disquisitions on St. Paul's work at Athens and Corinth; speculations on points connected with the Greek drama, with art, mythology, and religion, and with the

numerous questions of which the study of ancient life is so prolific; narratives from Herodotus; extracts from the author's own *Rambles and Studies*, and from M. Henri Belle's attractive *Voyage en Grèce*; and scenes in modern life. No period of history is neglected. A chapter is devoted to Christian Athens; and the Frankish invaders of the thirteenth century, whose castles form conspicuous objects in many parts of Greece, but especially in the Peloponnese, receive their fair share of attention. In connexion with Pylos, the reader is reminded of the realm of the Homeric Nestor, of the events connected with Sphacteria at the time of the Peloponnesian war, and of the battle of Navarino.

What has been said of the letterpress applies with equal force to the illustrations, which have been carefully selected and include a great variety of subjects. Some of these represent restorations of ancient buildings, such as the interior of the Parthenon and that of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; and reconstructions of ancient towns, such as the Piræus and Sparta. In others works of art are delineated—pre-

historic gold objects from Mycenæ, busts of famous men, groups of statuary, and figurines from the Tanagra finds, which are useful in illustrating points in ancient costume. Besides these, we find mediæval buildings, such as the church of St. Theodore at Athens and the monastery of Daphne to the west of that city; places of modern interest, like the castles of Suli, the town of Yanina, and the monasteries of Meteora; and representations of festivals and other incidents in the life of the present inhabitants of the country. Some of the full-page landscapes are admirable as works of art; we would select for especial praise the view of the beautiful Langada pass over Mount Taygetus and that of the town of Karytena in north-western Arcadia. Altogether, the book conveys a faithful and agreeable impression of this land of innumerable inlets, and groups of mountains, and varied forms of beauty; or, to use Professor Mahaffy's words, 'this southern Norway, this marine Switzerland, this fairest and most fascinating of all the countries in Europe.'

H. F. TOZER.

MAHAFFY'S GREEK WORLD UNDER ROMAN SWAY.

The Greek World under Roman Sway, from Polybius to Plutarch. By J. P. MAHAFFY, Fellow, &c., of Trinity College, Dublin; Hon. Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; &c. London and New York: Macmillan and Co. 1890. Pp. xvi. 418. Crown 8vo. 10s. 6d.

THIS forms the third volume of Mr. Mahaffy's history of the Greeks, and covers the period between the Roman conquest of Greece and the accession of Hadrian. A fourth volume is now promised. In structure and style the present volume resembles its predecessors, *Social Life in Greece* and *Greek Life and Thought*. The author attempts no complete or systematic treatment of his subject; but takes isolated points of interest, and presents them in their most attractive aspects. And thus he writes a lively and entertaining book, that will be read with delight by everybody except the 'pedants' at whom he has so many hits. The pedants will probably find his inaccuracies rather irritating. Half a dozen extracts will show the value of the work.

'There were important free cities [in the Crimea] and there were despots (Strabo, vii. 4. 4) ruling over the inner country. One of these despots, Leucon, is mentioned by Demosthenes (in Leptinem, § 30—40) as having obtained for himself and his heirs the freedom of the city of Athens, in requital for the gifts of corn he had bestowed on the Athenians in a time of scarcity. The tombs of these despots, which were still unruined in our time, have yielded treasures to the Museum of Kertch (sacked in the Crimean war by the French and English) and to that of St. Petersburg, which have been reproduced in splendid coloured plates by the Russian Government.'—Pp. 87, 88.

Strabo says nothing about the inner country. He says that a line of despots ruled in Panticapaion and the neighbouring colonies (αἱ πλησιόχωροι κατοικίαι) on either side of the Bosphoros. There had once been free cities of importance, but now they were under these despots. Demosthenes says that the Athenians made Leucon ἀρελῆς and πολίτης: the modern phrase 'freedom of the city' is altogether misleading. Leucon had not bestowed gifts of corn: he had simply allowed ships bound for Athens a priority in loading corn, and waived his claim to export duty. The tombs of these despots have not been identified among those un-

earthed near Kertch. The allusion to the sack of the museum at Kertch is irrelevant, for none of the treasures were there at the time. As for the reproductions, there is only a reference to the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, issued in 1854, and none to the celebrated *Comptes Rendus* of later date.

'This officer [the proconsul of Asia] expresses it as his principle to adhere to the decisions made by his predecessor, but when old documents bearing on the question and properly attested are produced, he settles (in the first person) a very knotty point, and reserves an exceptional privilege for the Christians by reversing the previous decree. We cannot imagine Pliny doing such a thing.'—P. 391.

This inscription, *C. I. G.* 2222, does not refer to the Christians at all: it refers throughout to the Chians. A startling discovery certainly, a *πόλις* of the Christians in 65 A.D. somewhere in the province of Asia. The point was not necessarily knotty; and the proconsul did not settle it, in the first person or otherwise. He found that the Chians themselves had the jurisdiction in the matter. This right of jurisdiction was the 'exceptional privilege,' and the 'old documents' were the grants of this right by senate and emperor. The proconsul did not reserve the privilege for the Chians, nor could he. Apparently the previous decree was issued in ignorance of this right of jurisdiction; and was now annulled, not reversed.

'The celebrated arsenal of Philo, of which the remains have lately been excavated and the plan recovered, was burnt down by Sylla. Its site has been recently excavated, and the whole plan restored with admirable sagacity by W. Dörpfeld, with plans and drawings.'—P. 99.

The site has not been excavated, or even ascertained. Dr. Dörpfeld's restoration is based entirely on statements in an inscription, *C. I. A.* ii. 1054. There is always a risk in guessing the contents of an essay from a glance at the illustrations.

'Nero's folly and ostentation prompted him to undertake the cutting of the Isthmus [of Corinth]—a project well nigh accomplished a few years ago, and suspended, like Nero's work, from want of funds. The project is now, or ought to be, antiquated. Steamers can double Cape Malea without danger or delay, and the railway from Patras to Athens has forestalled any possible passenger traffic.'—P. 271.

The cutting of the isthmus had been undertaken several times before, notably by Julius Caesar: and there certainly was no folly or ostentation in endeavouring to complete a work of such utility. Steamers may double Cape Malea; but in heavy weather the pas-

sage may not be worth the cost in coal and the risk of strains. The railway would not affect the traffic through the canal, for few ships would go out of their way to call at the Peiræus or at Patras. The real question is whether a remunerative dividend could be earned with rates low enough to tempt traffic through: and Mr. Mahaffy throws no light on that, or indeed on any of the modern questions that he drags into ancient history.

'Strabo [speaking of Gades] relates with wonder how a little barren island, with no territory (till the Roman conqueror Balbus ceded to it a strip of coast), not only covered the trading lines of the Mediterranean with ships, but maintained in them a population inferior to no city but Rome.'—Pp. 193, 194.

The 'Roman conqueror Balbus' was Lucius Cornelius Balbus of Gades, who made some conquests in Africa for the Romans in 19 B.C. He enlarged his native city, but gave it no territory. The city, however, had some territory: and Strabo mentions the fact, iii. 5. 3. In saying that Gades was inferior to no city but Rome in population, Strabo limits his statement to the number of very rich men. How does an island maintain a population in ships? When is a population inferior to a city?

'But when he [Strabo] says that on the drive from Aswan to Philæ he saw pieces of diorite lying about, he is hardly to be believed, for he makes the wonderful statement that the third pyramid—that of Menkara, which we still see covered with slabs of red granite from Syene, was made of black diorite!'—P. 241.

Strabo says nothing of diorite in either passage, xvii. l. 33, 50. He simply speaks of 'dark, hard stone'—a sufficiently accurate description of the red granite from Syene. He mentions monuments of this material between Syene (Aswan) and Philæ, or natural rocks in the form of monuments; but nothing else. He observes carefully that the lower half of the third pyramid was built of this material, not the whole pyramid. The building being then intact, he could not possibly know that the core was not of the same material as the casing. The upper half was cased with yellow limestone; so 'we' could not still see the pyramid covered with slabs of red granite, even if the casing was generally preserved and really consisted of slabs. The pyramid was built by Menkaura; not by Menkara, who reigned long afterwards. Mr. Mahaffy mentions in the preface that his friend Mr. Sayce has corrected the sheets and made many important suggestions.

All this wretched blundering spoils the book. The best defence would be that the

book is readable, while dull and pompous books are often just as slovenly. But Mr. Mahaffy adroitly takes much higher ground.

'He [Longinus] rightly holds fast to the great Greek principle that nothing perfect can be produced without study, that spontaneity may suggest but will never work out what is really beautiful or majestic. But at the same time he agrees perfectly with modern criticism in recognizing that irregularities may be only a flaw in genius of the highest order, perhaps even a characteristic of such genius,

seeing that unvarying correctness is seldom, if ever, the attribute of the highest work.'—P. 386.

From this point of view Mr. Mahaffy's work will hardly pass as perfect, or really beautiful or majestic; but modern criticism may consistently rank it with the highest work of genius of the highest order. The pedant may doubt the value of modern criticism, and pray for twenty years of resolute reviewing.

CECIL TORR.

C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii de bello Gallico erklärt von FR. KRANER; fünfzehnte verbesserte Auflage von W. DITTENBERGER (Weidmann). 2 M. 25 Pf.

C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii de bello civili erklärt von FR. KRANER; zehnte vielfach ungarbeitete Auflage von FR. HOFFMANN (Weidmann). 2 M. 25 Pf.

THE excellence of Kraner's editions of Caesar is well known both in and outside of Germany: his edition of the *Bellum Gallicum* has even been translated into English, though the translation was unfortunately a miserable failure. We now have before us revised editions of Kraner's commentaries on both wars. The revisions, so far as I have compared them with the editions immediately preceding them—the 14th and 9th respectively—do not shew signs of any drastic alterations, and therefore call for no very special remark. But the work has been well done and a number of minor improvements introduced, particularly in the edition of the *Bellum civile*, for which the editor has consulted Stoffel's *Guerre civile*. The recent researches into the lexicography of Caesar, more particularly those of Meusel, have naturally been laid under contribution in both books. There are, of course, a few details which individual scholars might like to see altered. An English reader, for instance, will perhaps demur to one or two of the notes dealing with Britain. It is hardly fair to say that Caesar is *thatsächlich unrichtig* when he describes the waves in the Channel as *minus magnos* (v. 1, 2). The German editors explain that the waves of enclosed seas like the Baltic or Mediterranean are shorter and more dangerous than those of the Ocean. This is very likely true, but surely one is not wrong in talking of the 'short choppy seas' of the Straits of Dover, and in assigning the cause which Caesar unconsciously does, the peculiar meeting of the tides from north and south. Again (v. 12, 4) it is probable that the native silver and copper coinage is not entirely later than Caesar's visit, and it is certain that no Phœnician trader ever anchored in Cornish creek in search for tin. But these side issues hardly affect the general excellence of the books, which fully deserve the praise always hitherto bestowed on Kraner's *Caesar*.

Here a reflection naturally occurs to an Englishman. The great German publishers, Teubner or Weidmann frequently produce revisions of standard *Schulausgaben*, and these revisions are often very extensive. No doubt it is found profitable to do this: the demand is enormous. But the competition is also severe, and the demand itself is probably stimulated by the frequency of revision and the lowness of price. Why do English publishers never give us such revised editions?

F. H.

Bilder-Atlas zu Caesars Büchern de bello Gallico, von Dr. R. OEHLER. Leipzig: Schmidt und Günther. Large 8vo. 2 Mk. 85.

THIS book is intended to provide schools with a number of illustrations and maps to accompany their Caesar lessons up to books. It contains about one-hundred woodcuts, seven maps, and some eighty pages of introductory letterpress. The woodcuts are mostly well known, the publishers having obtained the use of the blocks used for the works of Duruy, Baumeister and others, but this was inevitable, if the book was to be sold at a reasonable price with (as I presume) a reasonable profit. The choice of illustrations seems good. The first in the series (tombstone of a legionary at Wiesbaden) happens not to be very accurate, but this can be said of very few. The book is not likely to be much use in English schools, but English schoolmasters who have to read Caesar with their boys might find it a convenient collection of illustrations. Why do not Messrs Macmillan issue a volume, similar in design but smaller in size, to accompany their 'Elementary Classics' editions of Caesar?

F. HAVERFIELD.

Tacitus: The Annals, Books I.—VI. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes, by WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. Boston and London: Ginn and Company. 1890. Pp. xl. 444. 7s. 6d.

THERE are circumstances under which one might well hesitate to review the work of an editor who had not lived to see his book through the press. In the case of the volume before us, however, such hesitation is quite removed, not only by the knowledge of the generous way in which Prof. Allen would have accepted honest criticism, but also by the admirable and uniform excellence of this his most important legacy to classical students.

The notes are an excellent example of all that school-notes should be, calling sufficient attention to the historical facts which are passed in review, explaining the unusual constructions and the rhetorical phraseology, with which the reader will soon become familiar, but which cannot but trouble him at the first, and tracing out the full meaning of the historian's words. Above all they help the student to enter upon the *Annals* as upon a valuable history of a very important period in the world's history. A few places might be mentioned where notes seem to be still needed: in i. 62, 1, *sextum post cladis annum* calls for explanation, and perhaps in iii. 20, 2, *flagitii*; but it would be hard to find many such instances. There are passages also in which all

students of political history will not agree with the editor as to details, and in which, in fact, absolute certainty cannot be reached; there is some confusion, for instance, in i. 14, 15, as to the nomination and 'commendation' of candidates for the praetorship, which is not quite removed by the notes.

The text is carefully edited, following that of Halm's fourth edition; and important various readings are sufficiently discussed in an appendix. The Introduction contains useful discussions on the language and style of Tacitus, the characteristics of which are given under some twenty-five headings; a discussion of the character of Tiberius, in which the editor holds that Tacitus did not understand the change which took place in the emperor's character towards the end of his life; and a list of the provinces of the Empire, with an account of its government.

This new volume of the *College Series of Latin Authors* is a fitting memorial to the practical scholarship of its editor, and will long be of service to the students of the *Annals* of Tacitus.

SAMUEL HART.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
Hartford, Ct.

A Short History of the Roman People. By WILLIAM F. ALLEN, late Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. Boston: Ginn and Company. 1890. Pp. xiv. 370.

THIS work, the second part of an 'Ancient History for Colleges and High-Schools,' was completed by Professor Allen just before his lamented death. In it is traced the history of Rome from the beginning to what is generally called the fall of the Western Empires, in a manner concise and clear and yet far from being dry or uninteresting to the beginner. It is excellently adapted for study by those who must work by themselves, and still better adapted for use by a good teacher who can employ it as a basis for fuller instruction or as a syllabus for lectures. Without display of learning, the book shows the labour of a careful student and gives the results of the latest investigations into the troublesome problems from which the history of Rome can never be quite freed; at the same time great wisdom is shown in the avoidance of unnecessary detail. And the fact that the author has never forgotten that he has undertaken to tell in outline the story of the Roman people adds greatly to its value; economical and social and political changes, the progress and the deterioration of the people in character as well as in the power of government, are carefully marked. It is a small volume, but it contains more than a great many larger ones. Its use will certainly commend it.

SAMUEL HART.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
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An Introduction to the Latin Language, by MAURICE C. HIME, M.A., LL.D.

THIS is a work in two large volumes of more than 800 pages, combining Accidence, Prosody, and Syntax with exercises (on the principle of Crombie's *Gymnasium*), examination questions and vocabularies. It claims to supersede a multiplicity of books and to save thereby time and money; but there are some disadvantages in all *multa in parvo* machines (as, for instance, boys' sporting knives). People can use tools better separately. However, the print is good,

the arrangement clear, the price of the two volumes (2s. 6d. and 5s.) very moderate, and, on the whole, it ought to be a useful book. It contains some praiseworthy innovations on the old system of mechanical rote teaching—see Chapter iii, On Gender (pp. 31—39), where the reasons for Genders are insisted on, so far as ascertainable; and the explanations of rules e.g. (p. 443) of the familiar doggerel, 'With ask, command, advise, and strive &c.,' though wanting in closeness and accuracy of thought (as when *rogo ut facias* is explained as 'I ask you in the hope that etc.'), are nevertheless to be preferred to arbitrary dogmas. Most of them are suggestive and they all encourage thought. But the author, though a reformer, is not able to emancipate himself entirely from old trammels, as on p. 13, where we find that "the sign of the Voc. is 'O'; of the Gen. 'of'; of the Dat. 'to' or 'for' etc." The evils of this system of 'signs' are sorely felt by teachers in the amount which they have to unteach, as illustrated by the long lists of exceptions on pp. 160—167, vol. ii.

Again, if technical Shibboleths like 'Possessive,' 'Descriptive,' 'Greek' Genitive, represent 'Scylla' to teachers of Grammar (cp. pp. 219—242), 'Charybdis' is represented by diffuse amplifications of old formulas. One kills, the other muddles thought. An instance occurs on page 15:—

'When two Latin nouns come together closely connected in sense—but *not* designating the same person or thing—the dependent one is put in the Genitive Case.'

If a boy can get out of this a clear idea of the meaning of the Genitive, he would surely not find it too difficult to understand the rational explanation, viz. that a Genitive defines a Noun (as an Adjective does) by referring it to a *class*, so that in *patris amor*, *patris* tells us what kind of *amor* is referred to, representing both 'a father's love' and 'love of a father.'

In the Syntax the cases are treated satisfactorily on the whole, though the gradual development of their uses is not explained very clearly or scientifically. On page 386 the pupil is told to learn by heart the rule that *si* with past tenses of the subjunctive is used to express an *impossible* condition; with the present tenses a *possible* one. I had hoped that this extraordinary theory, viz. that *tenses* are used to express 'possibility' and not 'time,' had been given up; I should like to see how the author would translate the following sentence—'If to-morrow morning we were to find that two and two make five, it would cause some inconvenience.'

The Ablative of Comparison (pp. 320—325) gives a fair specimen of the good and bad features of the book. It is clear and sensible, but diffuse; and differences of idiom are mixed up with points of pure Grammar. The question of the origin of the Comparative constructions with *quam* and of those with the Ablative is not shirked, but no attempt is made to connect the two and consequently the author is led to adopt Reisig's and Dr. Abbott's explanation of *Balbus doctior Caio*, as meaning 'B. is (made) more learned by C.'! In the Exercises it is a pity that he adopts the plan of giving mistakes to correct, as some examiners do. Boys have a knack of remembering mistakes that they have seen in print and reproducing them as familiar ideas. The intermixture of the Exercises with the Syntax makes the latter inconvenient for reference, and this evil is only partially remedied by the short epitome (pp. 518—540). Still the Notes and Questions will be found very useful, and the author may be congratulated on having produced a good practical book at a very moderate price.

J. E. NIXON.

Latin Pronunciation : a Short Exposition of the Roman Method. By HARRY THURSTON PECK, M.A., Ph. D., professor in Columbia College. New York, Henry Holt and Co. 1890.

It is not perfectly clear whether the author of this little book of thirty-four pages means by 'Roman Method' the actual ancient pronunciation, or uses the term, as it is often used in the United States, merely as the trade-name, so to speak, of one of the several modern ways of pronouncing Latin. The greater part of the work is taken up with a discussion of the ancient sounds represented by the Latin letters, and this must be the exposition referred to in the title. It is therefore a little surprising to read at the end, among the 'reasons for adopting the Roman system,' that 'it is *approximately* the system used by the Romans themselves.' So in other places the author's conception of his task appears to waver. When he gives *note* and *not* as patterns for the sound of Latin long and short *o*, it is clear that he is thinking of a handy English approximation for actual use; the more clear, because he asserts distinctly (on p. 15) that the short vowels in Latin do not differ in quality from the corresponding long vowels. On the other hand some features of the ancient pronunciation are described—for instance the weak sounds of final *s* and *m*—which Professor Peck can hardly expect to see carried out in our everyday usage.

However, the general purpose of the book is plain—to sketch the ancient pronunciation in its outlines, adducing the proofs in a compact form, and to show that in its important features this corresponds with the 'Roman System' of schoolmasters' parlance. In four pages the sources of our information are enumerated; the alphabet is discussed in two pages; then follow fifteen pages on the 'Sounds of the Letters,' after which the 'Sounds of the Diphthongs' are briefly treated and a few miscellaneous remarks are appended. There is no treatment of accent. A bibliographical list occupies the last two pages.

The idea of a small book on this subject is excellent, and it is greatly to be regretted that Professor Peck, whose work shows wide reading and generally sound views, did not take the time to convert these autoschediastic jottings into an accurate and well-balanced manual. The treatment is uneven. Catullus's Arrius epigram, in Latin and English, takes up nearly a page, but so elementary a thing as the sound of *ns* receives no mention, and one will look in vain for any account of the aspirated mutes in *pulcher*, *Cethegus*, *triumphus*. Proofs of the ancient sounds are given in unequal measure. Some articles, like that on *ac*, consist of little else than assertions. The proofs given are not always cogent. That *b* before *s* 'was sounded like *p*' we know because occasionally in inscriptions it is so written e.g. *pleps* for *plebs* etc. This would at most prove that it was occasionally so sounded. In point of fact, *ps* is written more than occasionally in early Latin, and we are told distinctly by grammarians that the spelling *bs* was affected by those 'qui originem uerborum respiciunt'; so the case is much stronger than the author puts it. That 'final *d* was sounded like *t*' is far too strong an assertion; there are no 'positive statements of Quintilian' to that effect, and the inscriptions show no such wild confusion as Professor Peck thinks. The declaration that Latin *u* 'is regularly represented in Greek by *ou* whether it be long or short' (p. 27) is certainly unguarded, in view of the fact that short *u* always appears as *o* (*Σπόριος*, *Λοκρέτιος*, etc.) in Greek inscriptions earlier than the Christian era.

The endings of *nauta* and of *luxuria* (over against

-ies) are adduced to illustrate the weak sound of final *s*. *N adulterinum* is assigned the sound of the 'English *ng* in *finger*.' *Oorator*, p. 13, must be an imaginary form: *o* is never doubled. One would suppose from p. 32 that Vergil's genitives *pictai*, *aulai*, were two syllables. In *opsequor* (p. 16) *p* is the original sound. *Narcobos* (p. 19) is not a certain case of early Latin. *Τάριος* (p. 22) is a particularly unfortunate illustration of Greek *τ* written for Latin *j*. *Laetum* (p. 28) does not come from *lavatum*. *Cs* is not 'often written for *x*' in early Latin (p. 30). The definition of short *a* as the *a* in *pastime* (p. 15) is hardly a definition at all: this word, in America, at any rate, has the widest range of sound. By what name the Romans called the letter *y* may not be quite clear, but they certainly knew nothing of the mediaeval Byzantine name *ypsilon* (p. 35). Probably they called it simply *u*, as the Greeks did. The name was one syllable: see Ausonius *de litteris* (Technopaegnon xiii.). One does not see why the diphthong *ei* (to which the sound in *feint* is attributed) need have been treated at all. But what is said about it must be wholly bewildering to the novice, and is partly incorrect. Hardly more lucid is the discussion of *oe*, which passes into *u* 'when the first element predominates over the second,' but 'in words where it is regularly written is to be pronounced as a true diphthong'; not therefore, it would seem, in *coera* and the like.

The author finds the transliterations of Latin words in Greek chiefly valuable because 'many of these writers had no particular knowledge of the Latin language, and hence spelled these Latin names and words phonetically' (p. 9). If this is so, ought Plutarch's ignorance of Latin (p. 29) to render his transcription of Latin *v* by *β*, which makes against Professor Peck's view of the sound of *v*, invalid as evidence? But Plutarch's Latin scholarship has nothing to do with this matter, and his Boeotian birth (which the author, after Roby, puts forward as a second possibility) has still less to do with it. It is a matter of time, as the Greek inscriptions prove most amply. In earlier times *Οὐάρος*, in later times *Οὐάρος* and *Βάρος*. Not only Plutarch, but Lucian and Diodorus have *β*. Lucian has it always. How much Boeotian dialect was there left in Boeotia in Plutarch's time, and how much would the son of a Chaeronean gentleman be influenced by what there was? ¹

When to this enumeration we add that about one third of the Greek words quoted are wrongly accented or otherwise misprinted, it will be seen that the work is far too hastily executed to fulfil its purpose, and will be rather an embarrassment than a help to those for whom it was intended. The book should have a thorough revision. It is probably impossible to present the matter satisfactorily in so few pages,

¹ Spellings like *Σερβίλιος* and *Βάρρων* certainly indicate a *rapprochement* (not of course identity) of the sounds of Latin *v* and Greek *β*. This approach may have been mutual, and the change of the Greek *b*-sound to a *v*-sound may have been a part of it. Nevertheless it seems to the reviewer extremely probable that the time when *β* appears in these Greek transcriptions is also the time when Latin *u*-consonants began to change from the *w*-sound to the *v*-sound. Then there is Claudius's letter *ϐ*. When we ask ourselves why he thought it necessary to distinguish between vowel and consonant *V*, and not between vowel and consonant *I*, it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the sound heard in *silva* was already thicker than the English *v*.

especially if accent be treated (as it should be) and 'hidden quantities' be touched on.

The author nowhere expresses any doubts, and he mentions no divergent views, as for instance Seelmann's about *f*. He estimates the probable error—if we may call it so—of 'the system of pronunciation upon which scholars are now agreed' as less than the difference between modern and Elizabethan English. Very much less, we should suppose, provided that the theory of modern scholars, not their practice, be meant: but in either case an after comparison might be the English of a foreigner who has learned the language from books.

Professor Peck is an earnest advocate of reform in Latin pronunciation, and takes in his preface a hopeful view of the progress of that reform. But practice is certain to lag far behind theory in this matter. The 'approval of all Latinists of authority in Europe and America' is in large part a purely intellectual approval. If 'the leading grammars recognise no other method,' it is because their authors conceive their province to be simply to tell how the ancients pronounced, leaving to each reader's conscience the personal question how far he shall attempt to imitate this pronunciation in his own practice. It is true that in the United States, where all such changes come easier, what may be briefly characterised as a Kikeronian pronunciation of Latin, with many minor variations, has made its way slowly into very general use during the past twenty years, and seems likely to supplant altogether, by and by, the former pronunciation by English sounds. But unless the reviewer is greatly mistaken, nothing like this state of things exists in any European country. In Germany certainly, and probably in England and France, few, even of those who know best how the ancient speech sounded, care to stem the tide of popular usage. The questions 'How did the ancients pronounce?' and 'How shall I pronounce?' are and must be perfectly distinct,—must be, for two reasons: first, because there are gaps in our knowledge (one cannot leave a blank in speaking *pulcher* or *optumus* because he may be in theoretical doubt as to certain sounds in the middle of these words), and secondly, because we cannot school our organs to some sounds that the Romans appear to have used. The reviewer is one of those who consider the first question far more important than the second. Every boy who learns Latin ought to be told how the Romans pronounced it, no matter what pronunciation he and his teacher employ. As to this practical question, what they should employ, there is something to be said on both sides. Nevertheless it is probably desirable that the reform Professor Peck has so much at heart should go on, if only for the reason that it affords the only possible ground for an international pronunciation. One country will never adopt the local barbarisms of another's Latin speech, but all may, without sacrifice of national dignity, unite in following the ancient pronunciation in the main. Absolute uniformity will not result. Certain concessions will have to be made to national habits of speech. The German need not be held to an accurate discrimination of *tum* and *dum*; the Italian must be allowed *potest* and *possunt*; the English boy will be excused if he fails of *ū* in *Lydia*, and does not trill his *r*. Probably this reform will come about in time, if the study of Latin does not become extinct first. But it will take time. The Italians in particular will stick to their *Tschilchero* long after the Germans have relinquished *Tsitsero*.

F. D. ALLEN.

Die Lateinischen Nomina Personalia auf -o, -onis. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Vulgarlateins. Von Dr. RICHARD FISCH. Berlin: Gärtners. 1890. (198 pp.)

THIS is a very valuable collection of the main facts bearing on the subject. The book, however, would have been a better one had the materials been more clearly sifted and arranged. The author is too much dominated throughout by the theory that the endings in -o and -io, when they have a personal meaning, imply something tending to be mean, ridiculous, or contemptible. This fact is perhaps attributable to the order in which Dr. Fisch has treated his subject. He begins with the classical and late words, and proceeds from these to the archaic words and *cognomina*. Then, finding that the archaic words mostly bear a good or a neutral sense, he sets up the hypothesis of a 'revolution,' by which words of a good meaning were in later times excluded from the bad company of the others.

That large numbers of the personal nouns in -o and -io belong to the sphere of popular or vulgar, not of literary, Latin cannot be disputed. But the facts seem to admit of a somewhat different presentation from that given by Dr. Fisch.

In the case of masculine nouns meaning *things*, these suffixes imply that the thing is an instrument to some special end; e.g. *lig-o*, an instrument for scraping; *pug-io*, for piercing; *turb-o*, a thing which whirls; perhaps *ord-o*, what sets up. Or they may connote simple action: *stol-o*, a thing which stands up.

This makes it easier to understand the application of these suffixes in the case of personal nouns. They imply habitual action, as, e.g. in the cases of *assed-o*, *consed-o*, *commilit-o* (*præc-o* = *præ-vec-o* or perhaps *præ-ec-o*, one who tells forth), *duell-io*, a fighter, *o-pil-io*, a tender of sheep; or the prominence of some quality: *Ner-o*, he who plays the man; or the assumption of some quality (*Cat-o*, as distinguished from *catus*, *Grandi-o*, from *grandis*); or the possession of a prominent personal characteristic: *capit-o*, *front-o*, *strab-o*, &c.; or the fact that the person represents, or acts on behalf of, or leads, some body of persons: *curi-o*, *decuri-o*, *centuri-o* from *curia*, *decuria*, *centuria*; or that his business lies with something: *nebul-o*, *tenebr-io*, a dealer in clouds, in darkness; *hom-o*, one who tills the ground; *epul-o*, a provider of a feast; *asell-io*, a donkey-man; *cal-o*, *liv-o*, a fetcher of wood, a drawer of water; *linte-o*, a towel-man, and so on.

Now, as many occupations are, and still more were thought to be in antiquity, of an indifferent or disagreeable character, it is not unnatural that many personal nouns in -o came to carry with them some kind of slur. Nor is it difficult to see how words which indicated personal peculiarities should, in a large number of instances, have degenerated into nick-names. In this connexion it should be mentioned that the influence of Greek words such as *μοθ-ών*, *φυσκ-ών*, and the like, must have been considerable. Whether Dr. Fisch should have treated the nouns in -*mō(n)*, such as *semōn*, *flamōn* (the old form of *flamen*), *temōn*, &c., under the same head as those in -o and -io, is very doubtful.

The chronological list of these words, as they appear in Latin literature and in the glossaries (pp. 45-150), will be found of great use to students of lexicography.

In two cases it is almost certain that Dr. Fisch has found a mare's nest in the glossaries (p. 146). *Blasto*, *cubicularius* surely represents the *Blastus* of the Acts

of the Apostles. On the gloss *cones, sacerdotes rustici*, Dr. Fisch founds a long argumentation to shew that *eo-o*, which he connects with *Eg-eria*, is an old word = *sacerdos*. It is much more probable that the word is *aecones* or *aeconis*, and the reference to Vergil *Ecl.* 3, 2, *non, verum Aeconis*, and the parody of it quoted by Suetonius, *Vita Vergilii* 43: *non, verum Aecones nostri sic rure loquuntur*.

H. N.

Commentationes Fleckeisenianae. Teubner : Leipzig, 1890. 6 Mk.

THIS is a collection of seventeen papers on Classical subjects published by friends of Dr. Fleckeisen in honour of his seventieth birthday. The *carmen gratulatorium*, in Latin hendecasyllables, is written by O. Stange.

Fr. Giesing contributes a most interesting paper on 'Der Ausgang des Königs Oedipus von Sophokles und die aristotelische Katharsis,' arguing successfully against the view of Graffunder (started by Schneidewin) that the last scene of the *Oedipus Rex* was not in the play in its first form, but that Sophocles changed the original conclusion in order to adapt it to the motive of the *Oedipus at Kolonos*. Giesing overthrows both the external argument (of Schneidewin) drawn from a comparison with Seneca's corresponding play, and the internal argument (of Graffunder) drawn from a comparison of the final scene with the rest of the drama. But the most important part of the paper is that which deals with Aristotle's definition of tragedy. Giesing defends Goethe's explanation, which, after the discussion of Bernays, most scholars had abandoned, until the essay of Theodor Stisser ('Die Katharsis in der Poetik des Aristoteles') appeared in 1884. Goethe had rendered the words *δι' ἑλέου καὶ φόβου περαινουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν* thus: '(Die Tragödie ist die Nachahmung einer bedeutenden und abgeschlossenen Handlung), die....., nach einem Verlauf aber von Mitleid und Furcht mit Ausgleichung solcher Leidenschaften ihr Geschäft abschliesst'; and his view was that Aristotle did not refer to the moral effect of tragedy on the spectator but only to the construction of a drama, which like all poetical works requires an 'aussöhnende Abrundung' (*κάθαρσις*). Giesing, in defence of this view, points out that *διὰ* need not be instrumental but (and especially with a verb of motion like *περαινῶ*) may determine the space or time to be traversed before the end (*κάθαρσις*) is reached. The argument by which Giesing supports the explanation of the passage is novel and interesting. He turns against Bernays the passage in which that scholar found his best weapon for his own view, namely Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. viii. c. 7 (the discussion on the function of music in a state): *τῶνδ' ἱερῶν μελῶν ὁρῶμεν τούτους, ὅταν χρῆσωνται τοῖς ἐξοργίζουσι τὴν ψυχὴν μέλει, καθισταμένους ὥστερ ἰατρίας τυχόντας καὶ καθάρσεως*. Here we have (1) orgiastic or enthusiastic music as the cause of (2) the state of enthusiasm, and (3) *ἱερὰ μέλη* as its remedy and *κάθαρσις*. Giesing finds three similar elements in the theory of tragedy: (1) the development of the plot and the catastrophe arouse (2) states of fear and pity, which are (3) stilled by purificatory means, not mentioned, but corresponding to the *ἱερὰ μέλη*, and therefore distinct from (1) and (2). He shews then that the *καθαρμός* consists as a rule in 'die Sühnung und Versöhnung' of the hero, and the *κάθαρσις* is the effect of this on the audience; and works it out in the *Ajax* and *Antigone*.

W. Gilbert tries to shew that *Agamemnon* ll. 1316-1329 are spurious, having been inserted by an actor. The same writer interprets *ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάντην*

(l. 1444) 'nihil turpe honoreque carens perpersi sunt sed egregie cum eis actum est' and shews that there is no good authority for attributing to *ἄτιμος* the meaning of *with impunity*. On l. 1448 (*ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς*) he accepts Pauw's *εὐνῆ* but interprets 'sed mihi, non sibi eam adduxit ad lectum ut meae libidini (ulciscendi) non ut suae libidini (vel Veneri vel superbiae) aliquid accederet.'

F. Polle introduces a number of suggestions in Euripides by a very German effusion of gratitude to Fleckeisen accompanied with personal details. The most interesting point perhaps is his view that the *Phoenician Maidens* came not from Tyre but from Sicily. Hartung had already suggested that their home was Carthage, but Euripides would never have applied to a peninsula the phrase *Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου* (l. 204), which would naturally mean either Tyre or Sicily. Tyre cannot, without extravagant hypotheses, be reconciled with l. 208 *sqq.* (*Ἴδιον κατὰ πόντον..... ὑπὲρ ἀκαρπίστων πεδίων Σικελίας Ζεφύρου πνοαῖς κ.τ.λ.*), whereas *Τύριον ὄδμα* l. 202 may well be the sea over whose waves the Phoenicians of Carthage sailed to their colonies in Sicily. It was natural that Euripides should introduce a chorus from Sicily into one of his late plays, when the attention of the Athenian people was riveted on the island of the west. For those who are interested in the western Phoenicians there is also a paper by the author of 'die Geschichte der Karthager,' bringing forward new arguments for his view that the Fair Cape (*καλὸν ἀκρωτήριον*) of the treaties between Carthage and Rome preserved by Polybius was the modern Cape Porto Farina and not Cape Bon. F. Hultsch contributes 'Conjectanea in Polybium.' H. Uhle has a paper of conjectures on the *Symposium* of Plato, and M. Wohlrab writes on the MSS. of the *Theaetetus*. Students of ancient astronomy will find an account (with diagrams) of *Geminus' Isagoge* by Karl Manitius. J. Büttner Wobst, who has recently dealt with Zonaras in a first instalment of *Studia Byzantina*, contributes a long discussion of the sources of that historian. F. Rudolph works out the theme that Larensius, the host in Athenaeus, was no other than the famous Herodes Atticus. F. Poland writes on the *locus classicus* for the theatre at Olympia (*Xen.* vii. 4, 31). R. Albrecht prints, with an introduction, an unpublished Latin poem of Tito Vespasiano Strozza (1475) entitled *In Ponerolycon*, a satire on Bonvicino dalle Carte. The other papers are *Ad Plauti Militem Gloriosum Marginalia* by T. Hasper; *Zur Beweisführung Ciceros in der Rede für Sextus Roscius aus America* by E. Lincke; *Ad Frontinum* by T. Opitz; *De locis aliquot Diutys-Septimii* by H. Dunger and Faberius; *Studie über einen Parteigänger Ciceros nach Ciceros Briefen an Atticus* by O. E. Schmidt.

J. B. BURY.

Zum Eleischen, Arkadischen und Kyprischen Dialekte, von RICHARD MEISTER. Leipzig, Giesecke und Devrient: pp. 45. 1 M. 20 Pf.

SINCE the advent of Dr. Otto Hoffmann polemics have laid hold of Greek dialectology, a department of investigation which has hitherto enjoyed an almost total exemption from the strife waged by the comparative grammarians.

After the fashion of the youthful privat-docent, who seeks to win recognition or even notoriety by drawing his *schläger* against his older kinsmen in philology, Hoffmann has thought it good to make an assault upon Meister, the editor and extender of Ahrens' Greek Dialects; and has been ignominiously routed. In No. 22 of the *Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1889 will be found a lengthy review by the

Königsberg privat-docent of the second volume of Meister's invaluable re-creation of Ahrens. To this critique the above-mentioned brochure is a caustic and crushing rejoinder. Candour requires it to be said that, whatever the defects in Meister's treatise, his antagonist must be adjudged guilty of slovenliness in preparation for his task of reviewer, of unfairness as a reviewer, and of an insolence which, itself devoid of method, presumes to teach method to a scholar, whose works have been before the world for over twenty years.

Meister takes up seriatim the charges made against him, defends himself with skill, and generally gives Hoffmann his quietus. We must, however, confess ourselves not satisfied with the explanation of ἰ(ν) τύχαι ἀγασταί as *bei eingetretener Dürre*. One instance, though perhaps the most flagrant, will characterize Hoffmann's procedure. H. accepts—with the exception of a single word—Meister's reading of *C.D.I.* No. 1156, ascribes it to Blass and Kirchhoff, and then pronounces against Meister for not adopting it. As might be expected from the nature of the brochure, it contains no new matter. Here and there however light is cast upon the transliteration of some of the most obscure Kyprian inscriptions.

To those who possess the second volume of Meister's work; a statement of the change in the author's positions may not be unwelcome:

p. 24 (*C.D.I.* 1156): ἀφλανέως has nothing to do with ἄλη and λανθάνω.

p. 150 (*C.D.I.* 59): τὰς εὐχαλᾶς is ablative genitive.

p. 151 (*C.D.I.* 60₃): ὕχρος not ὕ(γ)χρος; and so ὕFais and ὕ in ὕ τύχα, p. 221, without the nasal. These forms I had already adopted in treating of Kyprian.

p. 233: Genitives in -αFos and datives in -αFi in Phoinikian names in -α, and gen. in -iFos and dat. in -iFi of Greek *iota* stems, owe their F to the influence of -Fos, -Fi of -ην- stems.

p. 260: πρόλεμος and σφάλλω are to be dissociated.

p. 267: πός and πρός are to be derived from antevocalic ποτι and προτι. That this, Brugmann's explanation, is preferable to that of Bechtel, whereby πός is from ποτ + s, I fail to see. Cf. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. xviii. p...

p. 280: Fús in Homer is no support for the reading Fð δῆ in *C.D.I.* 77 (Γάμαλκος, γð δῆ, ἀνέθηκε Ἀπόλλ(α)ωνι). Meister now reads Fðδε de suo.

In the *Classical Review* for March 1890, Mr. Moulton, in his sharp critique of Hoffmann's *Præcursus der indogermanischen Grundsprache*, implies that Göttingen is now the old 'school' in linguistics. I would put the question: because the Junggrammatiker claim that they alone are the Levites who have in charge the tabernacle of comparative grammar; because, as Fick will say in the preface to the forthcoming edition of his *Indo-European Dictionary*, the science of etymology is the only department of comparative philology not now annexed by the Junggrammatiker—does all this lead to the Göttingen school the flavour of antiquity? In what respect does the work of Fick upon accent, of Collitz upon the vowel and consonantal system of Indo-European, of Bechtel upon Greek and German grammar, bear the marks of a creed outworn? First the reign of Curtius, then the bipartite monarchy of Brugmann—Osthoff!

H. W. SMYTH.

Byzantinische Historiker des zehnten und elften Jahrhunderts. I. Nikephoros Bryennios. Eine philologisch-historische Untersuchung von JOHANNES SEGER, Dr. phil. München: Lindauer. 1888.

MANY who are familiar with the name of the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnena may be ignorant that her husband Nikephoros Bryennios was also an author and played an important part in the learned society of the day. His historical work, which is rather a sort of a family chronicle of the Komnenoi than a regular history, has been chosen by Herr Seger as the subject of the first of a series of studies on the Greek historians of the tenth and eleventh centuries. If Dr. Seger carries out his plan, he will have done somewhat the same service for the period from Leo Diakonos to Anna Komnena that Hirsch performed, fourteen years ago, for the ninth and the earlier part of the tenth century. Dr. Seger's valuable work falls into six chapters. Having given an account of (1) the life and family and (2) the work of Nikephoros, he (3) discusses the sources which that writer used and passes judgment on his value as an historian. He then goes on (4) to examine the language and style of his author, and (5) devotes a special chapter to the Preface or Προσώρπια. The concluding chapter (6) is bibliographical.

The value of Nikephoros' ὕλη ιστορίας is thus summed up (p. 58): 'Sein Wert als Geschichtsschreiber ist somit ein sehr bedingter, und jedenfalls weit geringer als man bisher annahm. Grösser ist die kulturhistorische Bedeutung des Werkes gerade als einer Parteischrift und durch eine Fülle von Nachrichten über spezielle Verhältnisse des byzantinischen Reiches.'

We hope that Dr. Seger will soon give us another instalment.

J. B. BURY.

De adiectivorum verbalium -tos terminatione insignium usu Aeschyleo. CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP. Lipsiae, 1889. pp. 87. [Doctor.-Diss.]

THE dissertation before us gives a careful collection of the -tos verbals in Aeschylus, with some critical matter in reference to obscure passages. It attempts to classify results from the standpoint of the verbals themselves, as active, passive, past and future; and this suggests some interesting results, though difficulty in grasping them often arises from a separation of uses of the same word under several different headings. In Aeschylus there are comparatively few cases of the modal future (Lat.-bilis), or of the instrumental active. About 200 cases (Spotós 105 times included) of verbals from neuter or neuter passive verbs have the neuter present-participle meaning. Twenty are classified as intermediate between neuter and proper active in meaning, and thirty as instrumental active. Of these latter none are used in reference to persons, and all are compounds, many of them the artificial compounds of which Aeschylus is fond. Among them are several which other writers have treated as passive.

The simple past-passive-participle use (Latin -tus) is by far the most common. Forms classified here are from a large variety of verbs, and the percentage of simple forms (*i.e.* without prefix) is much larger than elsewhere. In connection with these verbals no emphasis is laid on the time, so that the same word may be present past or future as determined (or not determined!) by the connection. Nearly two-thirds of the forms with future meaning have the prefixed α privative. It remains to speak of the modal future use (Latin -bilis, or sometimes the gerundive *c.g.* κλεισπτός). About thirty verbals are cited here, and one of these, πιστός, occurs some thirty times. Many of these cases have the meaning 'worthy to be —'; and in ten or twelve of them preceding writers have found a notion of necessity which Bishop denies. Such words as ἄθικτος, ἀτλητος, etc., may be explained otherwise; yet as they occur in the

sentence, one can but find the meaning of necessity, and what other criterion is there of the meaning of the form?

The paper seems to be a very careful and critical collection of these verbals, but the author fails to draw even those simple conclusions which are suggested by comparing the number of forms, and

the relative character of the forms, under each heading. In the appendices he treats several topics suggested by his investigation, as accent, etymologies, adverbs in *-ως* (19), etc., and a long index of words makes this scholarly treatise convenient for reference.

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

Dartmouth College.

To the Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

OXFORD, Jan. 1891.

SIR,—IN the last number of the *Classical Review* Mr. Page makes reference to a note of mine on Verg. *Aen.* vi. 567, as to which I should wish to say a word. The criticism concerns the following well-known lines:—

*Castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri
quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani
distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.*

On the first line Mr. Page attacks my view that *castigat* means ‘punishes,’ and says roundly that it is erroneous. He translates ‘flogsthem,’ and explains that Rhadamanthus is an inquisitor who is torturing to procure confession. There is much that is attractive in this suggestion, and I have before now been favourably inclined towards it; but the real difficulty lies in the word itself, for as far as I know *castigare* never means to torture, but always has the idea of ‘correction’ or ‘punishment.’ This is no doubt the reason why it is so taken by Heyne, Conington, Gossrau, Forbiger, Wagner, and Ladewig, though they do not all agree about its relation to *audit*; and Heyne has a special excursus (Exc. xi.) where he argues at length that Rhadamanthus is not a judge or magistrate like Minos, but is entrusted with the duty of executing sentences, like the *Tres Viri Capitaes*: for (as I say in my note) he has only the guilty to deal with.

On the last line my note is as follows:—‘Delayed till his late death the guilt he had contracted’ [*i.e.* delayed to expiate it;] but the Latin is less harsh than the English, [because *piacula* though it means ‘guilt,’ as *commissa* proves, yet suggests the impending expiation, and so goes more easily with *distulit*.]

In his criticism on this note Mr. Page omits the whole of what I have included in brackets, whereas it is obviously essential to the interpretation which I adopt of *piacula*. Servius took *piacula* to mean ‘crimes,’ and is followed by Conington, Forbiger, Gossrau and others. Mr. Page translates *commissa piacula* ‘the due (incurred) atonement’: a

possible rendering, but by no means so obviously right that it should be thus confidently given, or that the difficulties should be ignored. For *commissa piacula* agrees with *quae*, and is therefore (in Vergil’s phrase) what the sinner is forced to confess, as well as what he has deferred. Now it would certainly be harsh (what Mr. Page would call ‘nonsense’) to say that a man ‘confesses a due (incurred) atonement’; and this difficulty, which the critic neatly evades in his translation (and quite legitimately on his view), he has perhaps overlooked in dealing with the other versions. The truth I take to be that as *piacula* can be both ‘expiation’ and ‘sins to be expiated,’ and as *commissa* can mean both ‘committed’ and ‘incurred’ (the latter however is comparatively rare), the poet characteristically takes advantage of the double ambiguity, and compresses into one sentence the two facts that the sinner confesses the sin and that he has delayed the expiation. This is in reality what I meant in my note: though I see that it wants a more careful statement. It is an exaggeration, I admit, to say that *commissa* proves *piacula* to mean ‘guilt.’ It does not prove it: but the use of *committere* with *facinus*, *scelus*, *delictum*, *flagitium*, and the like, is so much commoner than the use with *paenam*, that the sense I give is most naturally regarded as the primary one.

In writing notes to a school-book, especially on an author much read by beginners, one is bound to avoid much discussion of alternatives, to select the version preferred, and expound it briefly: and perhaps in commenting on these difficult lines I have followed this rule to excess. But a critic in a journal for scholars cannot be so summary. Mr. Page is well known as a good scholar and an accomplished teacher; and I owe him thanks for directing my attention to a note which might certainly be improved, as well as for some appreciative words which he bestows on my school edition of Vergil. I hope he will not think me ungracious if I criticise him in turn, and

say that he talks rather too freely of 'blundering,' 'perversions,' 'erroneous interpretation,' 'the danger of jotting down notes at haphazard,' 'the sort of pabulum which the University presses send out,' and

so forth. If he is to dispose of Servius, Heyne, Forbiger, Gossrau, Conington and Ladewig, a little more recognition is required of the difficulties of Vergil, and a little more discussion.
A. SIDGWICK.

LUCIANUS.

Πλοῦτος ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς πλοῦτος μόνος ἐστὶν ἀληθής·

τᾶλλα δ' ἔχει λύπην πλείονα τῶν κτεάνων.
τὸν δὲ πολυκτέανον καὶ πλούσιόν ἐστι δίκαιον
κληΐζειν, ὅς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς δύναται.
εἰ δέ τις ἐν ψήφοις κατατήκεται, ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλω
σωρεῦειν αἰεὶ πλοῦτον ἐπειγόμενος,
οὔτος ὅποια μέλισσα πολυτρήτοις ἐνὶ σίμβλοις
μοχθήσει, ἐτέρων δρεπτομένων τὸ μέλι.

LVCIANVS.

IDEM LATINE REDDITUM.

Veras quaeris opes; nusquam nisi mente repertas:

cetera habent curas, utilitate carent.
divitiis quicumque suis bene calluit uti,
ille unus locuples, ille beatus erit.
qui tamen immoritur luero, nummosque recenset,

tristis inexpletas dum sibi cogit opes,
sicut apes, gazas rimoso certat in alveo
condere; cujusvis mella ferentis erunt.

E. D. S.

SWINBURNE: *ERECHTHEUS* 1494 foll.

But not long
had the fresh wave of windy flight begun
heaving, and all the surge of swords to
sway,
when timeless night laid hold of heaven, and
took
with its great gorge the noon as in a gulf,
strangled, and thicker than the shrillwinged
shafts
flew the fleet lightnings ever; that our host,
smit with sick presage of some wrathful
God

quailed, but the foe as from one iron throat
with one great sheer sole thousandthroated
cry
shook earth, heartstaggered from their shout,
and clove

the eyeless hollow of heaven; and breached
therewith
as with an onset of strengthshattering
sound

the rent vault of the roaring noon of night
from her throned seat of usurpation rang
reverberate answer; such response there
pealed

as tho' the tide's charge of a storming sea
had burst the sky's wall, and made broad a
breach

in the girth and ambient baston flanked
with stars

guarding the fortress of the Gods, and all

NO. XXXIX. VOL. V.

νέα μὲν ᾧδ' ἀρθεῖσα κινεῖται μάχη
δυσχείμερος κλύδωνι σὺν πολλῷ δορός·
ὄρφνη δ' ἄωρος λαμπρὸν εἶλεν οὐρανόν,
σκήψασα δ' ἔσχεν ὥσπερ ἀγχόνῃ φάος,
ἄπειρον ἐμβαλοῦσα δίκτυον σκότον·
ἰὼν δὲ κρεῖσσον ὀξέων κατ' αἰθέρα
στεροπαὶ διῆσσαν αἰὲν ὥσθ' ἡμεῖς τινὸς
δείσαντες ὀργισθέντος ἐκ θεοῦ κότον
ὀκνοῦμεν· οἱ δ' ἅπαντες ὡς χαλκόστομοι
φωνῇ βόαμα μυριοπληθὲς μιᾷ
ιέντες ἐκσειόουσι γῆν μεσόμφαλον·
διερράγῃ δ' ὁ τυφλὸς οὐρανοῦ πόλος
παιᾶνος ὥσπερ ἐμβολῇ πανωλέθρον,
ὥσθ' ἡ βία κρατοῦσα νύξ μεσημβρινὴ
ἀντηλάλαξ' ἄνωθεν ἀντίφ' κτύπῃ·
τοιοῦτο δ' ἀντηύδησεν ὥσπερ εἰ σάλου
πλημμυρὶς ἐκρήξειεν οὐρανοῦ κύκλον
στεφανοὶ τε πυργῶν φρούριόν τ' ἐπαλξέων
ἄστροισι ποικιλεῖμον ὑψίστου Διὸς

F

crashed now together on ruin ; and through
that cry
and higher about it ceasing one man's note
tore its way like a trumpet : *Charge, make
end,*
*charge, halt not, strike, rend up their strength
by the roots,*
*strike, break them, make your birthright's
promise sure,*
*show your hearts hardier than the fenced land
breeds,*
*sons of the sea's waves ; and all ears that
heard*
rang with that fiery cry, that the fine air
thereat was fired and kindled—no glad song
for folks to hear that wist how dire a god
began this peril to them, what strong race
fathered the sea-born tongue that sang them
death.

ἤδη κυτοῖεν ἐν βαρυγδοῦψ φθορᾷ.
τοσοῦτο μὲν βοῶσι, διὰ βοὴν δ' ἔτι
μέσσην τε καὶ λήγουσαν εἰς τις ὄρθιον
ἔρρηξ' ἀνὴρ φώνημα σάλπιγγος δίκην·
ἴτ', ἐκπεράνατ' ἔργον· οὐχ ἔδρας ἀκμή·
ἴτ', ἐχθρὸν ἐξαμάτε πρόρρηξον δορὶ
μνησθέντες οἶον ἐξ οἶον πατρὸς γένος
πεφύκατ', οὐ χερσαῖον ἐκ τειχισμάτων,
ἀλλ' εὐγενὲς βλάστημα ποντίας ἁλός·
κλῶν δὲ πᾶς τις θουρίαν τάνδρος Βοῶν
ἔφρισε, λεπτὸν αἰθέρ' ὥς ἤχει δία,
ὀξύτονος οὐκ εὐφθογγος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει·
δαιὼς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τόνδε κίνδυνον τεκὼν
θεὸς, γένος δὲ δαιὼν ἐξ οἵπερ γεγὼς
Ἑλλησι κείνος θάνατον ὕμνησεν τότε.

F. HAVERFIELD.

LANDOR.

Ah what avails the sceptred race,
ah what the form divine !
What every virtue, every grace !
Rose Aylmer, all were thine.
Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
may weep, but never see,
a night of memories and of sighs
I consecrate to thee.

LANDOR.

οὐ γένος, εὐπατέρεια κόρη, σοὶ πότμον ἄποτμον
χραίσμη, οὐτ' ἴση δαίμοσι καλλοσύνη.
εἰ δ' ἀρετῆς πλείστον χαρίτων θ', ὅσαι εἰσὶν,
ἐπαῦρες,
τί πλέον ; ἡρκεσάτην οὐ χάρις οὐκ ἀρετή.
ὦ Ροδόπη, σὲ δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν ὀδυρομένῳ στεναχίζειν
οὐ φθόνος· ἀλλὰ σ' ἰδεῖν ἀγρυπνος οὐ δύνα-
μαι.
ἔσται δ' οὖν σοὶ νύξ ἱερήϊον· ὥς τ' ὀνείροις
μνήμοσι σὸς τε πόθος σὸν τ' ἄχος ἐνδιάει.

C. E. S. HEADLAM.

NOTES.

Κανθήλη.—I should be glad to correct a note on this word which appeared in the November number of the *C. R.* My interpretation of *κανθήλη* was suggested by the word *λυχνεῖδος*, which immediately preceded it, and which I took to be a mistake for *λυχνειδός*, supposing the reference to be to the 'lychnitis' plant, whose leaves were used for lamp-wicks. Mr. W. R. Paton, on the other hand, suggests that *λυχνεῖδος* stands, not for *λυχνειδός*, but for *λυχνίδος*, and calls my attention to Pollux x. 41, where the *λυχνίς* plant is mentioned as being used for stuffing cushions. This suggestion of Mr. Paton's is undoubtedly correct ; it suits the context very much better than my own.

Further, *καλαμανθήλη*, which follows *κανθήλη* in the Inscriptions is not a kind of reed, but the *downy flower* (*ανθήλη*) of the reed used, like the *λυχνίς*, for stuffing.

Evidently therefore *κανθήλη*, like the words which precede and follow it, must denote some substance used for stuffing ; and, unless it can be shown that

any part of the rush was used for this purpose, my interpretation of *κανθήλη* falls to the ground. I now believe that either (1) it stands, as Mr. Paton suggests, for *ἀκανθανθήλη*, i.e. 'thistle-down,'—the middle syllable being dropped for euphonic reasons, and the initial *ἀ*- perhaps by an engraver's error ; or (2) it is a mere clerical error for *ανθήλη*, the *κ*- being accidentally introduced from the word *καλαμανθήλη* which follows. The latter explanation seems to me the more probable of the two. I have to thank Mr. Paton for his correction.

* *

W. LORING.

MR. MARINDIN ON SOPH. *Aj.* 651 (see *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 397).—We all know how a swordblade or other steel tool is made hard, by being heated red hot and *suddenly* cooled by plunging into cold water, oil, mercury, etc. It is now brittle and shows a very fine grain if fractured : in this state it is useless. It

is therefore subjected to a second process, variously described as 'softening' or 'annealing' or 'tempering'; though 'tempering' more strictly includes both processes. To *anneal* is explained by Dr. Murray (*Eng. Dict.*) as 'to toughen anything, made brittle from the action of fire, by exposure to *continuous and slowly diminished heat* or by other equivalent process.' 'The annealing' (says the writer on *Iron* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) 'may be performed by allowing the fluid in which the article is slowly heated up to cool down again spontaneously when the requisite temperature is attained.'

It is this second process which is described by Sophocles in the line βαφή σίδηρος ὡς ἐξηλύθην στόμα. The former state of brittleness, resulting from the first or hardening process, has been indicated by the adjective περισκελῆς, 'overhardened,' 'untempered': cp. *Antig.* 474. But now, Ajax says, I, who was so wondrous firm before, have had the edge (στόμα) of my purpose (not dulled or blunted, but) made soft or flexible (susceptible to pity), as iron by dipping.

If Seneca

TRAGIC TRIBRACHS.—In a review of Mr. C. H. Russell's *Verse Translations* (*Classical Review* iv. 479), 'E.D.S.' objects to an iambic beginning ἡ μοῖρα τὰς ἐνάρτησεν. The monosyllable in the second syllable is, he says, unallowable. It is rash to differ from 'E.D.S.' on verse matters but I will dare. The rule for both dactyls and tribrachs is, I believe, this:— 'the foot, if broken, must be broken after the second syllable: it may also be broken after the first.' For teaching boys it may be convenient to forbid the double break, just as it is convenient to forbid a tribrach which exactly occupies one word, but the double break is most certainly used. It is of course commonest, as all dactyls and tribrachs are, in the later plays of Sophocles and Euripides, and in them in rapid dialogue, *i.e.* in conversational passages. There are not seldom two or three monosyllables together, but a single monosyllable seems also legitimate.

I. Instances where the monosyllable and the next word are metrically one :—

Some of the most interesting

rule as I have given it].

ἐβουλευόσω ποεῖν; [I
febb alters this to ἐν μοι:
τιν' exactly resembles the
as possible, τρυχηρά Eur.
[11].

σὺν ἐμοὶ χρυσὸν ἐκπέμπει

0, H. F. 534, *Iph. Taur.*

nonsyllable is metrically

ί μ' ἄγετε ; τί μ' ἀπάγεσθε ;

ἐν τῷ μέρος κ.τ.λ.
 παῖς νιν ὃν ἔτεκε κ.τ.λ.
 ἀρεισιν· ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσδε
 αἱ.

ERRATA.

Page 67, col. 2, line 8 from top, for 'second' read
'first.'

Page 67, col. 2, line 9 from top, for 'first' read
'second.'

Page 67, col. 2, line 26 from bottom, for 'curious',
read 'obvious.'

He objects that the time for *δῆος* is before a fight, therefore *δεδίς ἡμῖν* is absurd. In a sense no doubt it is—to what exact extent I will not say, for we all differ in our attitude to these points, just as we all took different views when Mr. Housman challenged *παλλὰκ' ἔλθεις*. But Thucydides goes on to connect *δῆος* and *παρὰσκηῆ* and says that the plan must be bold but as for the execution *χρὴ δειδῶτας παρὰκινῆσθαι*. It seems to me not absurd in such a context to say *δεδίς ἡμῖν*, 'though inferior in numbers, his precautions gave him the victory.' If I may be personal, I will confess that I have always regarded the vulgate of this passage as an excellent example of Thucydides' curious but complete lucidity. Secondly, I think the emendation—though most ingenious—destroys the sense. The context is an advice to caution: 'we Peloponnesians are more numerous but we must be apprehensive and prepare. In war the unexpected happens: small forces, by this apprehensiveness, often rout the great battalions when they are careless, and so the Athenians (it is tacitly argued) may rout us.' You cannot here omit *δεδίς ἄμεινον* without spoiling the sense: at least, *pace* Mr. Rutherford, you cannot in Thucydides, though you might possibly in English. And to insert *δῆος διωρόμενον*, 'they won by casting off their caution,' is to upset the whole drift. Archidamus actually goes on to say that the Athenians were *ἄριστα παρὰκινῆσμένοι*.

F. HAVERFIELD.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Bacch. 1269 τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν τόδ' ἔτι...so 1273, 1281.

It is curious that in some of the instances referred to under I. a rigid application of the rule that certain monosyllables belong metrically to the preceding or following word gives us tribrachs and dactyls broken only after the first syllable:—

H. F. 534 διαλλόμεσθα· σὺ δὲ, γέρον, ξύγγνωθί μοι.
Irh. Taur. 533 ὦ πότνι, ὡς εὖ· τί γὰρ ὁ Λαέρτου
γόνος;

I have quoted these instances because in Sidgwick and Morice's *Introduction to Greek Verse*, the book which I have always used for verse-teaching, the account is not quite satisfactory. The rule is given clearly enough, but the instances (pp. 7, 8) are partly of the kind which I have put under head I. and are therefore not conclusive. One of the instances, by the way, is not to be found in the 'Indices,' though it is quoted by Prof. Jebb.

F. HAVERFIELD.

❖ ❖
❖

THE LATIN AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.—Mr. Sonnenschein in the November number of the *Classical Review* fairly criticizes a weak point in my argument, viz. the use in Dependent Questions. I carefully confined myself to a brief statement of my own view on this point, not wishing to discuss the general question of 'Sequence of Tenses.' But Mr. Sonnenschein's remarks—from which I do not practically

crashed now together on ruin ; and through
 that cry
 and higher about it ceasing one man's note
 tore its way like a trumpet : *Charge, make*
end,
charge, halt not, strike, rend up their strength
by the roots,
strike, break them, make your birthright's
promise sure,
show your hearts hardier than the fenced land
breeds,
sons of the sea's waves ; and all ears that
 heard
 rang with that fiery cry, that the fine air
 thereat was fired and kindled—no glad song
 for folks to hear that wist how dire a god
 begat this peril to them, what strong race
 fathered the sea-born
 death.

Ah what avails th
 ah what the for
 What every virtu
 Rose Aylmer, a
 Rose Aylmer, wh
 may weep, but
 a night of memori
 I consecrate to

LONDON.

ἤδη κτυποῖεν ἐν βαρυγδούπῳ φθορᾷ.
 τοσοῦτο μὲν βοῶσι, διὰ βοὴν δ' ἔτι
 μέσσην τε καὶ λήγουσαν εἰς τις ὄρθιον
 ἔρρηξ' ἀνὴρ φώνημα σάλπιγγος δίκην·
 ἴτ', ἐκπεράνατ' ἔργον· οὐχ ἔδρας ἀκμή·
 ἴτ', ἐχθρὸν ἐξαμᾶτε πρόρρξον δορὶ
 μνησθέντες οἷον ἐξ οἴου πατρὸς γένος
 πεφύκατ', οὐ χερσαῖον ἐκ τειχισμάτων,
 ἀλλ' εὐγενὲς βλάστημα ποντίας ἁλός·
 κλύων δὲ πᾶς τις θουρίαν τάνδρὸς βοήν
 ἔφρισε, λεπτὸν αἰθέρ' ὥς ἡχεῖ δία,
 ὀξύτονος οὐκ εὐφθογγος· οὐ γὰρ εἰ λέγει·
 δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ τόνδ' ἐκίνδυνον τεκὼν
 θεὸς, γένος δὲ δεινὸν ἐξ οὔπερ γεγώς

NOTES.

Κανθήλη.—I should be glad to correct a note on this word which appeared in the November number of the *C. R.* My interpretation of *κανθήλη* was suggested by the word *λυχνεῖδος*, which immediately preceded it, and which I took to be a mistake for *λυχνειτίδος*, supposing the reference to be to the 'lychnitis' plant, whose leaves were used for lamp-wicks. Mr. W. R. Paton, on the other hand, suggests that *λυχνεῖδος* stands, not for *λυχνειτίδος*, but for *λυχνίδος*, and calls my attention to Pollux x. 41, where the *λυχνίς* plant is mentioned as being used for stuffing cushions. This suggestion of Mr. Paton's is undoubtedly correct ; it suits the context very much better than my own.

Further, *καλαμανθήλη*, which follows *κανθήλη* in the Inscriptions is not a kind of reed, but the *dovey flower* (*ἀνθήλη*) of the reed used, like the *λυχνίς*, for stuffing.

Evidently therefore *κανθήλη*, like the words which precede and follow it, must denote some substance used for stuffing ; and, unless it can be shown that

any part of the rush was used for this purpose, my interpretation of *κανθήλη* falls to the ground. I now believe that either (1) it stands, as Mr. Paton suggests, for *ἀκανθανθήλη*, i.e. 'thistle-down,'—the middle syllable being dropped for euphonic reasons, and the initial ἀ- perhaps by an engraver's error ; or (2) it is a mere clerical error for *ἀνθήλη*, the κ- being accidentally introduced from the word *καλαμανθήλη* which follows. The latter explanation seems to me the more probable of the two. I have to thank Mr. Paton for his correction.

W. LORING.

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MR. MARINDIN ON SOPH. *Aj.* 651 (see *Class. Rev.* iv. p. 397).—We all know how a swordblade or other steel tool is made hard, by being heated red hot and *suddenly* cooled by plunging into cold water, oil, mercury, etc. It is now brittle and shows a very fine grain if fractured : in this state it is useless. It

is therefore subjected to a second process, variously described as 'softening' or 'annealing' or 'tempering'; though 'tempering' more strictly includes both processes. To *anneal* is explained by Dr. Murray (*Eng. Dict.*) as 'to toughen anything, made brittle from the action of fire, by exposure to *continuous and slowly diminished heat* or by other equivalent process.' 'The annealing' (says the writer on *Iron* in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*) 'may be performed by allowing the fluid in which the article is slowly heated up to cool down again spontaneously when the requisite temperature is attained.'

It is this second process which is described by Sophocles in the line βαφή σίδηρος ὡς ἐθελύνην στόμα. The former state of brittleness, resulting from the first or hardening process, has been indicated by the adjective περισκελῆς, 'overhardened,' 'untempered': cp. *Antig.* 474. But now, Ajax says, I, who was so wondrous firm before, have had the edge (στόμα) of my purpose (not dulled or blunted, but) made soft or flexible (susceptible to pity), as iron by dipping.

If Sophocles had intended βαφή σίδηρος ὡς to go with ἐκαρτέρουν, to say nothing of the construction καρτερεῖν βαφή, he would not have put it between ἐκαρτέρουν and ἐθελύνην, where its position is grammatically ambiguous, and where the metre makes it all but impossible to disconnect it from ἐθελύνην.

Mr. Marindin contends that it cannot be proved that the ancients made use of oil for the tempering of steel. The point is immaterial. What is material in the explanation which he combats is, that the swordblade undergoes two immersions (whether in oil or water), and that Sophocles speaks here of the second; as follows, without need of explanation, from the use of περισκελῆς two lines before.

R. WHITELAW.

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THUC. ii. 11. πολλάκις τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος δεδίδς ἄμεινον ἡμῖν τοὺς πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονούντας ἀπαρασκεύους γενέσθαι. Mr. E. C. Marchant conjectures, for δεδίδς ἄμεινον, δέος διασάμενον (*Classical Review* iv. 481a.): I venture to object. First, I consider him extremely hard on the received text. He objects that the time for δέος is before a fight, therefore δεδίδς ἡμῖν τοὺς πλέονας is absurd. In a sense no doubt it is—to what exact extent I will not say, for we all differ in our attitude to these points, just as we all took different views when Mr. Hoisman challenged *palcat intus*. But Thucydides goes on to connect δέος and παρασκευή and says that the plan must be bold but as for the execution χρή δεδιότας παρασκευάσθαι. It seems to me not absurd in such a context to say δεδίδς ἡμῖν τοὺς πλέονας, 'though inferior in numbers, his precautions gave him the victory.' If I may be personal, I will confess that I have always regarded the vulgate of this passage as an excellent example of Thucydides' curious but complete lucidity. Secondly, I think the emendation—though most ingenious—destroys the sense. The context is an advice to caution: 'we Peloponnesians are more numerous but we must be apprehensive and prepare. In war the unexpected happens: small forces, by this apprehensiveness, often rout the great battalions when they are careless, and so the Athenians (it is tacitly argued) may rout us.' You cannot here omit δεδίδς ἄμεινον without spoiling the sense: at least, *pace* Mr. Rutherford, you cannot in Thucydides, though you might possibly in English. And to insert δέος διασάμενον, 'they won by casting off their caution,' is to upset the whole drift. Archidamus actually goes on to say that the Athenians were ἄριστα παρασκευασμένοι.

F. HAVERFIELD.

TRAGIC TRIBRACHS.—In a review of Mr. C. H. Russell's *Verses Translations* (*Classical Review* iv. 479), 'E.D.S.' objects to an iambic beginning ἡ μοῖρα τὰδ' ἐπάτησεν. The monosyllable in the second syllable is, he says, unallowable. It is rash to differ from 'E.D.S.' on verse matters but I will dare. The rule for both dactyls and tribrachs is, I believe, this:—'the foot, if broken, must be broken after the second syllable: it may also be broken after the first.' For teaching boys it may be convenient to forbid the double break, just as it is convenient to forbid a tribrach which exactly occupies one word, but the double break is most certainly used. It is of course commonest, as all dactyls and tribrachs are, in the later plays of Sophocles and Euripides, and in them in rapid dialogue, *i.e.* in conversational passages. There are not seldom two or three monosyllables together, but a single monosyllable seems also legitimate.

I. Instances where the monosyllable and the next word are metrically one:—

Soph. *O.C.* 26 ἀλλ' ὅστις ὁ τόπος ἡ μάθη μοι οὐσά ποί; [where Jebb gives the rule as I have given it].

O.T. 537 ἰδὼν τιν' ἐν ἐμοὶ ταύτ' ἐβουλεύσω ποῖν; [I do not understand why Jebb alters this to ἐν μοι: τιν' is enclitic, so that ἰδὼν τιν' exactly resembles the rhythms which he quotes as possible, *τρυχηρά* Eur. *Tro.* 496, ἐλθόντα *Phoen.* 511].

Eur. *Hec.* 15 πολλὴν δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ χρυσὸν ἐκπέμπει λάθρα.

345 θάρσει: πέφηνγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἰκέσιον Δία.

So *Bacch.* 1115, 1137, 1240, *H. F.* 534, *Iph. Taur.* 532 and many more cases.

II. Instances where the monosyllable is metrically isolated:—

Soph. *Phil.* 1029 καὶ νῦν τί μ' ἄγετε; τί μ' ἀπάγεσθε; τοῦ χάριν;

Eur. *Bacch.* 1304 Πενθεὶ δὲ τί μέρος κ.τ.λ.

Iph. Taur. 556 οὐκ ἔστι παῖς νινδὴν ἔτεκε κ.τ.λ.

728 ξένοις πάρεισιν· ἃ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσδε βούλομαι.

and so dactyls:—

H. F. 548 κόσμος δὲ πέπλων τίς ὕδρ' ἐνέρετος;

Bacch. 1269 τὸ δὲ πτοηθὲν τόδ' ἔτι...so 1273, 1281.

It is curious that in some of the instances referred to under I. a rigid application of the rule that certain monosyllables belong metrically to the preceding or following word gives us tribrachs and dactyls broken only after the first syllable:—

H. F. 534 διολύμεσθα: σὺ δὲ, γέρον, ξύγγωθί μοι.

Iph. Taur. 533 ὦ πότνι, ὡς εὖ· τί γὰρ ὁ Λαέρτου γόνος;

I have quoted these instances because in Sidgwick and Morice's *Introduction to Greek Verse*, the book which I have always used for verse-teaching, the account is not quite satisfactory. The rule is given clearly enough, but the instances (pp. 7, 8) are partly of the kind which I have put under head I. and are therefore not conclusive. One of the instances, by the way, is not to be found in the 'Indices,' though it is quoted by Prof. Jebb.

F. HAVERFIELD.

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THE LATIN AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE.—Mr. Sonnenschein in the November number of the *Classical Review* fairly criticizes a weak point in my argument, viz. the use in Dependent Questions. I carefully confined myself to a brief statement of my own view on this point, not wishing to discuss the general question of 'Sequence of Tenses.' But Mr. Sonnenschein's remarks—from which I do not practically

dissent—do not seem to me really to affect my contention that in dependent questions *fuierim* is an aorist and the rule of sequence does not apply. I take Mr. Sonnenschein's remarks in order.

(1) My suggestion that *nescio quid faceret* might be possible Latin went too far. I meant to suggest that, judging from analogy, such a construction was logically admissible, and I quoted an instance which shows no essential difference between *esset* and *fuierit* :—

Hannibalen elusum, ut ubi dux ubi exercitus esset, cum quo castra collata habuerit, ignoraret, Liv. 27. 47. Cf. Scin quid ego te volebam? Ter. *Eun.* 338; Non dici potest quam cupida eram huc redeundi,¹ Ter. *Hec.* 91.

If *eram* can be used, *essem* seems logically admissible.

There are two alternatives in reviewing the sentence *nescio quidnam causae fuerit cur nullas ad me litteras dares* :—

(a) *Fuerit* is a primary tense, depending on the primary *nescio* : but the primary force of the tense and its logical connexion with the preceding present cannot be rendered in translation nor described in words. Secondary tenses follow it.

(b) *Fuerit* is an aorist : the imperfect (*esset*) is excluded by usage, but not on account of its secondary character.

The second alternative seems to me the less difficult. There is clearly a distinction between constructions which have a vital force and principle underlying them, and those which are merely a habit of the language. In the latter case the grammarian has simply to record the use without finding a scientific reason to account for it.

But perhaps we may partly account for the exclusion of *esset*. The subjunctive (present and imperfect) frequently has to do double duty in dependent questions, often with a deliberative, sometimes with a potential meaning. The sentences *nescit quid agat*, *nesciebat quid ageret* contain an unavoidable ambiguity. So also *nescio quid ageret* might mean 'I know not what he was to do,' but here the ambiguity can be avoided by writing *nescio quid egerit*.

Thus Terence wrote *scin quid volebam* and, if confined to the use of the subjunctive, would have written *scin quid voluerim* possibly because *scin quid vellem* would probably mean 'Do you know what I should like?' Cf. Ter. *Andr.* 258, Quod si ego rescivissem id prius, quid facerem, siquis me roget; aliquid facerem, ut hoc ne facerem. Here *quid facerem* if fully subordinated would become *quid facturus fuierim*.

I offer this suggestion for what it is worth, by no means thinking it a full and satisfactory explanation of the fact that the imperfect is excluded in such cases.

(2) Forsitan et pingues hortos quae cura colendi ornaret, canerem, *Georg.* iv. 118. Mr. Sonnenschein himself seems to point out that this imperfect is a matter of usage rather than of principle. The Latins, here as elsewhere, prefer the less direct expression, the more remote point of view. But there seems to be no necessary connexion between the tenses any more than in the final imperfect which usually follows a primary perfect.

(3) My paper was intended merely to support and

apply Roby's statement that the perfect subjunctive corresponds to the perfect indicative, both aorist and perfect proper (§ 1507). The recognition of this aorist, so far from weakening the rule of sequence, removes an objection to that rule, since *fuierim* constantly occurs in connexion with secondary tenses. †

It may however be pointed out that Mr. Sonnenschein, by regularly including the final imperfect following a primary perfect, surrenders the principle of the rule of sequence. Kennedy treats this construction apart, and it seems to be explicable by an ellipse :—Paulo longius oratio provecta est.....ut cognosceretis, Cic. *pro Q. Rosc.* 11, 'I have made rather a long speech : now I did this in order that you might learn.'

F. A. KIRKPATRICK.

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In reference to Mr. Kirkpatrick's avowal that he lives 'out of the reach of a library,' and the fact that he evidently is acquainted with the grammars only of British scholars, it may be worth while to state that the battle Mr. Kirkpatrick is fighting for the recognition of the Latin Aorist Subjunctive was won long ago in America.

Permit me to quote two of his statements.

(1) 'A schoolboy or undergraduate has been taught that Latin has no aorist subjunctive.... This is taught especially with regard to result-clauses.' p. 342. Let us now read Gildersleeve § 513 and R. 1 : 'In Sentences of Result, the Present Subjunctive is used after past tenses to denote the continuance into the present, the Perfect Subjunctive to imply final result. This Perfect Subjunctive may represent either the Pure Perfect or the Aorist, the latter especially with the negative : the action happened once for all or not at all.—Authors vary much in the use of this aorist. Cicero uses it very rarely ; some abuse it.'

(2) 'But perhaps the strongest evidence is the construction used when a result-clause contains a conditional sentence :—*ut facturus fuierit* (Roby § 1521 : Kennedy § 196). It would be needless to mention this, but that school-boys are taught to write *ut facturus fuisset*.' p. 344. Why are not English schoolboys taught the facts of the language? An American schoolboy reads in Gildersleeve § 599, R. 5 : 'When the apodosis of an Unreal Conditional is made to depend on a sentence which requires the Subjunctive, the Pluperfect is turned into the Periphrastic Perfect Subjunctive.... The Periphrastic Pluperfect Subjunctive occurs rarely, and then only in the Dependent Interrogative.' (Cf. Mr. Kirkpatrick's foot-note.)

WILLIS H. BOCK, *University of Georgia.*

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SPARTIAN. *Vit. Hadr.* xi.—Septicio Claro...et Suetonio Tranquillo...quod apud Sabinam uxorem *injussu ejus* familiaris se tunc egerant quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit.

If, in spite of the testimony borne by coins, inscriptions, and a letter preserved by Dositheus, we maintain with the historians that the relations between Hadrian and Sabina were seldom cordial, it is yet incredible that the Emperor ever *ordered* his wife to be insulted. May not *injussu* be a corruption of *in visu*? Private acts of disrespect towards Sabina might pass unnoticed by her husband, but an insult shewn to her publicly as empress in Hadrian's presence would naturally be resented and punished.

E. N. BENNETT.

¹ Wagner, forcing the order of the words with most un-Terentian harshness, explains *quam cupida eram* as explanatory, *non dici potest* as parenthetical. But the indicative in dependent questions cannot everywhere be explained away, and in any case there is a logical dependence.

RES = ἱμάτια.—Bp. Wordsworth, in *Studia Biblica* i. 143, uses the Corbey version of S. James v. 2 (*res vestrae liniaverunt* for τὰ ἱμάτια σητόβρωτα γέγονεν) as an evidence that the epistle was originally written in Aramaic. "The confusion of 'things' and 'garments,' which is impossible in Greek, points most probably to the double sense of Syriac and Chaldee *mān*." Is it not rather an evidence that *res* was used colloquially in later Latin, as, I believe, 'things' is now used in school-girl English for 'clothes'? Compare Rufinus' version of Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23, quoted in Heinichen's note: (a fuller) λαβὼν τὸ ἔξυλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπετίετο τὰ ἱμάτια, *fullo arrepto fuste in quo res exprimere solent*. J. B. M.

THE UPRIGHT STONE AT KILMALKEDAR.—On one side of the upright stone at Kilmalkedar (in County Kerry, Ireland), which is such a stone as is called in Brittany a *menhir* (long stone), there is cut an ornamental cross having a long shaft: along the other side there is engraved an alphabet, in Roman letters of the sixth or seventh century. In the midst of the alphabet are the letters DNI. These letters are much bigger than the others. Petrie and Stokes (*Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, vol. ii. pl. 5) take them to stand for DOMINE. I think they stand for *Dominus Noster Jesus*.

J. HOSKYNs-ABRAHALL.

THE NEWLY-DISCOVERED TREATISE OF ARISTOTLE.

OUR readers will be interested in the following palaeographical details concerning this most important MS. It appears originally to have consisted of four rolls, of varying length. The first measures 7ft. 2in., and contains eleven broad columns of writing; the second 5ft. 5in., containing thirteen narrower columns; the third 3ft., with six broad columns, of which one is seriously mutilated; the fourth may originally have measured 3ft., but now exists only in several defaced and illegible fragments, which represent the last six columns of the work. The text is written in four hands. The first twelve columns are written in a minute semi-cursive hand, in which a large number of abbreviations are used for the more common syllables, such as *καὶ* and *οὖν* and the article and chief prepositions. The next seven and a half columns are in uncials of a fair size, but with habitual misspellings and mistakes which suggest that the writer was a slave employed by the writer of the first hand, who has corrected some of his errors. Then follow four columns in a straggling semi-uncial, in which are written also the mutilated six columns which conclude the work. Finally columns 25 to 30 are in a hand closely resembling the first, but with some distinct divergences.

Some passages in the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία are already known to scholars from quotations in ancient writers and from the celebrated Berlin fragments, notably that which contains the mention of the previously unknown episode of Damasias. Those critics (and they are many) who have conjectured at large on the strength of these incomplete sentences may be led to reflect on the fallibility of the human

imagination when they compare the fragments with the complete text. It may be not unedifying to recall first the restorations attempted by some distinguished scholars, which are collected by Diels in an article in the *Abhandlungen der k. Akademie zu Berlin*, 1885, pp. 42–57. The first is by Blass, who first discovered the fragments:—

. . . . Ἐρυ[ξί]α[ν] ἄρχοντα δ' [πό]λιν
. . . . ματος διὰ ταύτην ξυλ[λ] [τὴν
ἀ]ποικίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοῖν [δουὶν ἐθνοῖν]
Δαμασίας αἰρεθείς ἄρχων, ἔτη δύο [προσῆς τῆς
πόλ]εως ἐξήλ[σ]θη βία τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐτά[χθη δ']
αὐτο[ῖς διὰ] τὸ στασιάζειν ἀρ[χ]οντας ἐλέσθαι
[τέτταρ]ας μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δ' ἀποίκων,
δύο [δὲ δημι]ουργῶν, καὶ οὔτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν
ἦρ[ξαν ἐν]αυτόν. οἱ[ς] καὶ δῆλον ὅτι μεγίστην
δύναμιν εἶχεν ὁ ἄρχων. φαίνονται γὰρ αἰεὶ
στασιάζοντες [ταύτης ἑνεκα] τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὅλως
δὲ διετέλουν τὰ πρόσ[θεν ποιοῦντες], οἱ μὲν ἀρχὴν
καὶ πρόφασιν ἔχοντες τὴν [τῶν] χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν.
συνεβεβήκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς (ἀπόροις) γένεσθαι καὶ
πένησιν. οἱ δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες [διὰ
τὸ] μεγάλην γ[εγ]ονέναι μεταβολήν. ἔνιοι δὲ
διὰ [τὴν] πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίαν.

Bergk, who first identified the fragments as Aristotle's, is somewhat bolder:—

. . . . ἄρχοντα δ[ε] Ἐπιμενίδου τὴν πόλιν
[μιάσ]ματος διὰ ταύτην ξυλ[λ]υμένην καθαρὰν
ἐ[ποίησ]αν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοῖν [δουὶν ἐθνοῖν]
Δαμασίας αἰρεθείς ἄρχων ἔτη δύο [προσῆς τῆς
πόλ]εως ἐξήλ[σ]θη βία τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἐ[ξ]ήλ[σαν δ']
ἀ[σ]τοῖ[ς διὰ] τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἐλέσθαι
[τέσσαρ]ας μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δ' ἀποίκων, δύο
[δὲ δημι]ουργῶν καὶ οὔτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν
ἦρ[ξαν ἐν]αυτόν. . . . [ὁ δημι]ος. καὶ δῆλον ὅτι
μεγίστην δύναμιν εἶχεν ὁ ἄρχων. φαίνονται
γὰρ αἰεὶ στασιάζοντες [ταύτης ἑνεκα] τῆς ἀρχῆς.
ὅλως δὲ διετέλουν τὰ πρὸ Σ[όλωνος] οἱ μὲν
ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ἔχοντες τὴν [τῶν] χρεῶν
ἀποκοπὴν κ.τ.λ.

Landwehr's restoration differs little from

that of Bergk, except in omitting all before μετὰ, and substituting τῶν [εὐπατριδῶν] for τοῖν [δουῖν ἐθνῶν], and ἐτά[ξαντο] for εἰ[ῖ]α[σαν].

Now for the text as it stands in the British Museum manuscript, which is as follows (beginning a few lines earlier, in order to show the connection):—

Σόλωνος δ' ἀποδημήσαντος, ἔτι τῆς πόλεως τεταραγμένης, ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη τέτταρα διῷγον [ἐ]ν ἡσυχίᾳ· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ μετὰ τὴν Σόλωνος ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐπέστησαν ἄρχοντα διὰ τὴν στ[άσι]ν, καὶ πάλιν ἔτει πέμπτῳ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀρχαίαν (the text appears to be corrupt here) ἐποίησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων Δ[αμ]α[σίας αἰρε]θεὶς ἄρχων ἔτη δύο καὶ δύο μῆνας ἥρξεν, ὥς ἐξηλάσθη βία τῆς ἀρχῆς. εἴτ' ἔδοξε[ν] αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἐλίσσθαι δέκα, πέντε μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἀ[γρ]οίκων, δύο δὲ δημιουργῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν [ῆ]ρξα[ν ἐ]νιαυτόν. ὧ[στε] δῆλον ὅτι μεγίστην εἶχεν δύναμιν ὁ ἀρχὼν φαίνονται γὰρ αἰεὶ στ[α]σιάζοντες περὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁλως δὲ διετέλουν νοσοῦντες τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, οἱ μὲν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν χρεῶν ἀποκοπήν, συνεβεβήκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι πένησιν, οἱ δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δυσχεραίνοντες διὰ τὸ μεγάλην γεγονέναι μεταβολήν, ἔνοι δὲ δ[ιὰ τὴν] πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονικίαν.

Comment on the historical bearings of this passage may be reserved for another occasion; but it may be noted (1) that this Damasias is not the archon of 639 B.C., but of 582 B.C.; (2) that his movement was an attempt to secure the tyranny for himself; (3) that the board which replaced him consisted of ten members, not nine, and represents no rising movement for the overthrow of the Εὐπατρίδαι, but a temporary expedient of a rather reactionary character; (4) that the ingenious conjecture of Professor Case in the *Classical Review*, vol. ii. p. 241, which assigns the legislation of Solon to about the year 570 B.C., subsequently to the episode of Damasias, finds no countenance from Aristotle.

While the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία is no doubt by far the most interesting to scholars of the papyri that have yet come to light, it is satisfactory to know that several other classical MSS. have recently been discovered in Egypt and are being now prepared for publication. M. Revillout has announced the acquisition by the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of an almost complete MS. of the speech of Hyperides against Athenogenes, an edition of which is promised shortly; Professors Sayce and Mahaffy are at work upon the fragments of Plato's *Phaedo* and Euripides' *Antiope* discovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie;

and in addition to these the British Museum has some other discoveries in store, two of which are of works (or portions of works) hitherto unknown. The following is a list of these acquisitions, which may be expected to appear before very long: (1) six or seven short poems by the iambographer Herodas, the date and nature of whose work have hitherto been extremely obscure; (2) the end of a speech which is believed to be that of Hyperides against Philippides; (3) half of the third epistle of Demosthenes; (4) the greater part of Isocrates *Περὶ Εἰρήνης*; (5) portions of Homer's *Iliad*, Books III. and IV.

The following particulars are taken from the *Times* of Jan. 19th, 1891:—

The British Museum acquired not very long ago a collection of papyrus rolls from a source in Egypt which, for obvious reasons, it is not expedient to specify too particularly. Nothing was known of the contents of these rolls when they were acquired, and it was not until they came to be examined closely by the experts of the Museum that it was found that three of them contained the text, hitherto unknown except in detached fragments, of the treatise on the Constitution of Athens, ascribed to Aristotle by the universal testimony of antiquity. This treatise is supposed to have been the first and most important section of that collection of Constitutions which Aristotle was believed by ancient writers to have made. It is true the German scholar Valentine Rose, one of the principal authorities on the Aristotelian canon, holds that it belongs to that class of Aristotelian writings which were composed, not by Aristotle himself, but by obscurer members of the Peripatetic school; but the opinion of Rose, though of great authority, has not been generally accepted on this point by other scholars, German and English. The general collection was referred to as Aristotle's by Timaeus, who flourished about the middle of the third century B.C., or only two generations after the philosopher's death; but as the reference of Timaeus is not textual and comes to us only at second-hand through Polybius, it is impossible to be certain that the treatise we now have is the one mentioned by Timaeus. On the other hand, the Athenian section is quoted by Plutarch in the first century of the Christian era; it was largely used by Pollux in the second; its name occurs in a catalogue of a library in the third; in the fourth it is repeatedly cited by Harpocration; in the sixth we know, on the evidence of Photius, that it was used by the rhetorician Sopater, though Photius himself, three centuries afterwards, appears only to have known it by quotations from earlier writers, so that it probably disappeared altogether some time between the sixth and ninth centuries of our era. It has now been recovered very nearly in a complete form, though the opening is missing and the concluding chapters are sadly mutilated. It may be read by those who are learned in Greek palaeography on the original papyrus in the British Museum; facsimiles will shortly be at the disposal of the learned world; and the text itself has been printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, and will in a few days be published on the same authority, together with a scholarly Introduction and copious illustrative Notes from the pen of Mr. F. G. Kenyon, an Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts.

The known or presumed fragments of the ancient treatise on the Athenian Constitution ascribed to Aristotle are ninety-one in number. In fifty-eight of these the work is referred to by name, and of these fifty-eight, fifty-five occur with appropriate context in the text of the papyrus now in the British Museum. Of the remaining three fragments in which the work is cited by name, one belongs to the beginning of the book, which is wanting in the manuscript; one belongs to the latter portion of it, which is imperfect; one alone differs distinctly from a passage on the same subject occurring in the text. Of the thirty-three fragments in which the work is not named, twenty-three occur in the papyrus manuscript; the remainder, if they belong to the work in question, may for the most part be referred to the lost or mutilated portions of it. The net result is that of the ninety-one fragments attributed with more or less probability to the treatise on the Athenian Constitution, eighty-five or eighty-six of which are probably genuine references to it, no less than seventy-eight are found in the manuscript in its present condition; and all the rest with two possible exceptions, are satisfactorily accounted for. But the internal evidence does not even stop here. There are two scraps of papyrus at Berlin containing fragments of passages which have been referred by German scholars, not without hesitation and dispute, to the treatise in question. These passages are both found in the British Museum papyrus.

Papyrus rolls are formed by laying the strips of material obtained from the plant transversely, one across the other, so that on one side of the sheet the fibres run horizontally and on the other perpendicularly. The side used first is that on which the fibres run horizontally, and thereby offer less impediment to the writer's pen than those which run perpendicularly; this side is known as the *recto*, in accordance with ordinary palaeographical usage. The *recto* of the British Museum papyrus is occupied with the receipts and expenditure of the bailiff of a private estate in Egypt, dated month by month, in the eleventh year of Vespasian. The text of Aristotle's treatise has been subsequently written on the *verso* in four distinct hands, but some of the most remarkable forms of letters and abbreviations which occur in the Aristotle are found also in the accounts. It is accordingly an irresistible inference that the writings which occupy the two sides of the papyrus belong approximately to the same period, the earlier limit of which is fixed as the eleventh year of Vespasian, while the later is probably not far from the date at which the accounts inscribed on the *recto* ceased to have an intrinsic value, somewhere about the end of the first century of our era.

The treatise on the Constitution of Athens, it may be as well to remember, was only one out of 158 such descriptions which were drawn up by Aristotle, or under his directions, containing accounts of the institutions of that number of different States—most of them Greek, but not all, for we know that the Brahmins of India and the Carthaginians were included in the list. The whole was no doubt intended as a preparation for, and also as an illustration of, the philosophical theories propounded in the *Politics*; and it is a striking example of the thorough and painstaking method of Aristotle. No doubt in the case of many of these 158 States all that was known of their constitution could be summarized in a few paragraphs; and it is natural to assume that the history of Athens was on a fuller scale than was possible in most of the other sections of the work. Even this, however, is far from being diffuse, and the treatise, in the shape in which it has been edited for

publication, occupies only 63 chapters of about the size to which we are accustomed in the editions of Thucydides or of Plutarch. Of these, 41 contain a chronological sketch of the development of the Athenian Constitution, while the remainder are occupied with an account of the official duties of the various magistrates and public bodies existing in the author's own time. The latter section (the end of which is seriously mutilated) is the least interesting, both from its own nature and from the fact that it was freely used by the lexicographers of later days, so that much of its contents is known already; but the earlier portion of the work throws some interesting light on certain dark places of Athenian history, and forms a most valuable authority for the period with which it deals. It adds indeed little to the picturesque side of the history of Greece. The Persian and Peloponnesian wars are only mentioned for the effect which these great disturbances had on the Athenian Constitution; and of the intellectual splendour of Athens we hear, as will readily be believed by those who are acquainted with Aristotle, simply nothing. Some verses of the poet-statesman Solon, and a characteristic story of the part played by Themistocles in the overthrow of the Areopagus (a part unnoticed by any other ancient author, except an obscure scholiast, whose statement has naturally been ignored by modern writers)—these are almost the only incidents which relieve the business-like record of how Constitution replaced Constitution and magistrate succeeded to magistrate. But the more prosaic and pedestrian historian will welcome the evidence of so competent and impartial a witness as Aristotle, and the narratives of at any rate the earlier portion of the career of Athens will have to be considerably rewritten in respect of many of their details.

The beginning of the work is, unfortunately, lost, and apparently was never included in the manuscript from which the present text is derived; and the editors report the early columns of the manuscript in its present condition to be seriously mutilated and difficult of decipherment. The story opens shortly after the conspiracy of Cylon (which is here assigned to about the year 632 B.C.), with a mention of the purification of the city after the sacrilege wrought on that occasion by the treacherous slaughter of the captive insurgents. The author next describes briefly the state of the Constitution of that date (which throws some incidental light on the obscure period of the Kings), and the lamentable social and economical condition of Attica; and he then passes on to speak of the reforms of Draco. Here comes the first marked divergence from the received tradition. We have been accustomed to look on Draco as merely a criminal legislator, the first law-giver, indeed, of Athens, but of no special political importance. It appears, however, from Aristotle that he was far more than this, and that some of the reforms of Solon were anticipated by his predecessors. But the measures of Draco did not go far enough, and they failed especially in this point, that they did not touch the economical distress, in which the root of the evil lay. Hence they had little effect in allaying discontent, and in a quarter of a century Solon was called on to undertake a far more drastic measure of reform. This is an interesting section of Aristotle's treatise, not so much for the additional details which it supplies concerning the Solonian Constitution as from the rather extensive quotations which are made from the poetry in which Solon defended and explained his political position. Some of these quotations are already known to us from other sources, and some are new; but all help to give a striking in-

dividuality to the great lawgiver and illustrate his upright and statesmanlike character. At the same time Aristotle brings out more clearly than the previously-known histories the fact that Solon's reforms were never really accepted as a working Constitution at Athens. They were the basis of subsequent developments and they established the main principle of the democracy, so that he was rightly regarded in later ages as the founder of popular government; but at the time, as perhaps was to be expected from changes so sweeping, they led to bitter party struggles, varied by attempts to establish a despotism, until the success of Pisistratus suspended all democratic developments for half a century. Of this period Aristotle has little that is new to tell us, though he confirms the favourable judgment of the other authorities on the government of Pisistratus. With the expulsion of the sons of the tyrant a new era of constitutional progress opens, and the details of political change are followed by Aristotle with some minuteness. It is impossible to indicate here all the points in which he enlarges, or corrects the received tradition; and it must suffice to say that his brief narrative does much to give precision to our knowledge of the half-century which begins with the reforms of Clisthenes and ends with the ascendancy of Pericles. Many new constitutional details are given, and dates are assigned to events of which we have hitherto merely known the bare occurrence. The most strikingly novel fact is the participation of Themistocles (from purely selfish motives) in the overthrow of the supremacy of the Areopagus.

It appears that the final attack on the ancient council was designed and led by Ephialtes, and that it was delivered in the year 462 B.C. In this enterprise Ephialtes had a strange ally from among the members of the Areopagus itself, in no less a person than Themistocles. This somewhat tortuous politician was at the time under apprehension of a charge of Medism, which was being investigated by the Areopagus; and his share in the attack which was now being made on that body consisted principally in hastening the course of events. Having first warned Ephialtes that the Areopagus was about to arrest him,

Themistocles proceeded to the Areopagus, and there denounced Ephialtes as being engaged in a conspiracy against the State, and offered to conduct a party to the house where the conspirators were assembled. On arriving at the house of Ephialtes he managed that he should be seen talking with the members of the council who accompanied him. Ephialtes, thinking no doubt that the warning of Themistocles was being fulfilled, escaped and took refuge at the altar; but, realizing that his only chance of safety lay in taking the bull by the horns, he hurried to the Council of Five Hundred, and made a violent attack on the Areopagus, presumably proposing to strip it at once of its peculiar powers. In this he was seconded by the versatile Themistocles, who no doubt was able to furnish some plausible explanation of his conduct. The matter was carried from the council to the Ecclesia, and the attack was there completely successful. The Areopagus was deprived of all the rights which made it the general guardian of the State, and its functions were distributed between the Five Hundred, the Ecclesia, and the law courts.

With the rise of Pericles the interest of the work declines. Aristotle, while respecting his character and abilities, saw too clearly that it was Pericles who introduced the methods of popular government which were afterwards abused by the demagogues, to hold the high opinion of him which is expressed by Thucydides. He considers the decline of Athens to have begun in his time, and to have become rapid as soon as his guiding hand was removed. Mob orators, who won the ear of the public by promising anything which seemed likely to catch the popular taste, hurried Athens down the hill which ended in the disaster of Aegospotami. In all this there was little for a constitutional historian to study, though much from which a practical politician might take warning. Two episodes of constitutional interest however remained—the short-lived oligarchy of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., and the rule of the Thirty after the surrender of Athens to Lysander. These are described in some detail; and with the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C. Aristotle closes his history of the constitutional development of Athens.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In his 'Notes on Roman Britain' contained in the *Antiquary* for Jan. 1891, Mr. Haverfield, after some remarks on the general literature of the subject, deals with the south-western counties, Kent, North Wales, Chester, the Roman Wall and Scotland.

Stichester.¹—The following are the most important results of the excavations begun in February 1890, and continued through the year, by Messrs. G. E. Fox, F.S.A., and W. H. St. John Hope.

An insula to the north of the forum was investigated, and its extent ascertained. The city gates on the north and south were worked out, and that on the west excavated. The remains of a large house near the south gate were explored, with the result of bringing to light several mosaic floors in good condition. These have been covered up again. An insula to the south of the highway was excavated. The trenching of the area north of the highway and

between it and the houses showed that the ground between and south of the houses was free from buildings, and used for gardens, etc. Numerous iron objects, including some tools of excellent workmanship and a bronze scale-beam, were found in refuse-pits. A well was also discovered. In excavating the basilica the foundations of two temples were discovered.

The excavations show that the houses were of the Celtic or Gallic type, like those in Gloucestershire, with rooms opening upon a covered corridor, and elaborate heating arrangements.

Some of the results of the excavation have recently been on view at the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House.

Chester.²—Mr. J. P. Earwaker writes on Roman Inscriptions found here, inclosing an account of seven sepulchral inscriptions by F. Haverfield.

¹ *Times*, Jan. 1, 1891.

² *Athenaeum*, Dec. 13, 1890.

ITALY.¹

Bologna.—(a) Italian sepulchres discovered in the military arsenal. The remains contained in these tombs (which are twenty in number) are mostly fragmentary; the most important were found in the fourth, including a skyphos, bronze ornaments, fibulae, and a piece of aes rude.

(b) Another sepulchre was discovered on the north side of the town, containing numerous fibulae and other bronze ornaments.

(c) Roman tombs, found immediately above the last-named, eight in number, containing skeletons with their heads to the east, three terra-cotta lamps, one inscribed VIBIANI and another FAOR, and a few bronze coins, from Tiberius to Constantine the Great.

These excavations were begun in 1888, and again taken up April—August 1890, with the result of unearthing nine more Italian sepulchres outside the gate of S. Isaia, containing skeletons, and vases and bronze ornaments; also an Etruscan sepulchre on the hill of S. Michele in Bosco. This latter contained an interesting amphora, an imitation of the black-figure style, one side representing a combat of hoplites and horsemen; the other side is wanting. Below this design is a band of animals.

Liguria.—At Chieri, in restoring the Palazzo del Seminario in 1888, a small chamber of Roman date (1.12 × 1.16 m.) was brought to light, built of square blocks of stone. In each wall was a loculus (0.30 × 0.42 m.) one of which was unfortunately destroyed during the excavation. The others contained a painted vase, two lamps (one with a representation of a cock), eleven glass phialae, and a glass vase, an amphora, and a well-executed bone hair-pin.

Lucania.—At Gerace Marina, on the site of the ancient Locri, have been discovered the remains of a fine Ionic temple, including the western end of the stylobate, and parts of the adjacent sides. The foundations were laid on beds of chalk. The temple appears to have been hexastyle peripteral, with seventeen side-columns, the dimensions being about 146 × 58 feet. Some fragments of the sculptures on the west pediment were found, viz. a rider on horseback, the horse being lifted on its hindlegs by a human figure ending in a fish's tail, who kneels beneath it, supporting its forelegs with his head. The columns resemble those of the Erechtheion, and the style of the sculptures points to the latter end of the fifth century.

Beneath are visible the foundations of an older temple, slightly larger. Several Roman inscriptions have also been found at Gerace Marina.

Rome.—In Reg. iv. was found a portion of a marble frieze, resembling that of the forum of Nerva, viz. a torso of a seated male figure with the right arm extended; also two vases, and fragments of pottery, some stamped. In Reg. v. ten fictile lamps, one with a Medusa-head in relief, stamped L CAEC SAE, another with a head of Mercury, and BICAC, a third with the head of a bearded warrior, stamped LORENT. Also a terra-cotta female head of great excellence, probably an offering in the temple of Minerva Medica, and a female statue broken in pieces. Regg. vi. and vii. Marble fragments inscribed, also a marble head with pileus, and a fragment of a bas-relief of 386 A.D. with a Christian inscription. Reg. xiv. In the Via Salaria, numerous inscriptions, none of great interest.

Umbria.—At Terni has been discovered a fragment of an honorary inscription to Antoninus Pius; at Arcevia a large tomb.

GREECE.

Amyklæe.—Excavations have been made here on the hill of the *ἀγία κυριακή*, about an hour's journey south of Sparta. Fifteen fragments of terra-cotta plaques were discovered, with parts of an inscription 'Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ἀμυκλαίοις. Hence, as Leake had before surmised, this is the site of the temple of the Amyklaean Apollo. On the east and south sides of the hill is a circuit-wall of isodomous masonry, in the middle of which were unearthened foundations of a semi-circular building 9.80 m. in diameter, which probably formed the basis of Apollo's throne. A few inscriptions were found, of little interest, also a few fragments of bronze and terra-cotta offerings, four bronze statuettes (three male and one female), figures of animals, etc. Among the terra-cottas were figures of women of the Mykenae type. Of vase-fragments, the majority were of the Mykenae and Geometric styles, with a few of later date, up to Roman times.¹

Athens.—Important discoveries have been made by Dr. Lolling relative to the Hekatompedon. He found on the site two inscriptions, in fragments, one of which he succeeded in putting together. This inscription, engraved in very fine characters, was given in facsimile in *Athena* for 1890. It distinctly shows the existence of a Greek temple before the Persian invasion, called Ἐκατόμπεδον, with οἰκήματα and ταυλαί. This was the ἱρόν mentioned by Herodotus. Lolling maintains that it remained standing by the side of the Parthenon, and contained an old cultus-statue of Athene.²

Near the Tower of the Winds has been found a part of the Roman forum with propylaea. Dörpfeld considers that the ancient ἀγορά lay at the foot of the Theseion to the east. This was enlarged in an easterly direction, and a Roman market was afterwards added, with a gate of Athena Archegetis.³

Attica.—Excavations of tumuli have taken place in various parts of Attica, the chief results being yielded at Marathon, where the tumulus was proved to be that of the 192 warriors who fell in the battle against the Persians. It showed distinct evidence of a large number of bodies having been burnt together.³

At Vurva has been discovered a tumulus of very irregular shape, with no circuit-wall (plan given in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* for Nov. 29th). Seven graves were excavated, and one remarkable stelé, consisting of four cylindrical stones placed one above the other. On the highest is the inscription. Various fragments of vases were found; one large b.f. amphora with five bands of animals and sirens, and others of similar type.⁴

Lykosura.—The plan of the temple has been finally settled, and is shown to have been altered in Roman times.³

Mykenae.—Inside the Akropolis have been found seven swords, seven knives, four axes, a round mirror, an earring in the form of a finger, etc. The swords are somewhat later than the usual Mykenae type, resembling those found in Attic and Laconian graves.¹

Rhamnus.—Several important remains have been unearthened, including the base of the temple-statue of Nemesis by Agorakritos of Paros, an archaic seated female, a Themis by Chaerestratos of Rham-

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 15 Nov. 1890.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 20 Dec. 1890.

³ *Antiquary*, Jan. 1891.

⁴ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 29 Nov. 1890.

¹ *Notiz. degli Scavi dei Linc.* Aug.—Sept. 1890.

nus, Aristonoe the priestess of Nemesis dedicated by Hierokles, and a youth dedicated by Lysikleides.¹

Salonika.—The date of the Roman triumphal arch here has been ascertained to be A.D. 298, the arch being commemorative of the victories of Galerius over the Persians.²

Thorikos.—A stone has been found here with the

inscription *Ὁὗτος ἱεροῦ Διὸς Διαντῆρος*. A more probable reading is *Ἄδαντῆρος*, i.e. the God who causes the drought of summer, though this is an epithet of Zeus not previously known (but cf. *Ar. Ran.* 194, *τὸν Ἀδάλου λίθον*). M. Politis also claims to have found here the tomb of Oedipus, and the temple of Demeter Euchloos.³

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Antiquary*, Jan. 1891.

² *Academy*, 6 Dec. 1890.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 15 Nov. 1890.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

Ephemeris Epigraphica vol. vii. Additamenta ad *Corporis* vol. vii. ed. F. HAVERFIELD.

THE Berlin authorities have paid a well-deserved compliment to Mr. Haverfield's learning and skill in entrusting him with the honourable duty of collecting and editing the Latin inscriptions discovered in Britain since the publication some fifteen years ago of the seventh volume of the great Berlin *Corpus*. It is a good omen for the future that an English scholar, and a scholar trained at one of the older Universities, should have been found, who was both able and willing to perform such a task efficiently. For it is high time that something should be done in England and by Englishmen to place before the world a critical and complete statement of all the extant evidence bearing on the Roman conquest and occupation of Britain. The work done hitherto has suffered from two serious defects. It has, with very few exceptions, been carried on in an unsystematic, intermittent fashion, and the workers though honest and zealous have too often been unskilled. The consequence is that the records of this period in our history are in a frightfully chaotic condition. They are stored in provincial museums and private collections, or have to be disinterred from innumerable newspapers and journals. To remedy this state of things it is necessary first of all that the work of exploration and excavation should be systematically carried on under competent direction, and the results critically tested, accurately described and carefully registered. In such a work the Society of Antiquaries might well take a lead. We want in England unofficial counterparts both to the Italian Office of Excavation and to the official *Notizie degli Scavi*. In the second place, the task of sifting and arranging the existing material must be seriously taken in hand. In this direction, the labours of the late Mr. Watkin,

of Mr. L. Gomme and others have broken the ground, but much more remains to be done. The 'organization of industry' which all this implies is no doubt a difficult matter, but one obstacle which exists at present can and should be removed. The responsibility for the existing chaos rests largely upon the Universities. Misled by too exclusive a devotion to the literary remains of antiquity, they have allowed their students to pass out into the world ignorant of or indifferent to monumental records. The discovery and interpretation of these has consequently been left, in the great majority of cases, to untrained hands. We may hope that the appearance of Mr. Haverfield's book is a sign of a change for the better: and that academic learning will in future be brought into closer and more constant contact with local enthusiasm and experience.

The present volume contains some 380 inscriptions. Of these the greater number do not, it must be confessed, possess any striking interest or value. The rarity of any reference to municipal life and institutions is as conspicuous as in the volume of the *Corpus* itself, and the same is true of memorials whether sepulchral or not of persons of rank and position. Among the few inscriptions which have already attracted attention may be mentioned the famous one from Brough (No. 952) now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which, though at first claimed as Runic—'inde orta acerrima contentio,' remarks Mr. Haverfield with the terseness characteristic of the *Corpus*—is now recognized to be Greek. A second, which was also a stumbling-block for a time, is the leaden tablet from Bath (No. 827) invoking a curse on the thief or rather thieves of a towel. It was first correctly read by Zangemeister (*Hermes*, 15, 588)—'ad quem remittimus propter interpretationem,' notes the editor in his business-like fashion. The inscription which compares with the leaden

tablets containing 'devotiones' found in Italy and elsewhere is also of great paleographic interest. From London comes a quaint fragment (No. 1141) commemorating apparently the unaccustomed holiday of a slave—'Austalis dibus xiii vagatur sibi cotidim,' 'Austalis wanders about for thirteen days to please himself.' On the forms 'Austalis' (= Augustalis) 'dibus' 'cotidim' Zangemeister has written brief notes which Mr. Haverfield has published in his account of 'Roman Inscriptions found in Britain 1888-1890,' printed in the *Archaeological Journal*. Two other formulae of interest are given under Nos. 928, 1086. Attention may also be called to No. 889, in which the phrase 'Sub ascia d(edicatum) occurs for the first time in Britain'; to No. 1121, a pig of lead inscribed on the face 'Imp. Vesp. Augu(s)t(us) imp. iii,' and on the side 'De ceangl.'—the name apparently of the Welsh mine from which it came; finally to Nos. 1040, 1041, containing dedications by Frisian soldiers stationed at Housesteads to 'deo Marti Thingso et duabus Alaisiagis Bed(a)e et Fimmilen(a)e et n(uminibus) Aug(us-torum).

The most important group of inscriptions is undoubtedly that which includes those found since 1883 in the walls of Chester. They were edited in 1888 by Mr. de Gray Birch but in a manner which illustrates only too effectively the unskilled character of much antiquarian work in England. For most of Mr. Birch's astonishing blunders are due not to any illegibility or other difficulty in the inscriptions themselves, but to a want of acquaintance with the elementary forms and rules of Latin epigraphy, which results in the most grotesque misreadings of simple and straightforward inscriptions. To take two of the worst instances:—No. 897 is given by Mr. Haverfield correctly as Q. Longinius Pomentina Laetus Luco,' i.e. 'Q. Longinius Laetus of the Pomptine tribe from Lucus (Augusti)' in Spain. Mr. Birch remarks: 'This is the monument of Q. Longinus Pomentina, a "laetus" or tenant, in the "lucus" or grove dedicated to some deity in the neighbourhood.' Here the name of the tribe does duty as a 'cognomen.' In another inscription it is made to stand for the name of a lady. No. 889 runs D(is) M(anibus) P(ublio) Rustio Fabia Crescen(ti) Brix(ia) = to P. Rustius Crescens of the Fabian tribe from Brixia. According to Mr. Birch, the meaning is, 'Fabia Crescentia of Brescia his heir caused this monument to be erected to the memory of Publius Rustius.' It is more than unfortunate that

blunders like these should have been allowed to find their way into print in a quasi-official account of really important discoveries.

To return to the inscriptions themselves, for the vexed question of the date of the walls in which they were found cannot be touched here. They are all of a good period, none probably later than 200 A.D., and are in many cases inscribed below sepulchral reliefs of considerable interest. They refer for the most part to soldiers of the 20th legion, and must once have stood in the legionary burying place—a fact of special importance in its bearing on future excavation at Chester. To discover and to excavate this cemetery must be the next step. The splendid results yielded by such sites in Africa and on the Rhine are well known, and all scholars will join in the hope that neither want of money nor other difficulties will be allowed to stand in the way of a complete exploration of so promising a field.

For the manner in which Mr. Haverfield has accomplished his task, we have nothing but praise. It is indeed possible that the amount of labour involved in the work will scarcely be realized by those who are unfamiliar with the subject, and to whom such terse summaries as 'descripsi et damnavi' give little idea of the expenditure of time, thought, and research that lies behind them. H. F. PELHAM.

Deutsche Altertumskunde. Von KARL MÜLLENHOFF. Erster Band, besorgt durch MAX ROEDIGER. Svo. Berlin: Weidmann. Mk. 14.

TIME was that all were content to begin the history of the German race with the accounts given us by Caesar and Tacitus, with perhaps a short preliminary notice of the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones by Marius. But the progress of philology and archaeology has altered this state of things. We must go back to the division of the Aryan race and its early migrations; we must compare the languages, and mythologies, and institutions, and arts, and kinds of poetry. Hence the first volume of Müllenhoff's monumental work does not reach German history, properly so called, at all; and the second is largely concerned with the Gaulish migrations. He begins with an account of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, that he may have a basis of comparison with the early German heroic lays, and this first volume may be commended to the notice of the historians of Greece and of Greek

literature for more reasons than one. He does not notice what Zimmer has lately called our attention to—viz. that, while Greeks, Germans, and Hindus composed their heroic stories in verse, the Celts resorted to prose—Beowulf and the *Nibelungen Lay* are in verse, while the Arthurian legend and the other Celtic cycles of story are in prose; it remained for Chretien de Troyes to put the story of Enid into French verse. Then Müllenhoff goes into the question of the early Phœnician voyages, and pronounces the *Ora Maritima* of Rufus Festus Avienus to be based on the earliest extant account of an exploring voyage to the West, when Northern Europe was still the Dark Continent, and he traces out the course of the voyage. The Kelts had not yet reached the Mediterranean, any more than they had in the time of Herodotus. After passing the Cuneles, in the south-west of the Spanish Peninsula, the voyagers, on their way to the tin-mines of Britain, may have found some Kelts settled on the Bay of Biscay. As Arnold well puts it (c. 22), 'The Greeks, when they read this account in Herodotus, little suspected that these same Kelts reached from the shores of the Ocean inland as far as the Alps, and possibly nearly to the head of the Adriatic; and that while they heard of them only as dwelling without the Pillars of Hercules, they were advanced in the opposite direction, almost within the ordinary horizon of Greek observation, and in a very short time would unexpectedly appear like a wasting torrent in the heart of Italy.'

Then Müllenhoff discusses the question of the tin-mines of Spain and Britain, and here he should be compared with Mr. Elton, in the second edition of his account of Pre-historic Britain. The very word *κασσίτερος* is still a puzzle. Liddell and Scott, in their last edition, still compare the Sanscrit word *kastira*, but this word only occurs very late indeed in the middle ages, and is evidently derived from the Greek, and not *vice versa*; and the same is the case with the Arabic word *kasdir*. Pictet's attempt to derive *kastira* from Sanscrit words corresponding to *quam stratum* in Latin, i.e. 'how malleable!' is something too ludicrous.

Well, but—it will be said—when are we coming to Germany? Wait a little; we have to consider the exploring voyage of Pytheas, the Greek navigator, from Marseilles, whose accounts were discredited by sober-minded men just as Bruce's account of Abyssinia was at first. Polybius and Strabo had themselves travelled far and wide—the former under recommendations from Scipio

which would be everywhere respected—and they had not gone so far as Pytheas, and doubted the story. Still we are much indebted to Strabo for what he gives us, and in fact his sketches of foreign lands are some of the most valuable parts of his work, since his account of Greece itself is injured by his firm belief in the omniscience of Homer. One thing Müllenhoff allows against Pytheas—that he overrated the distances. But an early voyager, creeping along the coast through perilous seas, and looking out for reefs and rocks, naturally thinks the way longer than it is; and it is no discredit to Pytheas if we have to reduce his distances by one-half. And here our author goes into a long discussion of the Alexandrine geographers and astronomers, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus and the others known to Ptolemy, who sums them all up and who is the first, by the way, who mentions the Saxons as living in what is now called Holstein. All this part of the book is even more useful to writers on Greek than to those on German history, and similarly the analysis of Pytheas' voyage along our own coasts may be recommended to English writers.

To Pytheas, too, is due an account of the amber of the north. But where was amber then found? Was it, as at present, on the Prussian coast in the Baltic? This is a much disputed question, but Müllenhoff inclines to think it came first from the islands in the North Sea that lay along the coast of Frisia. Strange that the earliest communication between north and south may have been due to the value put at Rome, and in the south generally, on a resin from the trees of the coal epoch, if that be indeed the origin of amber. It was tin that made the Kelts known to the ancient world, and amber the Germans! Even in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland some of the women's necklaces seem to have been composed of alternate beads of amber and red coral—the one coming from the north, the other from the Levant. Such light articles passed easily from land to land through the hands of the early traders. And here another set of questions comes into view. Was the earliest connexion of north and south due to connexion by land or by sea? Was there not an early traffic from the Greek settlements on the Black Sea, such as Olbia, to the far north, and may not the knowledge even of the Greek alphabet have spread to the north in that way? And was there not a second route from Adria, an old sea-port at the head of the Adriatic, and so over the Brenner northwards? And was there not a third

route from Marseilles across Gaul? In Mr. Arthur Evans' *Late-Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford, Kent* (Nichols: Westminster, 1890), he notices the evidence supplied by the articles found in early interments all over Europe. There is even a great group of urn-fields 'which, at the beginning of the Iron Age in East-Central Europe, diffused itself from the plateaux of Moravia and Bohemia to the lower courses of the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula.' In fact, we have to consider several distinct lines of evidence; and the new 'finds,' now so frequent, have to be grouped and marshalled in the line of evidences. But we might fill many pages with the interesting questions opened up in this remarkable book. What we have said is enough to show the importance of Müllenhoff's work, and we would specially commend it to the Greek scholar or the student of early English and French history. In Germany it is regarded as the indispensable basis of future research.

In re-editing Müllenhoff's book, Max Roediger has proceeded with the piety due to an old master, and to a book which of itself formed an epoch in research. He has of course adopted the alterations made by the author himself in his own copy, but has not attempted to bring the work in all respects up to date by inserting the results of later enquiries. That would have been to re-write the book too largely, and Roediger has therefore contented himself with here and there adding a reference. The preface and introduction have given him most trouble, for Müllenhoff was not himself content with what he had written. It did not come up to his ideal of what the enquiry ought to be, and he left several sketches of that ideal, which the editor has combined in a convenient order, with a few connecting sentences interspersed. The book was not meant to be a mere repertory of German antiquities, nor a bibliographical manual of the subject. It was to give the spirit of the national character, as shown in its speech and poetry, and all that most truly reflects the spirit rather than the letter. For the nation best realises the ideal of a nation by developing its own peculiar inherent character, not in copying foreign models, however good in themselves. In this Müllenhoff was but following the views of Jacob Grimm and of Wilhelm von Humboldt, and he remarks that Grimm, to some extent, deserted this idea of a perfect work on the German race. This will be more fully set out in Müllenhoff's life, for which it is said we shall not have long to wait. One result

of the editor's plan is that the pages of this and the previous edition practically coincide, and the index which Roediger has added is therefore available for both editions. Another advantage of course is that the numerous references made in modern books to Müllenhoff's pages are still correct. On the whole, we cannot but think the editor right in his manner of proceeding. There are many books which must be re-written and brought up to date, but a book written as an artistic whole should be respected—the very form is itself of the essence of the book.

CHARLES W. BOASE.

AN EARLY GRAECO-EGYPTIAN BILINGUAL DEDICATION.

The accompanying woodcut represents an object of considerable interest in the collection of Mr. Tyssen-Amherst at Diddington Hall in Norfolkshire. It was briefly noted, among various Egyptian antiquities of this collection, by Dr. Birch in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1871, p. 119, but his description is inaccurate in several details. Mr. Percy Newberry, who has lately examined the collection, called my attention to it, and the owner very kindly sent me the original for publication here.

It was bought by Mr. Tyssen-Amherst at the sale of a Mr. Leider, a missionary in Cairo, in 1860. According to the sale catalogue it had come originally from Memphis, and had been in Mr. Leider's possession for thirty years. It has therefore a modern history of more than sixty years, a fact which is valuable as evidence of its authenticity.

The cut gives a fair idea of the object in half size, the measurements being: height '043 m., length '091 m., depth '03 m. It consists of a thin sheet of bronze averaging about 2 mm. thick, which has been wrought into the form of a base, as in the illustration, but of which two sides, viz. that opposite the figures and that opposite the hieroglyphics, are wanting, and were probably never existing. From this it would appear that the base was intended to stand as shown in the cut, as a sheath for some object which projected beyond it at the back; probably this was the subject of the dedication. On each of the three sides containing the Greek inscription are holes for the nails which were used for its attachment, viz. two on each side and one at the top; the nails still exist in two cases.

The condition of the bronze is excellent, the surface being almost intact; the commencement of the Greek inscription is partly buried under the rust, and this was the cause of Dr. Birch's mistaken reading of the name as Balanthios. The first two Greek letters are however plainly legible, and Melanthios is a name that is otherwise well known. The workmanship of the relief on the face is very remarkable. The figures are neither cast nor *repoussé*, as would have been natural in later Greek work; they seem to have been first drawn in outline on the surface, and then the ground has been cut away around this outline, so that the figures stand clear, but on the same level with portions of the field. This being the case, it is not surprising that the relief appears strangely rough in workmanship. The treatment is that of an artist who is trying to produce the effect of a metal relief without fully understanding the process.

If the Greek inscription is by the same hand as the rest

of the base, as seems most likely, it may be that we have here the work of an Egyptian who is imitating Greek method, and a Greek inscription, for a Greek client. The same idea is suggested by the peculiarities of the Greek dedication—

Μελάνθιος με ἀνέθηκε τῶι Ζηνὶ Θηβαίῳ ἄκαλμα.

The characters are such as are generally met with in the Ionic inscriptions of the sixth century B.C., especially those found at Naukratis; it will be noticed that the form for η is twofold, viz. both H and B ; this again corresponds with a usage which is

found at Miletus and Naukratis, and may possibly point to a period of transition between the two forms. The I has been turned on its side; but this may well be an error of the engraver, who, copying perhaps from a somewhat careless original, has misread this character as H . The form ἄκαλμα for ἄγαλμα appears to be without precedent; this again may be merely an engraver's error of κ for γ ; at the same time, it must be borne in mind that the interchange of γ and κ is well known in such cases as ἀρπαγή (root ἀρπακ) &c., where the change is from κ to γ ; so that the reverse process may at least be



expected, as in Saguntum = Gr. Σάγουντον, Ζάκυνθος (Curtius Studien v. p. 345).

The poetical form Ζηνὶ is of course frequent in poetical compositions especially of a late period, but of very rare occurrence in prose inscriptions of a good period. It occurs in an early inscription from Naukratis (Petrie Naukratis i. p. 61, no. 122), where a dedication is made τῶι Ζηνὶ τῶι...; it is probable that we may restore here τῶι Ζηνὶ τῶι Θηβαίῳ, as a dedication occurs *ibid.* p. 63, no. 2 Ἀμπελίων Σωσικράτους Διὶ Θηβαίῳ. It may be that Zeus Θηβαῖος was the special type of Zeus whose temple at Naukratis has not yet been discovered (Herod. ii. 178) and whose cult in Graeco-Egyptian cities gave place later to that of Zeus Ammon. The Zeus Thebaïos of our inscription is Amen, who in the relief stands as usual beside the second person of the Theban triad, his consort Mut.

On the whole then, it would seem that this bronze base was attached to the wooden base of a statuette dedicated in the sixth century by an Ionic Greek in an Egyptian temple, and was therefore inscribed in both languages; it was made by an Egyptian for the dedicant, and this accounts for the errata in the inscription and the peculiar workmanship.

CECIL SMITH.

Mr. F. Ll. Griffith kindly contributes the following notes:—

There can hardly be a doubt, when the inscriptions and all have been taken into account, that the object was a bronze sheath to be fixed by nails (still showing) to the front of a wooden pedestal, extending over part of the two sides and top, but not to the base which would be hidden from view. The pedestal would support a figure of the god Amen. Statuettes of deities on rectangular bases of wood or bronze are exceedingly common from the twenty-second dynasty onwards. They may be entirely in one material, or

a bronze statuette may be on a wooden base; I have even seen a limestone figure on a bronze base. The very economical use of the bronze in this sheath, which did not cover any part of the hidden base, as well as the peculiar association of materials, indicate an early date when metal was scarce and the system of manufacture not yet conventionalised. The limits of date lie between the twenty-second dynasty and the Roman period. During about the same period, or at least from the twenty-sixth dynasty, were manufactured small bronze situlae with scenes in course *champ levée* work engraved upon them. I have never before met with this work on the base of a statuette, but the front is sometimes decorated with the cartouches of a king, having much the same effect as a scene. Inscriptions are usually carried in one line round the front and sides, but sometimes in front along the top, and always *close to the edge*. This shows that the Greek inscription is not later than the hieroglyphic, for the Egyptian engraver would not have left space enough to engrave the Greek legend between it and the edge.

The hieroglyphic legend reads: *ἃ Ἀμν ἄνχ brs* 'May Amen give life brs.' I cannot offer any real explanation of the last three signs, although later discoveries may confirm the following conjecture.

The signs do not form any Egyptian word, and are written in a manner that was often adopted for expressing foreign words and names. If Melanthius was domiciled in Egypt he may have been known there by some modification of his Greek name¹: or if he was a casual visitor the engraver may have made a muddle. So Melanthius mutilated or half-forgotten may have become Melus, Belus and the letters *Br*s in Egyptian are very near equivalents to Melus and Belus.

¹ At Naukratis Mr. Petrie and I were respectively known as Bedro and Griftu.

If this conjecture is right, and I do not see that any other explanation is possible—the name of the dedicator is loosely and ungrammatically appended to the dedication, as if ‘May Amen grant long life [to] Melanthius.’

The scene represents the dedicator offering a vase to the god Amen and his consort and the goddess Met. These were the principal deities of Thebes in Upper Egypt. The scene is quite conventional and does not to my mind indicate that a vase was the object offered. The legend in each upper corner is *τα Amen May Amen grant (life etc.)*.

I hope that the above remarks will show that there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of this curious little bilingual.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

AUS DER ANOMIA. *Archaeologische Beiträge, Carl Robert zur Erinnerung an Berlin dargebracht.* Berlin. 1890. 8vo. 280 pp. Three plates and cuts in text. Mk. 7.

This is a collection of short essays on various subjects connected with classics and archaeology, written by sixteen pupils of Prof. Robert and dedicated to him on the occasion of his transference from Berlin to Halle. *Denkschriften* of this description have been greatly in vogue in Germany of late years. We have had Mommsen, Curtius and Kekule already fêted in this way, and now it is Robert's turn. We may question whether for the world at large this mode of asserting information is convenient. One difficulty, at any rate, seems to lie in the selection of a title. *Bonner Studien* (the Kekule *Denkschrift*) certainly conveys in some measure its intention in its title; *Aus der Anomia* conveys to the general reader no sense at all. It seems that Anomia is the title of a kind of club formed by Robert's students among themselves, but no clue to the meaning appears on the face of it.

It is impossible here to examine in detail all the essays of which the book is composed; a few of the more important subjects treated may be briefly noted.

Hiller von Gaertringen (pp. 1–16) deals with the political history of Thessaly during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.: at this period there existed several royal dynasties such as the Aleuadae, Echekratidae, Skopadae. It does not however follow from the literary evidence, nor is it probable, that the members of these were from time to time raised from the status of town-kings to that of kings of the whole country. For occasional questions of general interest, as for instance at the Amphiktyonic Council, the Thessalians may have made common cause; but the evidence for the existence of a united Thessalian state before the time of Jason is very uncertain. The fragments of Aristotle's *κοινὴ Θεσσαλὸν πολιτεία* can hardly be taken as historical evidence; his statements are rather to be considered as founded upon the condition of Thessaly under Jason.

Kretschmer (pp. 17–29) contributes an interesting philological article, in which he traces the origin of the names Semele and Dionysos to a Thracian-Phrygian origin. The root of Semele = Phrygian or Thracian *σεμελ*, which in general means ‘earth’; she is thus the earth-goddess who is mother of the (Thracian) Dionysos, and this coincides with the myths. The name Dionysos also comes from Thrace; and the variants point to a ground from *Διδώνυσος* (cf. *Διδόσκουρος*, *Διδότος* = *Διδός-δοτος*). *Διδός* was held by the ancients as = ‘son of Zeus,’ *-νυσος* is connected with *νύσσα* which is the Thracian synonym for *νύμφη* or

κόρη. [The place Nysa received its name from the Nymphs whom we see e.g. on the Sophilos fragment; the same reversal of the usual process is seen in names like *Κυρήνη* &c.] *-νυσος* = the mase, correlative, and the whole name thus signifies *Διδόσκουρος*. On an Attic vase occurs a similar form *Διδός φώς* (which is usually misread as *φῶς*).

Toepffer (pp. 39–46) examines the legend of Theseus and Peirithoos; this is one of the earliest of the prae-Homeric legends, and its home was Thessaly. In *Iliad* i. 265, the mention of Theseus is usually considered as of doubtful authenticity or as an Athenian interpolation; if an interpolation, this can hardly date from before the time of Peisistratos at any rate; on the other hand, it is evident that when the *ἄσπις* *Ἡρακλέους* was written, this passage was already known. It is in fact far the earliest trace we have of Theseus; he occurs as the ally of the Thesalian prince of the Lapiths.

The Lapiths are a mythical folk inseparable from the Centaurs; their ruler is Peirithoos, ‘very swift.’ The legend may be traced from Thessaly in a great circuit through the Euboic Gulf along the Attic coast as far as Argolis; beyond this we find no trace of it, and the heroes are unfamiliar to the rest of Greece. Their earliest recorded adventure is the *Kentauro-machia*. With them occur in the *Iliad* a Lapith Dryas. Now Dryops is the mythical eponymus of the Dryopes, an obscure race who originally lay on the banks of the Spercheios. No doubt they had an historic reality; all tradition placed them around Oita, and here the name remained down to historical times. From here they spread seawards, and from the Spercheios mouth southwards; we find traces of them in the coast towns, so that we can hardly suppose Attika to have remained uninfluenced by them; in fact we have one actual tradition of the Dryopes in Attika.

Probably the Theseus saga, like that of Peirithoos, was closely connected with Thessaly, and the reason of the close connection between these two heroes arose in Northern Greece. Hence too the connection of Theseus with Dionysos. From Thessaly the mythical conquerors of the Centaurs seem to have pressed southwards to Eastern Attika and to the coast of Argolis.

Graef (pp. 61–70, two plates) publishes a head of Athene in Naples (*Mus. Naz.* No. 6303), which from its character he assigns to the middle of the fifth century and probably to Attic origin. From comparison with other types and the Berlin polychrome head (*Ant. Denkm.* i. 3), he thinks this a copy of the Parthenos, and deduces a formula for such copies. The Hermes Ludovisi may also be traced to Pheidias.

Wernicke (pp. 71–85) analyses certain Oriental elements in the history of the Herakles legend.

Kern (pp. 86–95) examines the Orphic cult of the dead; the true expression of the Orphic dogma was in Athens, and it is natural to expect that the Attic cult of the dead should show traces of this. Now on vase paintings certain diminutive winged forms occur, which are divisible into two classes, viz. (i.) the eidolon of a particular individual, always in the usual human form, nude, clothed, or in armour, just as in the Homeric Nekyia; (ii.) those on Attic grave lekythi; here there is no attempt at individualisation, the figures are always winged, and always beside a tomb or deathbed or the entrance to Hades; they cannot represent the soul of any particular dead person, because there are often several around one. They are not the ‘Érotes funèbres’ (Pottier), nor yet the souls of the dead which come forth at the Anthes-teria (Hirsch), because they are always in definite situations, and make no impression upon the specta-

tors. They are rather the souls of the bad, which after death seek rest and peace in vain. This idea is expressed in Plato; whence did he get it? It is usually supposed to be Pythagorean, but it is rather referable to the other Orphic traces in his writings; and this is in keeping with the spirit of the Orphic tablets from Sybaris and Petelia.

Sauer (pp. 96-113, with Beilage). The two reliefs published by Robert (*Ath. Mitth.* vii. Taf. 1-2) do not show the contest between Athene and Poseidon; they form only excerpts from a greater scene, which is represented in the E. frieze of the Nike temple. This is proved by a comparison with the celebrated 'Persians' vase (*Mon. Ined.* ix. pll. 50-1) to be the suit between Asia and Hellas, tried before the assembled gods.

Noack (pp. 157-177, two cuts) studies the early representations of the Iliupersis on vases. He thinks that both Brygos and Euphronios were working towards the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century, and that both were therefore independent of the influence of Polygnotos. From a careful comparison of the various groups, he concludes that the Brygos and Euphronios cups are independent of each other, but are referable to a common origin; this origin is to be sought in the work of some great painter of the sixth century.

Finally, Rossbach (pp. 192-208, plate) contributes some interesting miscellaneous notes on the painter Pauson, the ἵππος ἀλάνδουμένος, the Gryphon, &c.

CECIL SMITH.

Gazette Archéologique. Nos. 1-2, 1889. Paris.

1. Heuzey; vases decorated with statuettes, from Cyprus; as an addition to the types given in Herr-

mann's *Marion*, publishes some further specimens, with remark on the origin and development of the statuette in this connection: two plates, two cuts. 2. Homolle and Nénot; suggested restoration of the amphitheatre of Curion (*Plin. H. N.* xxxvi.). 3. de Baye; describes the Wittislengen treasure, now at Munich: proposes to date the objects to the end of the seventh century: two plates, two cuts. 5. Roman; the tombs of Assouan in Upper Egypt. Chronicle, Correspondence, Bibliography.

Revue Archéologique. Sept.-Oct. 1890. Paris.

1. Ravaissou; summarises the history of the Venus of Milo; reasserts the opinion of Quatremère de Quincy that the figure formed part of a group with Mars; proposes to reconstruct this group with the help of the Borghese Mars: and assigns the name of 'Venus Proserpine and Mars Theseus.' The original type of the Venus statue was the 'Aphrodite in the Gardens' begun by Alkamenes and finished by Pheidias: plate, giving restoration. 2. Pigeon; Roman road in La Manche and L'Île-et-Vilaine: with plan. 3. Lebègue; answers a statement of Diehl (*Excursions arch. en Grèce* p. 134) as to the first excavations in Delos. 4. de Morgan; note on the prehistoric necropoleis of Russian Armenia; he concludes that at first there was no external influence on art; later the peoples of Lelwar came into commercial relations with the Assyrians: twenty cuts. 5. Radet; The towns of Pamphylia; an appreciative review of the French edition of Lanckoronski's *Les Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, vol. I.

S. Reinach continues his excellent *Chronique d'Orient* pp. 225-273.

Meetings of Societies, Bibliography.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Athenaeum: 1890.—27 Sept., notice of H. Omont's *Catalogues des Manuscrits Grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I et Henri II.*—4 Oct. notice of Schrumpf's *First Aryan Reader*; S. P. Lambros writes on *The Greek MSS. at Salonicæ*.—25 Oct. notices of Edwards' *Odyssey* x, Postgate's *Latin Primer*, Wilkins' *Roman Literature Primer*, Inge's *Selections from Val. Maximus*, Engelmann's *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer*; J. P. Mahaffy writes on *Graeco-Egyptian Wills of the Third Century B.C. among the Petrie Papyri*.—8 Nov. notices of Rutherford's *Greek Syntax*, Hardy's *Plutarch's Lives of Galba and Otho*, Duff's *Lucretius* v, Shuckburgh's *Herodotus* v. vi, Hadley's *Hippolytus*, Page's *Vergil Aen.* iii, Bayfield's *Alcectis*, Sanderson's *Ovid Met.* i, Stephenson's *Liv.* iv, Owen's *Tristia* iii, Cowan's *Pliny's Letters* i. ii.—22 Nov. review of the Oxford *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*.—29 Nov. review of Gladstone's *Landmarks of Homeric Study*; notices of Adam's *Euthyphro*, E. S. Headlam's *Iphig. in Aul.*—6 Dec. J. P. Mahaffy writes again on the Petrie Papyri. [The fragments of the Phaedo amount to about two pages in the Teubner edition; of the concluding scenes of the Antiope of Euripides the speech of Hermes is almost complete, and in all there are forty complete and seventy incomplete lines.]—13 Dec. review of T. A. Dodge's *Alexander the Great*.—20 Dec. review of W. D. Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian Library*.—27 Dec. review of L. Campbell's *Verse Translation of Aeschylus*, J. D. Cooper's of *Agam. Choeph. Eum.*, and A. W. Pollard's *Odes from the Greek Dramatists*

Academy: 1890.—13 Sept. H. C. Hoskier writes on Sanday's review of his book (answered in next number).—27 Sept. notices of H. Kölling's *Der erste Brief Pauli an Timotheus*, R. Steck's *Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit*, F. L. Steinmeyer's *Die Geschichte der Auferweckung des Lazarus*.—11 Oct. A. H. Sayce gives a fragment from a lost Greek poet from Egypt; F. Haverfield reviews J. Schmidt's *Die pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen neutra*.—18 Oct. notices of Hardy's *Plutarch's Galba and Otho* and Holden's *Plutarch's Timoleon*.—25 Oct. notices of Psichari's *Essais de Grammaire historique Néo-grecque* and other modern Greek books.—1 Nov. F. Haverfield suggests that *ἡρεπτα* is a comparative of **ἡρεπος*.—8 Nov. I. Taylor reviews Gladstone's *Landmarks of Homeric Study*.—22 Nov. L. Campbell reviews Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*; A. H. Sayce reviews Brugmann's *Comparative Grammar II.* 1.—29 Nov. F. T. Richards reviews Mahaffy's *Greek World under Roman Sway* and Bywater's *Text of the Ethics*; W. A. Clouston writes on *The Treasury of King Rhampsinitus*.—6 Dec. Rob. Ellis reviews Petschenig's *Maximiani Elegiae*.—13 Dec. J. Owen reviews Hatch's *Hibbert Lectures on the Influence of Greek Ideas and Usage upon the Christian Church*; E. D. A. Morshead reviews L. Campbell's *Translation of Aeschylus*; A. Lang writes on *The Characters of Odysseus and Helen*.—20 Dec. W. T. Lendrum joins with Mr. Page (*C.R.* Dec. 1890) in protesting 'against the mental pabulum which the presses of Oxford and Cambridge send out as fit for the strong digestion of youth,'

instancian an Oxford edition of the Phormio; Report of meeting of Cambridge Philological Society on 4 Dec.—27 Dec. Watkiss Lloyd writes on *The Character of Odysseus*.

Philologus: Bd. 47, Heft 3 (Continued from vol. iv. p. 236).

Th. Bergk, *Babriana* 14 pp.—In *Avianus* 28, 7 vana laboratis aufer mendacia dictis Crusius defends Nettleship's suggestion that laboratis might mean 'fabricated,' as against R. Ellis's vaporatis, by quoting Babrius 95, 36 ὁ νοῦς ἔχανν' ὡς λόγους ποιητοῖσιν.—Ch. Cron on *Heracclitus* 25 pp.—Petschenig on *Apul.* Apol. c 83 proposes πορίσαι νῦν δὲ ὡς βάσκανοι ἡμῶν κακοῖς τε.—W. Schmid notes on *Dem. de Cor.* § 12 read ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτῇ αὐτῇ ἐχθροῦ; in § 13 γάρ is right, but δέ is a substitute for a verb lost from the archetype; § 18 fin. for παρὰ τοῖς read παρ' αὐτοῖς; § 22 read νυνὶ διεγείρει and νῦν κατηγορεῖς. The Byzantine grammarians naturally correct after their canon, that νῦν is used with all tenses, νυνὶ with the present; § 25 τε τὴν εἰρήνην is a gloss on πάντα; § 28 τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως defended against Usener's τὰ κέρματα.—W. Schmid, Emendations in *Aristides* de Or. 45 and 46.—O. Crusius, Date and Author of *Ps.-Apuleius* de orthographia; the author was Lud. Caelius Rhodiginus, a contemporary of Erasmus.—O. Crusius remarks on the sources of *Apuleius'* Metamorphoses.—A. Mommsen, the Ten Eponymi and the Order of Succession of the *Attic Phylae*. For some purposes the order was determined by lot, for other purposes there was a fixed order, which was established by Cleisthenes and prevailed even in the time of the Roman Empire, viz. Erechtheis Aegeis Pandionis Leontis Akamantis Oneis Kekropis Hippothontis Aeantis Antiochis.—H. C. Maué, the *Hastiferi of the Castellum Mattiacorum*; they are not, as Mommsen says, a kind of municipal militia, but a sacred college.—A. Müller, Recent Works on the Dress and Equipment of the *Roman Army* in the time of the Empire (continued in next heft).—C. Wagner supports C. F. W. Müller in reading in Cicero p. Lig. § 1 ante hanc diem (for MSS. hunc).—R. Peppmüller on the *Cypria*.—E. Bethe, notes on Cod. Marc. 211 of *Porphyrius*, de antro Nympharum.—R. Unger, Fragments of the *Theriac of Aemilius Macer*.—E. Klebs, on the *Script. hist. Aug.*; V. Maximii 25, 4 read in loco Maximii Gordianus sufficiatur; V. Commodi 13 versus ideo multi scripti sunt, &c.—M. Manitius, Contributions to the History of *Roman Prose Authors in the Middle Ages*—Solinus, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Nepos.—J. Mähly derives *omen* from avis thus: *avimen, *aumen, omen.—Chambalu, *Flaviana* (continued in next heft).—W. Schmid, *Scenicae*; the building of the stone theatre was begun before the time of Lycurgus, perhaps under Eubulus, and completed after interruption by Lycurgus.—A. Socin, *Ethiopian Myths*, note on Gen. 6, 1-4.

Bd. 47, Heft 4.

F. Rühl, Observations on some *Libraries in Sicily*—Messina, Catania, Syracuse, Palermo.—L. Bornemann, *Pindar*, 6th Olymp. Ode.—Häberlin, *On Tyrtaeus and Sappho*. Tyr. Fr. 11, 37 read αὐτῇ for ἐς αὐτοῦς; Sapph. Fr. 1 read ἐλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον | ἐκ μερίμαν, ὅσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι | θῆμος ἰμέρρει, σὺ τέλεσσον αὐτὰ | σύμμαχος ἔσσαι.—Ch. Cron, on *Heracclitus* (continued).—M. Treu, *Apophthegmata Laconica*.—E. Klebs, the Composition of *Petronius'* Satires.—A. Eussner, *Livy* 7, 2, 4 read ceterum parva haec quaeque (for ceterum parva quoque); 7, 30, 11 read homines ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt (for omnes ipsi, &c.).—E. Schweder,

Comparison of the Statements of Pliny and Mela in regard to the *Tribes of Central Africa*; the two drawn from the same source, but differ, because Mela has not rightly understood the authority.—Th. Stangl, *Iustinus* 2, 9, 15 read divinitatis (for dignitatis), and 37, 3, 7 tergeri (for deleri).—G. F. Unger, the Heroic Deed of *Aristophan*. Dem. Lept. 148 says A. was granted the ἀτέλεια. The reason for this unusual honour is to be found in a passage of Theophrastus Char. 7, which should read προσδιηγῆσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ποτε γενομένην τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην (om. καὶ) τὴν Ἀκαδαμῶνις ἐπὶ (not ὑπὸ) Λυσάνδρου. (ἐπ' A = duce A, cp. Thuc. 6, 6, 2, &c.) The deed referred to is probably to be found in Xen. Hell. 2, 4, 31.—E. Sihler, *Din. c. Dem.* 28 E, bracket the second οὗτος.—M. Meyer, the History of the *Legio XIV gemina*.—H. Deiter, Emendations of *Caes. B.G.* 7, 47, 1; *Cic. de Div.* 1, 9, 15, Or. 7, 23.—O. Hoffmann, *Apollo Citharoedus*; the statue is probably a copy of the famous statue by Scopas.—J. Mähly emends *Porphyrius'* note on Hor. S. 1, 6, 30.—W. H. Roscher, the so-called *Pharmacides of the Cypselus chest*; the two figures are two *moirae*, who, conceived as pharmacides, are preparing in their mortars weal and woe for men.—Manitius, Contributions to the *History of Roman Poets in the Middle Ages*. Persius was known in England as early as the time of Aldhelm and the Venerable Bede.—W. M. Ramsay defends his conjecture in a *Phrygian Inscription* τέκνα ἄπαν ἐντύ(χοιτο) against Crusius' λίποιτο.—O. Bachmann, *Aristoph.* Lys. 723 read τὴν δ' αὐτομολοῦσαν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ στρουθίου μίαν, Pax 278 νῦν εὐκτέ ἐστὶ Καλλόγγ (for νῦν ἐστιν εὐξασθαι καλόν;), Av. 1013 κεκίνηται τιγί (for tives), 1437 νῦν δ' οὐ λέγων πτερῶ σε (for νῦν τοι λέγων).—E. Graf, *Dion. Hal.* de comp. verb. 14 against Usener.—H. Martini, *Antonius Liberalis*: emendations.—C. F. W. Müller now accepts v. Leutsch's reading in *Cic. de imp. Pomp.* 24, though for different reasons.—Ehwald, further on his interpretation of *Anthol. Lat.* 1, 37.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius. Leipzig, 1890. (Continued from vol. iv. p. 436.)

Hefte 4 and 5 (combined) contain chiefly very long and argumentative papers, viz. (1) A. Scotland *Das Zusammentreffen der Penelope mit Odysseus in τ.* (2) Ch. Cron *Die Gliederung des Plat. dialogs Gorgias.* (3) M. Ihm *Philon u. Ambrosius*, comparing Philo περί φυγάδων with Ambros. de fuga saeculi. (4) K. Dziatzko and A. Fleckeisen *Zu Terentius*, some notes and emendations founded mainly on the metrical rules concerning the sequence of trochaic lines. (5) C. Haeblerlin *Ad Ov. Heroides* 7, 152, proposing *ipse loco* at the beginning of the line. (6) M. C. P. Schmidt *Ne...quidem*, calling attention to the fact that *ne...quidem* is hardly ever attached to *possum*, but almost always to the ensuing infinitive. (7) P. Seliger *Die ersten sechs oden im IIIten Buche des Horatius*, another long enquiry into the mutual relations of these odes. (8) G. Busolt *Zur Gesch. der Röm. Revolutionszeit* (first part), intended to show that the history of the Gracchi, as given by Diodorus, is founded on Posidonius. (9) G. Gundermann *Die buchfolge in Senecas naturales quaestiones*, contending that the right order is VII I IV^b V VI II III IV^a.

Hefte 6 contains (1) C. F. Müller *Zu Thukydides*, some emendations followed by a few more by G. M. Sakorraphos. (2) R. Dressler *Zu Nonnos Dionys.* XLIII 212 proposing ἀντισποδών for ἀντισποδών. (3) Th. Hultsch *Zum Anon. περί ὕψους* c. 10, proposing λυκαίνεται γὰρ ταῦτα τὸ ὄλον ὥσπερ ψήγματα καὶ ἀραιώματα. ἐμποιεῖ δὲ μεγέθη συνοικοδομούμενα τῇ

πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσει συντετεῖχισμένα. (4) M. Bencker, notice of *W. Gurlitt's Ueber Pausanias*, 'valuable but too much influenced by hostility to Kalkmann.' (5) G. F. Unger *Frühlings Anfang*, continued from Heft 3. (6) G. Busolt *Zur Gesch. der Röm. Revolutionszeit*, continued from Heft 6. (7) A. Döhring *ecquis—etiam in questions*, after showing that *ecquis* is used in angry impatient questions, and that *etiam* is similarly used (e.g. *etiam tu taces*, 'hold your tongue,' Plaut. Trin. 514), suggests that *ecquis* is really for *etquis*, which the MSS. often have (e.g. Ter. Eun. 279, 517, 530).

Heft 7 contains A. B. Drachmann *Zu Pindars Iften Pyth. Ode*, contending that the victory celebrated was in the Olympian chariot-race in Ol. 78. (2) W. Pökel *Zu Aristophanes*, some emendations followed by instances of misprints and false accentuations often repeated. (3) M. Lüdecke *Zu Kleomedes κυκλική θεωρία μετεώρων*, pointing out the merits of the MS. in Leipzig Univ. Libr. 361 (membr. saec. XIII). (4) M. C. P. Schmidt, *Kleine Beobachtungen zum Latein. Sprachgebrauch*, viz. that *cernere* and *reperire* can both be followed by acc. with infin. (5) A. Fleckeisen *Zu Ennius u. Terentius*, Eun. 590, contending that the Ennian line parodied was *qui templa caeli summa suo nutu quatit*. (6) F. Weck *Zu Verg. Aen. II 57 sqq.*, a discussion of the Sinon episode. (7) G. F. Unger, *Frühlings Anfang* continued, dealing with the Latin evidence. (8) H. Kothe *Zu Timaios*, proposing *παρὰ Τυρίων* for Hultsch's *παρ' Ἀσσυρίων* in Polybius XII 28a.

Hefte 8 and 9 contain (1) H. Müller-Strübing *Das Ende des alten Kratinos*, a long commentary on Arist. Pax. 700-704. (2) A. Ludwich *Zu Aristonikos*, a note, founded on scholia to H 453 and o 157, on ἡρρ and Ὀδυσῆ datives. (3) H. Düntzer *Dieuchidas u. Dikaiarchos*, a discussion as to the earliest authority for the statement that Peisistratus edited Homer. (4) P. Habel *Schliemann u. Bötticher*, an account of the controversy about Hissarlik. (5) R. Peppmüller *Zu Soph. Aj. 477*, proposing οὐδ' ἐνδὸς λόγου. After some trifling notes follows (6) F. Olck *Die Kalenderdaten in Catos De Agricultura*, a very long article on the relation of the old Roman year to the Julian, and the determination of early dates. The only remaining article of value is (7) O. Seeck, *Studien zur Gesch. Diocletians u. Constantins*, IIften Theil, dealing with the origin of the Historia Augusta.

Heft 10 contains (1) R. Peppmüller *Zur Composition des Hesiodischen Werke und Tage*, agreeing with Kirchhoff's theory, but criticising his division of the poem into separate parts. (2) A. Rieder *Zur Pindarischen Theologie*, chiefly on the function of μοῖρα. (3) G. Biflinger *ῥα bei Pytheas*, contending against M. C. P. Schmidt that Pytheas did use ῥα = 'hour.' (4) F. Blank *Zu Ar. Equites 504*, proposing ἡμῖν... ἐπιούσιν τοῖς ἀνσπ. (5) R. Meister *Αἰολῆνης δ Σέλλου* (Ar. Vespaë 325, 459, 1243). It is clear that δ Σέλλου is not a patronymic, for it is attached also to Ἀμυνίας δ Προνάπους, Vespaë 1266 and 74. It is a descriptive addition. The Σελλοὶ were priests of Dodona, ἀνιπποπόδες χαμαιεῦναι, and δ Σέλλου means 'beggarly.' The Αἰολῆνης in question is probably the disciple of Socrates and the son of Lysanias, whose poverty is often mentioned by Diog. La. e.g. II, 62. (6) C. v. Jan *Die Handschriften der Hymnen des Mesomedes*, adding to the information given by Bellermann (1840) and correcting his reading of the tenses. (7) W. Soltan *Die Römischen Schaltjahre seit 190 vor Chr.*, with a table correcting Matzat. (8) O. Immisch *De Grammaticorum Principe* (Gellius XIV 6), contending that the person in question was not Autodorus but Antidorus of Kyme. (9) F. O. Schjött *Zum Heerwesen der Römer u. Liv. VIII*

8, a very interesting paper. In Livy omit the sentence *ordo—habebat*, but the passage is evidently otherwise corrupted. The legion of Servius Tullius was a phalanx, and each man wore a round shield (*clipeus*). This formation lasted till the introduction of *stipendium*, B.C. 406, when the manipular structure was adopted, and the *scutum* (section of a hollow cylinder) substituted for the *clipeus*. The 'manipulatum structa acies' was merely the old legion broken up into columns of companies. Later, after Allia, Camillus perceived the necessity of a strong reserve and of a skirmishing force armed with a weapon superior to the sword. Hence the *hastati* were thrown out in front, leaving the brunt of the battle to the *principes*. In the Latin war, B.C. 339, the *principes* were thrown forward (15 centuries of 62 men each, like the *hastati*), and the reserve was composed of *triarii*, so-called because each of the 15 maniples consisted of 3 *vexilla* of 62 men each. These *triarii* were the *subsignati*, but one *vexillum* out of the three in each manipulus was armed with the *pilum*, and hence called *pilani*. This *pilum* was not used for throwing, but was the heavy weapon of Polyb. VI 23. (The writer does not describe the transition to the later formation in which the *triarii* were only half as many as the other ranks.) (10) R. Lehmann *Zu Sallustius*, and (11) C. Niemeyer *Zu Livius*, emendations. (12) C. F. W. Müller *Zu Januarius Nepotianus*, contending that editors have unduly improved the bad but genuine Latin of this writer.

The *Leipziger Studien* for 1890 contains three elaborate and important essays: (1) by F. Nowack, On the Genuineness of the 14th and 15th Orations of Lysias (pp. 1-111), which the writer finally (pp. 95, 96) pronounces spurious; (2) by T. Lenschau, On the History and Constitution of Priene (*De Rebus Priensium*, pp. 111-221); (3) by Reinhold Franz, On the Fable of Callisto (pp. 233-367). There are three shorter papers, of which two are by J. H. Lipsius: (1) On the Fragments of the Athenian Decree respecting the *Cleruchia* of Salamis (*Zum ältesten Attischen Volksbeschluss*); (2) On the Judicial Scene represented on the Shield of Achilles. The other is by Curt Wachsmuth, On the Composition of the *Parodos* in the Acharnians.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.

Oct. 5. 1889. W. Schultze, *Quaest. Homer. specimen* (A. Gemoll). 'Thorough, industrious, and sober investigation.'—P. Habel, *De Pontificorum Romanorum...condicione publica* (Geppert). A long resumé.—Ladewig, *Vergili Aeneis* ed. P. Deuticke (C. Haebelin). Reactionary.

Nov. 6. Kanmer, *Aesthetischer Kommentar zu Homers Ilias* (O. Vogrinz). 'K.'s main thesis is that the old parts of the *Iliad* manifestly differ from the expansions in the treatment of the subject the characters, and the gods. . . . The books Γ, Κ, Ν, Ξ are late, as are parts of Δ, Ε, Η, Θ, Μ, Ο, Ρ, Τ . . . Ι, Ψ, Ω (from 142 on) are original.'—*Ausgrabungen römischen Baureste* (P. Weizsacker). A good account of a meritorious undertaking.—J. Frey, *Ausgewählte Briefe Ciceros* (F. Becher). 'The commentary on the subject matter is good, but the text and the notes on the language require a good deal of improvement,' which the reviewer proceeds to give them at great length.—A. Kiessling, *Commentar. Propertianum* (K. P. Schulze). 'A successful attack on E. Hübner's attempt to eject V. xi. 65.'—J. Franke, *De Sili tropis* (J. S. van Veen). 'A valuable contribution to the literature on Silius.'—Nov. 13. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und*

Pflanzennamen auf Munzen und Gemmen (Ad. Pfeiffer). 'Most warmly recommended both to scholars and to naturalists.'—A. T. Christ, *Platons Apologie und Kriton* (K. J. Liebold). A summary of the introduction and a long description of the text.—C. Synnerberg, *Observationes criticae in Minucii Felicis Octavius* (J. Mähly). 'Of the numerous readings proposed all are well-weighed, and most of them undoubtedly correct.'—Wrobel, *Eberhardi Bethuniensis Gracismus* (P. Egenolff). 'Contains nothing conclusive, but is valuable as making accessible an important work which previously was practically inaccessible.'—Nov. 20. Ed. Lübbert, (1) *Prodromus in Pindari locum de Pelopis pueritia*, (2) *de Pindaro theologiae orphicae censore* (M. Rannow). (1) Deals with the history of the doctrine taught at the Delphic mysteries with regard to the death of Dionysus; (2) draws on Nonnus and Proclus for information about the Orphic theology of Pindar's time.—*Longini περί ὕψους* ed. O. Jahn. Iterum ed. J. Vahlen (Br. Keil). The reviewer suggests various conjectural readings—J. D. Duff, *Lucretius v.* (C. Haeblerlin). 'Deviates in minor matters of orthography from Munro's text, but not consistently . . . the notes show more originality, and are short and good . . . whether it is justifiable to edit a separate book of Lucretius, and if so whether the fifth book was the right one to select may be doubted.'—P. Klohe, *De Ciceronis libr. de off. fontibus* (A. Goethe).—I. Prammer, *Taciti ab excessu div. Augusti libri i.-vi.* (Th. Opitz). 'Departs in eighty passages from the readings of Halm and Müller, in about twenty passages rightly.'—Nov. 27. E. Petersen u. F. v. Luschian, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas u. Kibyratiss* (O. Treuber).—S. A. Naber, *Josephi opera omnia i.* (K. Jacoby).—Geyza Némethy, *De Firmicio Materno astrologo* (H. Dressel). 'Contains some convincing emendations, and shows that either Firmicius has borrowed from Manilius, or both have borrowed from a common source.'

Dec. 4. H. Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi* (H. L. Ulrichs).—H. Trant, *Quaest. Theocritearum*, part i.—ii. (F. Mertens). 'No real advance in the study of Theocritus.'—Weidner, *Juvenalis Saturae*, *Diurne Leben Juvenals*, Gylling *De argumenti dispositione in satiris*, ix.—xvi. (E. Hübner). This review, which is continued in the next two numbers, is in effect an important essay on the life of Juvenal, and calls special attention to Prof. Nettleship's *Life and Poems of Juvenal*.—Dec. 11. Fr. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* (P. Knapp). 'Combines safe method with knowledge of art and the power of making "combinations".'—*Catalogus codicum Graecorum qui in Bibliotheca urtica Pratslaviensi adservantur* (Br. Keil). 'Apparently done most carefully.'—Dec. 18. H. Winnefeld, *Hypnos* (Th. Schreiber). 'The author treats his difficult subject skilfully.'—J. Gilmore, *Ktesias* (J. Jacoby). 'A useless edition: does not satisfy the requirements of science; e.g. the editor uses the Hamburg 1609 edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, the Basle 1673 edition of Pliny, &c. . . . The reviewer hopes to edit Ktesias himself.'—A. Holder, *Inventio S. Crucis* (M. Manitiis). 'Contains an unusually complete apparatus criticus.'—Dec. 25. H. Kluge, *Entstehungsgeschichte d. Ilias* (P. Cauer). 'Is based mainly on metrical criteria, which are unsatisfactory.'—C. A. Lehmann, *Quaestiones Trullianae* (E. Böckel). 'Combine acuteness with moderation of judgment, thorough knowledge of the language, and methodical use of that knowledge.'—G. Schepfs, *Conradi Hirsauensis dialogus* (M. Manitiis). 'An excellent edition which satisfies all modern requirements.'

Jan. 1. 1890. G. Meyer, *Albanesische Grammatik m. Lesestücken* (G. Stier). Some gaps, but useful both for travellers and students.—Ion. Luitak, *Quaestiones Sapphicæ* (G. Knaack). Reviewed rather adversely.—C. Zangemeister, *Orosii hist. adversum paganos* (Fr. Rühl). 'Gives us at last a tolerable text and an apparatus criticus complete for all purposes.'—8. Th. Matthias, *Zu alten Grammatikern* (P. Egendeff). Emphatically recommended.—Eug. Oder, *De Antonio Liberali* (G. Knaack). 'A learned and acute dissertation.'—P. Jörs, *Röm. Rechtswissenschaft zur Zeit d. Republik I.* (Otto Schulthess). A summary (continued in next number), not a review.—J. Kubik, *De Ciceronis poet. Latinorum studiis* (Fr. Harder). 'A trustworthy and complete collection of the material.'

Jan. 15. H. Welzofner, *Gesch. des griech. Volkes bis Solon* (G. J. Schneider). A popular history, praised by the reviewer.—Fr. Jeschonnek, *De nominibus, quæ Graeci pecudibus domesticis indiderunt* (G. Knaack). 'Apparently complete.'—R. Engelmann, *Bilder-Atlas z. Homer* (R. Hirsch). 'Should be as widely known as possible to all teachers.'—Ivo Bruns, *Lucian u. Oenomaus* (P. Schulze). 'A contribution to the right comprehension of the Zeûs ἐλεγχόμενος and Zeûs τραγῳδός.'—M. Hoffmann, *Der codex Medicus pl. 39 n. 1 des Vergilius* (G. Schepfs). 'The collation to Ribbeck's text has been made with extraordinary industry.'—22. O. Schulz, *Ortsgottheiten in d. griech. u. röm. Kunst*; Walz, *Eckfiguren am Ostgiebel d. olymp. Zeustempels* (J. Böhlau). The former work is 'an industrious but badly arranged collection of material'; the latter 'remarkably attractive, owing to its sensible method and refreshing style.'—A. Marx, *Griech. Märchen von dankbaren Tieren und Verwandten* (O. Gruppe). 'As a collection of material, it is of permanent value and indispensable in all mythological inquiries.'—R. Meister, *D. griech. Dialekte II.* (C. Haberland). 'A necessary and useful work, built on a solid basis by a skilful hand with marvellous industry and comprehensive erudition.'—Geyza Némethy, *Euhemerii reliquiae* (J. Gansz). Good.—P. Höfer, *Die Varusschlacht* (G. Ihm). Based on extensive study, the work is directed mainly against Mommsen . . . and deserves the attention of all specialists.'—29. Le Bas, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure par S. Reinach* (J. Böhlau). 'The beginning of an extremely well-timed undertaking, and deserves the thanks of all and sundry.'—A. Fick, *Hesiods Gedichte wiederhergestellt* (P. Cauer). 'The idea which suggested Fick's undertaking is valuable and fertile; unfortunately the method is arbitrary, the results fantastic.'—A. Bienwald, *De Crippsiano et Oxoniensi Antiphantis, Dinarchi, Lycurgi codd.* (J. Kohm). 'Very careful.'—R. Ellis, *Catullus*, 2nd ed. (K. P. Schulze). 'Will still retain its scientific value by the side of newer commentaries, but we could have wished it had been more largely re-written.'

Feb. 5. E. Bötticher, *La Troie de Schliemann* (G. J. Schneider). An attempt to prove that what S. took for a town was really a crematorium. 'The attempt is not based on autopsy and is full of irremediable difficulties.'—Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum fragm. III.* (O. Kaehler). 'The editor has rendered a service of permanent value by this conscientious collection of widely-scattered fragments.' (In the next number the reviewer gives some additional fragments of his own collecting.)—G. Schoemann, *De Etymologici Magni fontibus III.* (P. Rellig). 'Simply an attempt to remove errors from some of the glosses which are expressly stated in the E.M. to come from Diogenian.'—A. Gasguy, *De Fab. Planc. Fulgentio Vergilii interprete* (E. Jungmann). 'An attempt to whitewash Fulgentius, carried too far.'—F. M. Nichols,

The Marvels of Rome (L. v. Urlichs). Praised. 12. J. Staender, *Chirographorum in r. bibl. Paulina Monasteriensis catalogus* (G. Schepfs). 'Every single MS. is carefully described and numerous references to editions and connected literature given.'—C. Reichert, *Veber den 2 Teil d. Odyssee* (G. Vogrinz). Praised.—F. Schwenk, *Das Simonideische Gedicht in Platons Protagoras* (G. Hergel). 'Very satisfactory.' I. M. Stowasser, *Stolones Latini* (M. Manitius). Praised.—J. Frenzel, *D. relat. Satzbau i. Griech.* (W. Vollbrecht). 'Stimulating.'—19 Feb. V. d. Launitz, *Wandtafeln*, 38. Lohr, *D. röm. Haus* (J. Böhlau). Praised.—L. Lutz, *D. präpositionen b. d. attischen Rednern* (Max Koch). 'The result of many years' laborious work. . . contains rich material.'—O. Weissenfels, *Lukrez u. Epikur* (C. Häberlin). The review, continued from last number, summarizes and praises the book.—A. Stitz, *Ueber d. Gerundivum v. Sallust* (G. Hergel). 'Industrious and intelligent.'—M. Zimmermann, *De Tacito Senecae imitatore* (E. Wolff). 'Combines ingenuity with caution.'—26. F. Cumont, *Sur l'authenticité de quelques lettres de Julien* (C. Häberlin). 'Increases the number of suspected letters.'—W. Liebenam, *Die Legaten in d. röm. Provinzen von Augustus bis Diocletian* (J. Asbach). 'The author has utilized and methodically arranged a large mass of material drawn from authors, inscriptions and coins.'

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THE BEARING OF THE NEW PAPYRUS ON SOME CARDINAL POINTS IN TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

It would be difficult to overrate the importance of the new papyrus in its relations to textual criticism; and if, as seems possible, other papyri rolls of some size and of an early date are discovered, the results are certain to be momentous.

In what I shall say for the present, I shall confine myself to the direct evidence furnished by the papyrus in regard to certain points of view to which, as readers of this magazine may be aware, I have been brought by lines of inquiry entirely different and supplying evidence only of an indirect kind.

In the first place, the papyrus furnishes much confirmatory evidence of the position that very many of the difficulties in the texts of Greek authors have been produced *at quite an early date* by the mechanical incorporation of different species of adscripts explanatory of the text. I had been led to take this view by evidence derived from the corpus of 'scholia' on Aristophanes; and since the publication of my edition of the Fourth Book of Thucydides Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in his 'Herakles' has also given expression to a like belief in the value of the same corpus of 'scholia.' Indeed I should not be surprised if Dobree's very near approach to the point of view here referred to was due to his studies in the 'scholia' of Aristophanes, which, however, he did not carry very far. It often happens that there is just enough evidence left in the 'scholia' to prove that sometimes what is now written as part of the text of Aristophanes

was once a note or notes written on the margin or between the lines; and again, the corpus of 'scholia' furnishes us in abundance with the commonest types of such adscripts and makes us familiar with their peculiar characteristics so that we can trace their analogues in texts other than that of Aristophanes. Once more, if we can demonstrate the presence in Aristophanes of adscripts twisted into metrical form, we get strong presumptive proof that this sort of corruption must be very common in prose texts where no metrical rules have to be first satisfied before an adscript takes its place in the body of the work.

There is no lack of Aristophanic examples of this process, but I shall give for the present only one. It happens to be as instructive as any, and seeing that it turned up only a few weeks ago I can treat it in detail though now at a distance from my books and notes. In the *Birds*, ll. 1148 ff. we read:

καὶ νῆ Δί' αἱ νῆτταί γε περιεζωσμένα
ἐπλινθοφόρου· ἄνω δὲ τὸν ἐπαγωγέα
ἐπέτοντ' ἔχουσαι κατόπιν ὥσπερ παιδία
τὸν πηλὸν ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν αἱ χελιδόνες.

All kinds of remedies have been suggested in order to get sense out of these lines, but none has served its purpose. Yet the explanation is easy and can hardly fail to be accepted if once stated. From ὥσπερ παιδία to στόμασιν we have a series of three adscripts, all of them of the most grotesque description. They are as follows:—

1. ἔχουσαι κατὰ πᾶιν : βασιτάζουσαι ὥσπερ παιδία.
2. τὸν ὑπαγωγέα : τὸν πηλόν.
3. ἔχουσαι : ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν.

It would be a long business to write out all the evidence from scholiasts and lexicographers for the existence at a very early date of such a variant as κατὰ πᾶιν for κατόπιν in this passage, and for the gloss τὸν πηλόν [itself, as Dobree pointed out, a mistake for τὸν πῖλον] as an explanation of τὸν ὑπαγωγέα. It is enough for our present purpose to show how easily and instructively we can restore by this means the original reading :

καὶ νῆ Δί' αἱ νῆταί γε περιεζωμένα
ἐπλινθοφόρουν· ἄνω δὲ τὸν ὑπαγωγέα
ἐπέτοντ' ἔχουσαι κατόπιν αἱ χελιδόνες.

Indeed I believe that I already possess material sufficient to prove, as far as the nature of the case admits, that this sort of corruption had already seriously affected the texts of the great Attic writers at a time considerably earlier than the Christian era. But if many early papyri are discovered such academic proof may soon become precise demonstration. As it is, this one new papyrus brings us some definite evidence. In the line of Solon quoted on p. 31 it restores to us one line which before we only knew in a corrupt form due to the ousting of one participle *φυγόντας* by what is really an adscript (*λέγοντας*) to the *ιέντας* which occurs in the following line. This seems to have escaped the editor, though he has noted at least one case in which the papyrus furnishes this kind of evidence viz. p. 2 where τὸν δῆμον can only be explained as an adscript to τὸ πλῆθος. There are, however, other passages in which we have more or less certain adscrip̄ts. I shall take these as they come in order of paging : p. 7. ἔτι καὶ νῦν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἡ σύμμιξις ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ ὁ γάμος, where ὁ γάμος is a gloss on ἡ σύμμιξις : p. 20. καὶ παρέστηκεν ἵππος ἐκμαρτυρῶν ὡς τὴν ἱππάδα τοῦτο σημα.νουσ.ν. This is a very odd sort of note and may even be due to the scribe of this particular papyrus. In any case it was originally intended to explain the gloss ἵππον found at one time as an adscript to ἱππάδ'.

ἵππον : θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἱππάδ' ἀμειψάμενος.

Accordingly we have to restore the second lost letter of the second verb as iota and not

as alpha, viz. σημαίνουσιν—so that the note becomes 'ἵππος stands at the side (of the line) showing that they take ἱππάδα in this sense' : p. 27. the words ἦν δ' ὁ ἀρχαῖος χαρακτήρ δίδραχμον has most likely arisen from an adscript to νόμισμα : p. 53. in the sentence διὰ μὲν οὖν ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπίστευον ὁ δῆμος τῷ Κλεισθένει the plural ἐπίστευον is probably right, and ὁ δῆμος an adscript : p. 57. either τῇ βουλῇ or τοῖς πεντακοσίοις is an adscript : p. 93. ἐκ τῶν χιλίων is an adscript to ἐκ προκρίτων : p. 113. in the sentence τηρεῖ δ' οὗτος τὰς τε κλῆς (*lege* κλεῖς) τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν οἷς τὰ χρήματ' ἐστὶν καὶ γράμματα τῇ πόλει either a perfect participle has been lost after ἐστὶν or else τῇ πόλει is an adscript to τηρεῖ : p. 138. as on p. 57, τοῖς φ. is an adscript to τῇ βουλῇ : p. 148. ἐλαίαν is an adscript to μορίαν in the sentence καὶ εἴ τις ἐξορύξειεν ἐλαίαν μορίαν ἢ κατάξειεν κ.τ.λ. : p. 157. both τοῦ ἐνδεκάτου and τοῦ τριακοστοῦ are adscrip̄ts to τοῦ λ.

Secondly, the papyrus provides a convincing explanation of a very puzzling fact in all texts of ancient authors, while some features of the *editio princeps* itself serve admirably to illustrate the process by which the kind of corruption with which I now mean to deal reached its present gigantic proportions.

How is it that in reading an ancient author we often find hundreds of lines together which present no very great difficulty, and yet come across every now and then a page or two which bristle with every sort of obscurity? This papyrus supplies the answer. A roll of this description (and at one time all ancient books took the form of rolls) is liable to peculiar risks. In the case of a manuscript in book form, it is the first page only that as a rule gets frayed and rubbed. But with a roll it is altogether different. The long under-edge (if we can use the expression) on which the roll rests is the part of a papyrus which is most likely to get frayed and rubbed, and this long under-edge is almost certain to coincide with a line broader or narrower drawn through a column of the writing from top to bottom. In this way it may happen that at a particular point in every line of a whole column the letters are partially or entirely rubbed. The long upper-edge of the roll may be just as ill off in regard to rubbing, supposing more rolls than one to be kept in the same case, so that another vertical row of letters may again be more or less rubbed away. Nor does the rubbing necessarily affect only the outer fold of the roll; it may affect more than one fold. Further, there is no means of telling at what

point in any treatise this sort of corruption is to be looked for, for the new papyrus shows that a roll may begin and end quite irrespective of any natural division in the subject-matter.

In this way we can explain quite adequately the seeming perversity with which corruption appears to show itself in our texts, as affecting more particularly certain parts of a book as against others. But, as I have said, the new *editio princeps* actually illustrates with singular lucidity another important moment in this process of corruption which arises in the last resort from a characteristic of the roll form of a book. We are provided not with one or two examples, but with many examples of the way in which a well-known class of difficulties has been produced. Indeed it would be very difficult to imagine any more effectual means of demonstrating even to unskilled persons the risk of corruption attending any uncautious effort to replace lost letters, words, and phrases. To such uncautious attempts I have given in my edition of the fourth book of Thucydides the name of stop-gaps, but I never could have believed that the extent to which such corruption may have gone would ever be so well illustrated as is the case in the new *editio princeps*. Let me give a list of some of the aberrations from probability or from Greek usage thus imported into Aristotle's text: p. 6, ἄρχειν for ἄρξεν; *id.* καὶ ἐγένετο δὴ; p. 16, ὡς δ'οἱ [κεκτη]μένοι βλασφημεῖν; p. 25, [ἀποστά]ντας τὸ αὐτόματον; *id.* μ[ὴ] αἴρ]ηται (*sic*) for μ[ὴ] ἔλ]ηται; p. 27, [ἐ]χ]η [ὁ δῆμος κ]ύριος for [ἐ]χ]η [τὸν δῆμον κ]ύριον; *id.* ποιήσα[σθαι τὴν χρ]εῶ[ν ἀπο]κοπήν for ποιήσα[ι τὴν τῶν χρ]εῶ[ν ἀπο]κοπήν; *id.* [μὲν ἔχο]υσα for [μὲν ἄγο]υσα; p. 42, [φωνῇ δ' ἐξεκλησί]ασεν μικρόν; p. 44, πα[ττάλ]ω for πα[λαιόν]; *id.* τὸν π[άτταλον] for τὸν πα[λαιόν]; *id.* [ἐρ]εσθαι (*sic*); *id.* p. 45, διδ[ως] (*sic*) καὶ ποτ]; εἰάν [τιν]ες τυραννεῖν ἐπ'ανίστω[ν]ται [ῆ] ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τί[ς] κ.τ.λ. in a passage probably corrupted already by the incorporation of adscripts; p. 105 [ἐξ]έχονσα πολιτείας τάξιν for [παρ]έχονσα πολιτείαν τάξις; p. 122, [οἷτινες α]ἰὲτῇ δοκῶσιν for [οἷτινες ἀν α]ἰὲτῇ δοκῶσιν; p. 143, ὁ δῆμ[ος ἐχ]ειροτόνει for ὁ δῆμ[ος χ]ειροτονεῖ; p. 145 [αἰτίαν προσ]λαβῇ (*sic*) κτεῖναι for [. ἀπο]κτεῖναι.

Together with these we may take some of the more eccentric words which the editor suggests as possible in cases where some of

the characters are still visible, or where some other uncertainty of reading appears: p. 14, ἐπῆλανεν; p. 27, τρεῖς καὶ; p. 103, καρδία for καὶ ἰδία; p. 109, συμμυγίειν; p. 125, ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ τείχους for ἐντὸς τῆς περιόδου τοῦ τείχους.

But that the writers of the papyrus text itself found like difficulties inherent in their task is only too palpable, and may be demonstrated by a study of what the editor tells us in regard to the example last given, and by other indications. Moreover, it is also plain that many words required by the context do not appear in the papyrus at all. Sometimes the editor has noticed these, and where he has noticed them has, as a rule, supplied them with judgment, though in one case (p. 101) he makes a sentence quite untranslatable: εἴ τις τινα αὐτοχειρὶ <ἀπέκτο- νει> ἐκτίσει ἱερώσας. The following lacunae he has not remarked: p. 20, ἐπειδὴν ἔρηται <τις>; p. 25, ἡμῶς μεθ' ἐτέρων < >, where the word to be supplied is perhaps συστή; p. 43, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντας ἐπὶ < > τῶν ἰδίων < >, where we should perhaps read ἐπὶ οἴκον τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; p. 45, ἐπεφύκει καλῶς < >; p. 65, πορίσασα < >, where we should perhaps read πορισαμένη ἀργύριον; p. 67, παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄρχειν for παρ' αὐτοῖς <ἔχεν> καὶ ἄρχειν; p. 68, a participle is lost after ἀγοῦσαι; p. 116, read καὶ τοῦ <τὴν ἐκκλησίαν> ἀφίεναι; p. 122, for ἡ μὴ θελουσι μένειν read ἡ μὴ 'θέλουσι <δυνα> μέν<οις>; p. 127, read τοὺς ἑνδεκά κληρωτοὺς <τοὺς> ἐπιμελησομένους.

Lastly, the papyrus is a notable discovery for the history of textual criticism because it supports at every point the main contention of one school of critics—that certain definable kinds of constructions were foreign to the Greek idiom of the great period, and have been introduced into our texts through carelessness or ignorance in the transcribers of them. If in a fairly early copy even of an Aristotelian (I use the word advisedly) treatise, we have—except in doubtful readings and the editor's *additamenta*—no violation of certain great main rules of Greek grammar, then we may safely give our adherence to some well-known principles of criticism enunciated by the older English school and the more recent Dutch school of Greek scholarship.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

OVIDIANA.

I. *Notes on the Heroides*. 1. NOTES ON THE CODEX PARISINUS (No. 8242: olim Puteaneus).—Happening to be in Paris in August 1889 I preferred the National Library to the attractions of the Eiffel Tower, and carefully inspected this famous MS. *En passant* I would recommend scholars who find time heavy on their hands in Paris, and value a fine cheerful room to work in, perfect civility from officials, and an excellent luncheon including wine at the cost of two francs, to frequent the National Library if they have not already learned to do so. The MS. P had been much used and partially collated by N. Heinsius, and by Jahn, first carefully collated by H. Keil for Merkel, by two friends for Sedlmayer, lastly by Ehwald, who seems to have used a more accurate collation of Keil's than Merkel did, or else to have used the same one which Merkel did but more accurately. At any rate I must warn students of the *Heroides* that Sedlmayer's and Ehwald's collations of P are the only collations to be trusted. For instance the well known lines VII. 45, 46—*Non ego sum tanti—quid non censeris inique?*

Ut pereas, dum me per freta longa fugis— are so given, and rightly given by P. There is not a shadow of a doubt about P having *censeris*: the only letter that is at all obscure is the *n*. Yet Heinsius tells us P has *terreri*: Merkel that P has *mereri* with the first syllable uncertain. Hence a host of conjectures have been built upon the sand, such as *quanti tu reris* of Heinsius, *quid nos metiris* of Madvig, *quid enim verearis* of Riese. There is not in my opinion a sounder reading in the *Heroides* than *quid non censeris*, which I am glad that I read in my edition of 1874 although then in ignorance that it had the support of P, as well as that of inferior MSS. Sedlmayer and Ehwald have recorded P rightly.

Again in III. 48:

Vidi consortes pariter generisque necisque
Tres cecidisse: tribus, quae mihi, mater erat.

So P: and so vulgo. Merkel states that P has *quae mea*, leading me astray. Sedlmayer and Ehwald are right.

In II. 62:

Quaecumque e merito spes venit aequa venit.

Here however Merkel is right. He says quite truly that P has *de merito*. Sedlmayer says that P has *est* ma. pr.: *ex* ma. 2. The latter statement is true: the former erroneous. P ma. pr. has *de*. Ehwald has no note.

III. 136:

Sic eat auspiciis Pyrrhus ad arma tuis. Merkel states that P has *tuis patris* for *tuis*. Sedlmayer that P has *tuis* with *patris* written over, and the second *u* in *tuis* corrected from another letter. I find *patris* certainly in the margin, but decidedly ma. rec.: and for *tuis* there is a corruption which I could not decipher, but it looked to me like *tu par* or *tu per*. Hence perhaps *puer* is the true reading. Ehwald has no note.

The usual number of lines in a page in P is 28, not 29 as stated by Merkel. Not only pp. 97 and 98 are blank, but also 55 and 56.

When Merkel (pref. p. ix.) states that there exists in P evidence of a gap at XVI. 38, where in later MSS. the spurious verses 39-142 are inserted, the student is likely to be led astray. There is no break whatever. Some reader, of uncertain date, has, as was natural, made a small mark in red ink where the spurious verses began in other MSS. *i.e.* after line 38: that is all.

I subjoin a few passages where P is either not reported, or reported incorrectly by Sedlmayer and Ehwald.

In IV. 138 P has *cognata* for *cognato*: not noticed by Sedlmayer or Ehwald. IV. 141 *reserenda manti* for *reseranda mariti* (not *reserenda amanti* as Sedlmayer has it: but *a* is written over *manti* ma. sec.). V. 3

^s*Pegagis* for *Pegasis*. V. 86 ^s*qua* for *quas*. VI. 84 *face* pr. ma. for *fulce*. VI. 83 *meritis* for *meritisque*, *ue* superscribed ma. rec. (not *meritisue* in one word, as Sedlm.). VI. 89 ^s*passi* for *passis*. VI. 98 *fero sanguis* ma. pr. for *feros angues*.

VI. 118:

Me quoque dotalis inter habere potes.

The only letters of *dotalis* at all legible are *l* and *s*. There is not the smallest trace of *q* in the first letter as Merkel and Ehwald state. Sedlmayer states the whole word is illegible.

VII. 153, 4 :

Ilion in Tyriam transfer felicius urbem
Resque loco regis sacraque sceptrā tene.

So I now, after inspection of P, write the pentameter. In P there is some trace of the first letter which might have been R but could not have been either H or S or M : then an erasure in which however *loco* can be read.

VII. 179 :

Pro meritis et si qua tibi debebimus ultra
Pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto.

Ehwald correctly states that P has *ultra*, which is probably the right reading. Sedlmayer attributes *ultra* to inferior MSS. only.

VIII. 32 :

At pater Aeacio promiserat, insciis acti :

Plus quoque, qui prior est ordine, possit
avus.

P omits *qui*, but supplies it ma. sec. above the line. The verse ran either :

Plus quo, quo prior est ordine, possit avus.

or

Plus quo, qui prior est ordine, possit avus.
Plus quoque is not correct here.

VIII. 65, is thus given in P :

N ^{hoc} /// generis fato quod ^t nostros eral-
nannos.

The *t* is ma. 2, and the letter before *n* is too high for *i*, cannot be a *t*, is more like *l* than anything else but wants its curl.

IX. 40 *Omniaque* for *Omina que* P.

IX. 95 For *redundabat* P ma. 1 has a corruption which looked to me like *redulabat*, which Ehwald gives as *nudulabat*, Heinsius as *elulabat*, and which Sedlmayer does not notice.

IX. 109 *procedit* P : ^h ma. 1.

IX. 141 which generally appears thus—
Semivir occubuit in letifero Eveno—

P is not correctly reported by either Sedlmayer or Ehwald. P has : *Semivir occubuit in l* /// (here the space of two, or at most

three, letters in ras.). ^q *fero* : *ueneno*, over the erasure *erni* ma. 2. Bentley's *lotifero* is probably right.

X. 106 :

Strataque Cretaeam belua stravit humum.
stravit P, not in rasura nor ma. 2 as Sedlmayer and Ehwald state. The letters *ui* may be a little 'incurtae,' but *str* is clearly ma. pr. Of all the corrections proposed Bentley's *planxit* is the best. Cf. XVI. 334.

X. 126 :

Cum steteris urbis celsus in arce tuae.

P has *urbes* ma. pr. changed to *urbis* ma. 2, and *t* prefixed to it by a later hand, a half correction to *turbae*. For *arce* P has *aure* ma. pr.

XII. 3 :

Tunc quae dispensant mortalia fata sorores.

P has *facta*. XII. 17 thus appears in P : *Semina iecisset* (this word erased and *sensisset* in marg.) *totidemque* & *seminat* & (this erased) *hostes*. XIII. 133 : *Si* (rather than *Sed*) *quid ego reuoco* ? (the last four letters of this word 'incurtae') : then an erasure and over it written *reuocantis et* ma. sec., then *omen abesto*. This line very much wants emendation. Bentley's *revocaminis* is only provisional. XIV. 46. For *reccidit* P pr. seemed to have /// *etendit*, not /// *ccendit* as Sedlmayer reports.

XVI. 200 :

Cum dis potando nectare miscet aquas.

P pr. had *disputando*.

XVI. 316 :

Utere mandantis simplicitate viri.

P has *mandātis*. But I do not think *mandātis* here stands for *mandantis*. The mark over the *a* is in P often an indication of a marginal reading. And here ma. pr. in the margin is *l. non uafri*, which is probably the right reading.

XVI. 366 :

Instruere Atriden non potes arte mea.

non P, but *num* ma. 1 in marg. the right reading, as Merkel gave.

XVII. 234, *idiia* P sub. ras., *ipsea* ma. 2.

XVII. 259 :

Aut ego deposito sapiam fortasse pudore.

For *sapiam* I read *facitum* in P, *faciam* P ap. Sedlmayer, *sautiam* in *faciam* ma. 2 mutatum ap. Ehwald. P has *pudorem*. Perhaps :

Aut ego deponam fatuum fortasse pudorem.

XIX. 53 : Ehwald is here right against Sedlmayer. P has *incertas* ma. 2 not *incertis*.

2. SOME CONJECTURES IN OVID.

Her. II. 100 :

Expectem qui me nunquam visurus abisti !

Expectem pelago vela negata meo !

The pentameter is absurd, and P has *uela negatata meo* : but the third *a* seems corrected from *e* ; hence *negante* is an obvious correction : cf. XIII. 128 ; VII. 55. For the

last words I formerly gave *data* but *negante tamen* may be the true reading; *tamen* often ends a pentameter in Ovid. 'Expect your sails although the sea refuses them to my sight!'

III. 30-32.

Auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces,

Viginti fulvos operoso ex aere lebetas,

Et tripodas septem pondere et arte pares.

Blandas—*preces* has been changed to *blandae*—*preces* with a single inferior MS., to gain a construction, for *dona* must be in the same case as *lebetas* in 31. Yet *dona* ought surely be the nominative. Madvig seeing this went so far as to read *fulvi*—*lebetes* (keeping *blandas*—*preces*), regardless of the hiatus. I suggest:

Auxerunt blandas grandia dona preces,

Viginti *fulvi pretiosi* ex aere lebetes.

or *fulvo pretiosi*. Cf. Met. I. 115: *fulvo pretiosior aere. tripodes*, of course, for *tripodas*.

VI. 3—5.

Gratulor incolumi quantum sinis: hoc tamen ipso

Debueram scripto certior esse tuo.

So (or *ipsum*) the MSS. without a legitimate construction, as far as I can see. I write:

hoc tamen ipsum

Debuerat scripto *certius* esse tuo.

The terminations of the comparative are confused in MSS.

VII. 77:

Quid puer Ascanius, quid di meruere Penates?

Ignibus ereptos auferet unda deos?

P omits *di*, and gives *ii* for it, but only ma. 2.: *di* the inferior MSS. But *deos* recurs at the end of the pentameter, and, if Lemaire's Index is to be trusted, *di* is not joined with *Penates* by Ovid. I write:

Quid puer Ascanius, quid *commeruere* Penates?

Cf. *Fast.* I. 362:

Quid bos, quid placidae *commeruistis* oves?

IX. 66:

Nec te Maeonia lascivae more puellae

Incingi zona dedecuisse pudet?

pudet has been commonly changed to *putas* or *putes* with Heinsius. I should prefer *patet*: cf. XVII. 32.

IX. 105:

I nunc tolle animos et fortia facta recense:

Quod tu non esses iure vir illa fuit.

quod G, quem P¹, quod P², quom Madvig.

Read: Quod tu non esses iure vir illa fuit.

'She was a man, with a title (quo iure) you could not claim' (because she conquered you). Heinsius had given *quo*, conjunction, with *foret* for *fuit*, a totally different conjecture.

XII. 80:

Per triplicis vultus arcanaque sacra Dianae

Et si forte aliquos gens habet ista deos.

I write *aequos* for *aliquos*: cf. *Fast.* VI. 766.

XIV. 103:

Quae tibi causa fugae? quid, Io, freta longa

pererras?

Non poteris vultus effugere ipsa tuos.

I do not believe that Ovid shortened the

first syllable of *Io*. P has *o* (*sic*). I am inclined to believe the line ran:

Quae tibi causa fugae? frustra freta longa pererras—

that *frustra* fell out before *freta*, and that the gap was supplied by *quid Io*.

XVI. 37:

Ante tuos animo vidi quam lumine vultus:

Prima fuit vultus nuntia fama tui.

So P. But V, a fragmentary MS. of no mean character, gives *prima mihi vultus*. I think that Ovid wrote:

Prima mihi *vultus* nuntia fama tulit.

And this theory is borne out by the fact that the spurious verses which follow are:

Nec tamen est mirum si sicut *†oporteat arcu Missilibus telis eminus ictus* amo.

The interpolator chose a suitable place to insert these lines if Paris had just spoken of a wound inflicted on him by a report of Helen's beauty. Add the awkwardness of the repetition of *vultus*. Cf. XXI. 211, 2.

XVI. 111:

Addimus antennas et vela sequentia malos.

So the MSS.: *malis* Ehwald. Read: *malo*. Paris's ship had only one mast: cf. V. 53.

XVI. 320:

Tunc ego iurabo quaevis tibi numina meque

Adstringam verbis in sacra iura tuis.

So P: for *iura* I restore *uestra* 'the rites of your nation or family': *iura* and *uestra* are very like when *uestra* is written contractly.

XVII. 73:

Plus multo est quod amas quod sum tibi causa laboris.

la in *laboris* in P is ma. 2 and V and other MSS. have *doloris*. Read: *caloris*.

XVII. 114:

Sed sine, quam tribuit sortem fortuna, tueri:

Nec spoliū nostrī turpe pudoris *habe*.

habe is awkward. The true reading is doubtless *ave*: written *haue*, hence *habe*: 'don't covet the spoil of my shame.'

XVIII. 121:

Hoc quoque si *credis*, ad te via prona videtur,

A te cum redeo clivus inertis aquae.

credis P, *credas* G; read *credes*.

XVIII. 203:

Desino; parce queri. sed *ut et* mare finiat iram,

Accedant, quaeso, fac tua vota meis.

ut et, as it seems, P: *ut hanc* V, *ut hoc* (?) G. Read: *uti*: the loss of *i* caused the variants.

XIX. 62:

Nunc dare quae soleo madidis velamina membris,

Pectora nunc iuncto nostra fovere sinu.

So P.: Merkel reads *nostro iuncta* and he is followed by Ehwald. But an epithet seems to lurk in *nostra* of P: the 'frozen bosom' of her Leander is what Hero thinks of warming: perhaps

Pectora nunc iuncto *tosta* fovere sinu—scil. *frigore tosta*.

XX. 48.

Si non proficient artes veniemus ad arma

Inque tui cupidos rapta ferere sinu.

So Sedlmayer. P₁ has *tui cupidus*—sinu, P₂ has *meo cupido*—sinu. I write

Vique tui cupido rapta ferere sinu.

In is not wanted, cf. Art. I. 128, and *vi* adds strength.

XX. 76.

Ante tuos liceat flentem consistere vultus,

Et liceat lacrimis addere verba suis.

For *meis* P has *sui*, G *suis*, some inferior MSS. *tuis*. Read *sua*. Cf. XIV. 67:

'Haec ego: dumque queror lacrimae *sua* verba sequuntur.'

Rem. Am. 207-210:

Lenius est studium, studium tamen, *alite* capta,

Aut lino aut calamis praemia parva sequi:

Vel quae piscis edax avido male devoret ore

Abdere *supremis* aera recurva cibis.

Ovid has been advising the lover to hunt—to hunt the hare, the deer, the boar—in verses 200-204. He here advises the quest of even small game: in the first couplet he prescribes fowling: in the latter angling. For *calamo* I take to mean the fowler's limed rod, *lino* snares of thread: fishing does not begin until verse 209. Now *alite capta* is very awkward, in fact untranslatable in the context: I wish to read *amite capta*. I am aware that it is generally supposed that the *a* of *ames* is short: and Hor. *Epod.* II. 33 'aut amite levi rara tendit retia' is supposed to prove that quantity. But Maguire (*Hermathena*, vol. V. p. 333) proposes to scan there *āmite lēvi*. The division of the tribrach would be allowable in Plautus and Terence: and it is not inconceivable in Horace. *Amentum*, supposed to be for *apmentum*, has its first syllable long. How comes it that *ames*, supposed to be for *apmes*, has its first syllable short? Read *āmite* here and all is smooth: you have three recognised methods of fowling: *ames*, the pole for spreading nets: *lino* the snare: *calamus* the limed rod.

For *supremis* in 210, it seems to me that the simplest correction is *suspensis*: bait hung on the hook, and dangled before the fish.

ARTHUR PALMER.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF *OSTERIA* AND SIMILAR WORDS.

I HAVE happened so frequently during the last few months upon what seems to me a false etymology for a rather large class of words, and have found this false etymology in such excellent authorities, that a statement of the real derivation of these words may not be out of place. The list of words in question includes *oste* It. (landlord), *hoste* old Fr., *hospede* Port., *gast* Ger., etc.

Now Cicero *de Off.* I. 12, 37 says: *hostis apud maiores nostros is dicebatur, quem nunc*

peregrinum dicimus. This statement of Cicero in regard to the early meaning of *hostis* is confirmed by the use of the word in Plaut. *Trin.* 102 *Hostisne an civis comedis, parvi pendere*, and in Varro *L.L.* v. 3 *hostis, nam tum eo verbo dicebant peregrinum*. Expressions in Plautus *Mil.* 450, *Curc.* 5 and in Horace *Epist.* I. 15, 29, suggest the same meaning for *hostis*, viz. *stranger*.

The similarity in the meaning and external form has given rise to the almost un-

questioned belief that the class of words mentioned above is derived from *hostis*, and preserves the original meaning of that word. This belief is for example definitely stated by Brix, Plaut. *Trin.* 102, who, after bringing together proofs of this early meaning of *hostis*, adds: 'Die älteste Bedeutung tritt in den abgeleiteten Wörtern der Tochtersprachen (*osteria* u.a.) noch hervor.' In support of his position Brix cites Corssen *Kritische Beiträge* S. 217 ff. This idea that the archaic and therefore colloquial meaning of *hostis* comes to the surface again in the Romance languages in such words as the Italian *oste* and *osteria*, and that this fact is a proof that the elements of the Romance languages are to be found in colloquial rather than in literary Latin, is also suggested by Wagner in his edition of the *Trinummus*: *hostis* is etymologically the same as the German *Gast* (English *guest*). Practically the same statement is to be found also in other English editions of the *Trinummus*, e.g. in that of Freeman and Sloman. The same position is taken by Rebling (*Versuch einer Charakteristik römischen Umgangssprache*, Kiel 1883) on p. 17: 'Winkelmann, macht darauf aufmerksam, dass die ursprüngliche älteste Bedeutung des lat. *hostis* in den daraus entstandenen Wörtern in den Tochtersprachen (*osteria* etc.) allein hervortritt,' and finally in a review of Rebling's book in Wölfflin's *Archiv.* I. 133, the reviewer remarks upon this very word, as though it were the most striking instance of the point under consideration: 'Wie unerwartet aber oft ältestes Latein und Romanisch zusammenfallen, zeigt das bekannte Beispiel *hostis*, der Fremde (im Sinne von *hospes*) und ital. *osteria*, Wirtshaus.'

Notwithstanding the weight of these authorities the writer believes that the above etymology is fanciful and incorrect, and that if the theory of which it is given as an illustration had no better evidence to support it, it would fall to the ground. Italian has two words *oste* of the same form but distinct in their meaning and immediate origin. The one *oste* means *army* and is the lineal descendant of the classical *hostis* (*enemy*). The other *oste* means *host* and is borrowed from the old French *oste* (compare G. Gröber, *Vulgärlateinische Substrata romanischer Wörter* in *Archiv. f. lat. Lex.* III. p. 141), which in turn is derived from *hospes*.

The two stems *hospit-* (with the meaning *guest* or *host*) and *hosti-* (with the meaning *enemy* and with this meaning only) appear

side by side in most of the Romance languages: e.g. the former in *huesped* Span., *hospede* Port., *ôspetu* Roum., *ospite* Sard., etc.; the latter in *hueste* Span., *hoste* Port., *ôte* Roum. etc.

The changes which *hospes* underwent are perhaps not difficult to follow.

The oblique cases of *hospes*, e.g. *hospitem*, have an unaccented penultimate vowel. That there was a tendency to syncopate such a vowel is evident from Quint. I. 6 Sed Augustus quoque in epistolis ad C. Caesarem scriptis emendat, quod is 'calidum' dicere quam 'caldum' malit, non quia id non sit Latinum, sed quia sit otiosum. Forms with the short penultimate vowel syncopated are frequently met with in Latin literature especially where the language is of the more colloquial sort, e.g. *saeclum* Plaut. *Ml.* 1079 etc., *tableis* Corp. Inscr. I. 200. 46, *Caldus* Cato *R.R.* 6. 1. etc., *orachum* Varr. *Sat. Men.* 459 etc.

This tendency became a law in French which has been stated as follows: when the penultimate of a Latin word is without accent, the Latin vowel disappears in French (compare *oraculum* with *oracle*, *tabula* with *table*, *positus* with *poste*). In accordance with this law *hospitem* becomes *hosp'tem*, imagining the latter form for convenience sake as a possible stopping-point in the degradation of the word. *Hosp'tem* loses *p* in accordance with the principal enunciated by Körting (*Encyklopaedie der romanischen Philologie*), I. p. 96: 'Schwierige Combinationen entstanden durch den Ausfalltonloser, einzelne Consonanten trennender Vocale (z.B. *anma* aus *an[i]ma*, *camra* aus *cam[e]ra* etc.). Die romanische Lautentwicklung hat nun dahin gestrebt, sich dieser schwierigen Combinationen thunlichst zu entledigen etc. Die zur Tilgung schwerer Consonantencombinationen angewendeten Mittel sind namentlich: ' [Then follow various illustrations and finally] d) Wegfall des einen der beiden (bzw. der drei) Consonanten, z. B. des *n* in *nm*: des *g* in *gn*: des *p* in *pt* etc.

Compare the loss of *p* in *acheter* (Lat. *adaptare*). *Hosp'tem* in accordance with this principle drops into *hostem*, and by the regular weakening of the ending into *hoste*, which in turn is borrowed by Italian in the form *oste*, out of which by the addition of the ending *eria* comes *osteria*.

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DR. DÖRPFELD'S THEORY OF THE GREEK STAGE.

BEFORE we accept Dr. Dörpfeld's theory (see *Classical Review* for June 1890) that the actors in a Greek theatre performed in the orchestra and not on the stage, some explanation ought to be forthcoming of certain passages in the *Poetics* of Aristotle, in which the contrary seems to be implied. Aristotle several times uses ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς in a way very hard to reconcile with the new theory :

1. 13. 6. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων τραγικώταται αἱ τοιαῦται (τραγωδίαί or συστάσεις) φαίνονται.

2. 16. 1. ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφιάραος ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἀνῆει, ὃ μὴ ὄρωντα <ἀν> τὸν θεατὴν ἐλάνθανεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξέπεσε δυσχερανάντων τοῦτο τῶν θεατῶν.

3. 24. 4. ἔχει δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐπεκτείνεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος πολὺ τι ἢ ἔμπουῖα ἴδιον διὰ τὸ ἐν μὲν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ μὴ ἐνδέχεσθαι ἅμα πραττόμενα πολλὰ μέρη μιμνῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν μέρος μόνον.

4. 24. 8. τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑκτορος δῶξιν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ὄντα γελοῖα ἂν φανείη.

To these passages may fairly be added the words of Demosthenes *de Corona* §180 τούτων τινα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα κ.τ.λ.

There remain two passages to be added from ch. 12 of the *Poetics* which, even if un-Aristotelian, are still of value.

5. 12. 1. ἴδια δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ κόμμοι, where the meaning of τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς (lyrical utterances of actors) is not doubtful, though the definition is missing.

6. 12. 2. κόμμος δὲ θρήνος κοινὸς χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς, where the words are perhaps not quite right but the meaning is plain.

These passages (to which others of a similar kind could be added from later writers) appear to be decisive, unless any one will maintain that σκηνή came to be applied to the orchestra or some part of it. But is there any evidence for that? And further, does not the word ἐπὶ imply something raised above the level?

H. RICHARDS.

VERRALL'S *ION* OF EURIPIDES.

The Ion of Euripides with a Translation into English Verse and an Introduction and Notes, by A. W. VERRALL, Litt.D., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press, 1890.) 7s. 6d.

DR. VERRALL states in his Preface that 'the chief interest of this volume will be found in the Introduction and Translation': but he subjoins a list of 'places in which any noticeable interpretations have been proposed' and of his own emendations and suggestions in the text. And it is with these, as lying outside the sphere of 'taste,' that a review can most serviceably deal. The first departure from ordinary interpretation is on vv. 103—5, where στέφειν θ' ἱεροῖς is taken together with πτόρθοισι δάφνης 'as describing the brush, which is made of branches of bay and flocks of wool, tied together with a sacred tie of wool resembling the fillets (στέφη, στέμματα) used in ritual.' The usually recognized reference 'to the putting of wreaths on the temple,' it is said, 'does not seem probable' because 'in the

following scene, the tasks here mentioned are exactly followed and in the same order, the sweeping (vv. 112—141), the sprinkling (vv. 142—152) and the scaring of the birds (vv. 153—183)'; and the correspondence of the two passages would therefore be disturbed by mention of wreaths in the earlier one. This is a characteristic instance of the wonderful minuteness and ingenuity in all Dr. Verrall's work. The suggested interpretation can hardly be called convincing without an instance of the use of στέφη in the sense here required: and as to the want of symmetry, one may incline to say with the Homeric critic who noted a striking Euripidean discrepancy in vv. 26 and 812 of the *Phoenissae*, τὰ τοιαῦτα κυρίως οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφορὰν ἐστὶ ποιητικῆς ἀρεσκείας. But the natural opposition roused by the novelty of the rendering is useful in its way. A similar ingenuity is present in the rendering (after Heath, apparently) of ἀφίκον εἰς μέριμναν (v. 404) as 'you met my anxiety,' on the analogy of ἐλθεῖν εἰς χρεῖαν or εἰς καιρόν. Leaving aside the question of analogy, this translation would seem to require the perfect rather than the aorist.

But, again, it makes the the reader question his own traditional notions. To pass over some less striking suggestions, including that on vv. 602—6 (where 'a play' is recognized 'not only on the senses of ψῆφος, but also on πόλεις ἔχειν, *hold the forts and fill administrations*'—the point of this passage' turning 'on a comparison between politics as a game between the "ins" and "outs" and the game of draughts'), the new senses given to αἰλίοις (v. 499) as a 'diminutive of αἰλός' and σκῆψιν (v. 721) as 'descent from σκήπτειν descend, applied to such things as a missile' recall the editor's dealings with τὸ πᾶν (τοπᾶν) in Pindar. Perhaps a still closer resemblance to that procedure is found in the change of καλῶς into κάλως in v. 1410 ['stop twisting the rope and *I* will take it']: 'the image' being 'taken from two persons employed at rope-making, one *twisting* and the other *taking* off the walk the successive lengths as they are finished.' Of adherence to the MSS. under generally admitted difficulties vv. 755 and 828 are good instances: the defence in each case is supported by quotation or analogy, with a cleverness that might, one feels, uphold the corruptest text. Conservative, again, is the refusal to acknowledge γενέτας (v. 916) as meaning 'son' and τροφεία (v. 1493) in the sense of 'nourishment.' Dr. Verrall indeed limits his refusal in the first passage: but in the second says, 'There is no proof that τροφεία could mean τροφαί *feeding*.' How does this conservatism (of a radical) explain *Oed. Col.*, 341? There are three interpretations, finally, in which the editor's peculiar conception of the plot causes him to differ from received modes: in vv. 1242—3, 1355 and 1562. The first—

οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὅτε μὴ χρήζων
θεὸς ἐκκλέπτει—

is spoken by the Chorus in imminent fear of death and despair of escape. Dr. Verrall's translation is

'Nay, escape is only given
To secrets by the will of Heaven.'

The second is spoken by the Pythia to Ion as she gives him the cradle and σπάργανα:

λαβὼν νυν αὐτὰ τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἐκπόνει.

Dr. Verrall regards this as possibly meaning 'take them by compulsion from τὴν τεκοῦσαν,' as well as *take them and* 'win thy mother by labour.' His metrical version tries 'to preserve the ambiguity' and runs:—

'Take it...from her who bore thee...wrest
herewith
Her secret.'

The last is in Athena's speech: Apollo is said to have given Ion

οἷς ἔδωκεν οὐ φύσασί σε
ἀλλ' ὡς νομίξῃ 'ς οἶκον εὐγενέστατον.

νομίξῃ 'ς is a correction of the MS. νομίξεις or νομίξῃς. Dr. Verrall's note runs: 'νομιζομενοι υἱεῖς was the common Attic phrase for *son by law* :.....on the model of this the poet coins a peculiar phrase to describe (not without irony) the highly peculiar proceeding of Apollo who "recognised his son" or "admitted him by recognition" not into his own house but another's.'

These three interpretations obviously belong to one who is θέσιν διαφυλάττων: a main point in which is that Ion shall be hinted at throughout the play as the son of Xuthus and the Pythia. The thesis is worked out in the Introduction in a way that suggests purposed order in the editor's description of himself on the title-page: 'Barrister-at-law, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge.' It is an extraordinary *jeu d'esprit*, taking the form of an epilogue to the play, Gilbertian in its topsyturvydom—its author even gives us a Gilbertian refrain in his introductory paraphrase of Athena's speech (Introd. p. xviii.)—and its ἦθος. As a literary performance it may rank, for sheer ability, with the Translation, and might well be commended to the next Greek-Play-Acting Committee for representation: for it would certainly give the audience a very fair notion of how things Greek appear to a most accomplished and subtle expositor. Yet—ἄλλως μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα χαρίεντα, λίαν δὲ δεινοῦ.

ALFRED GOODWIN.

SHUCKBURGH'S FIFTH BOOK OF HERODOTUS.

Herodotus V. Terpsichore, by E. S. SHUCKBURGH M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1890. 3s.

IN this edition of the fifth book of Herodotus Mr. Shuckburgh has given us another of his very useful volumes. The book supplies the reader with a great deal of the information required to enable him to understand both the text and the history. We have a historical introduction, notes on the text, a text with analysis, explanatory notes, a historical and geographical index or dictionary, and an index to the notes. There is also a map but, like most of the maps issued in English books, it is a very indifferent affair.

In the notes there are some oversights which will need consideration in a second edition.

Chap. 2.—*νῦν ἡμέτερον τὸ ἔργον* is printed both in text and ‘lemma,’ but the note is on *ἔργον* without *τό*, which is quite a distinct reading.

Chap. 8.—In a difficult passage *κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης* are taken together and translated ‘in the way of single combat.’ In illustration two instances of *ἐν λόγῳ* are quoted, which is quite a different thing. *Κατὰ λόγον* means ‘in proportion:’ cf. i. 134 *κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς*. The meaning of the passage seems to be; ‘prizes are given in proportion (to the nature of the contest) and the largest for single combat.’

Chap. 11.—*ἐτράποντο κατὰ* is translated ‘turned their attention to:’ and so in chap. 15. It is rather ‘went away to.’

Chap. 25.—We are told that Western Asia was divided into two satrapies, with a reference to iii. 90. It is there divided into three, and the difficulty is to understand the relation of the original three to the later two satrapies.

Chap. 28.—The words *οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον* need cause no trouble, even if we take Grote’s date for the Scythian expedition. For Herodotus uses the words (with the addition of *τινά*) of the reign of Cleomenes, which lasted about thirty years (chap. 48).

Chap. 35.—*Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος* (see chap. 97) does not mean, ‘because he had been rendered an object of suspicion to Megabates,’ but because ‘he was at variance with M.’ There had been an open quarrel.

Chap. 38.—*ἔδεε—συμμαχίης—ἐξευρεθῆναι*, ‘it was necessary for him to find up (?) some

strong body of allies.’ The expression of Herodotus implies a confusion of the construction of *δεῖ* with the accusative, in which the infinitive cannot be omitted, with the construction with the genitive, in which it is not required. This should have been noticed.

Chap. 41.—There should have been a note on the curious phrase *τὸ δεύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα*, in which *τὸ δεύτερον* is used as = *ἐσῴστερον*.

Chap. 59.—*οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξέγενετο*, ‘nor had he the opportunity.’ Rather: ‘nor did he succeed,’ as in the well-known passage, iii. 142, *τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξέγενετο*.

Chap. 56.—‘The Great Panathenaea, because on the day of that feast alone was it possible for a citizen to enter Athens with arms without rousing suspicion.’ For this Thucydides vi. 56 is quoted; but Thucydides merely says that it was the only day on which those who conducted the procession could assemble in arms.

Chap. 58.—‘The earliest settlements of the Phoenicians were on the island of Thera.’ What is meant by this?

ibid. ‘In speaking of the Ionians as being nearest to them Herodotus seems to refer to the early settlements of Phoenikians in Kypros and Rhodes.’ But Herodotus is speaking of the Phoenicians in Boeotia.

Chap. 62.—‘75 talents’ should be 300 talents (see ii. 180).

Chap. 89.—*ἀπὸ ἀδικίου*, ‘from doing trespass on the Aeginetans.’ But the text is *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδικίου*, and this seems decisive for translating ‘after the outrage of the Aeginetans.’ Nor is it easy to see how the act of the Athenians, who wished to punish an unprovoked attack, can be called *ἀδικίον*.

Chap. 95. and chap. 113.—In both of these chapters serious chronological difficulties occur, about which something might be said. How could Periander settle a quarrel which must have been going on long after 560 B.C. ? or is it credible that Aristocyprus in 498 was the son of the Philocyprus who entertained Solon *circa* 580 B.C. ?

Chap. 102.—*ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι* ‘and among them:’ surely it means: ‘in it,’ *i.e.* in Sardis.

In chapter 46 the date of the battle of Alalia is put at 557 B.C. But it must have occurred five years after the fall of Croesus. The whole note is confused. The Phoenicians *may* be the Carthaginians, but there is no

certainly that they were, and it is very probable that they were the Phoenicians who had been settled in Sicily before the Greeks arrived there. In chap. 68 Dyma-

teis and Aegineios are misprints for Dymânes or Dymânatae, as Herodotus calls them, and Aegimios.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

TYRRELL AND PURSER'S LETTERS OF CICERO.

The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero, with a Revision of the Text, a Commentary, and Introductory Essays, by R. Y. TYRRELL, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek, Trinity College, Dublin, and L. C. PURSER, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Vol. III. Dublin: University Press Series. 1890. 12s.

It is happily unnecessary at the present time to commend this edition to the attention of scholars. In the opinion of all competent judges the great promise of the first volume of this important work, of which I spoke in the Preface to my *Life and Letters of Cicero*, in 1880, has been fully sustained in the two that have succeeded, and it has distinctly taken its place in the front rank of English editions of the classics, as one showing not only great industry and scholarship, but also singular freshness and virility. There is no need now to do more than to inquire what special contribution this third volume makes to the progress of the work.

It will be seen that in accordance with the announcement made in the Preface to the second volume, 1886, Mr. Purser, who had largely assisted Prof. Tyrrell before, especially in the tedious work of the collation of MSS., is now associated with him as joint editor. What exact share each may have taken, one cannot of course tell; but I venture to think that, whatever the cause, the result, as a whole, is, without any loss of vigour, a distinct gain in soundness. The fault of the first volume certainly was too great readiness to admit clever conjectures into the text without adequate discussion or sufficient foundation. In the present volume the mere conjectures actually admitted into the text are comparatively few and are not mostly of a very startling character. By far the most brilliant of these is not due to the editors, who nevertheless may claim some credit for being the first to adopt it in the text, namely Dindorf's ἀκρα Γυρέων *pura* for the 'ἀκρατήρεων *iura*' of the Medicean MS. in *Att.* v. 12, given in all edd. as ἀκρωτηρίων οὔρια, which is supposed

to mean 'signs of fair weather from the mastheads.' 'The reading in the text,' say the editors, 'was admirably restored by L. Dindorf from a fragment of Archilochus (54, Bergk):

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὀρθὸν ἴσταται νέφος,

quoted by Plutarch, *de Superst.* c. 8, and by Theophrastus, *de Sign. Temp.* 3, 8. So the heights on the promontory of Gyrae (the southern point of Tenos, due north of Paros) afforded a recognized, almost proverbial, weather-gauge, and nothing is more natural than that Cicero, who knew the words of Archilochus well, and who was now close to Paros, the birthplace of the poet, should refer to this passage, finding himself in the neighbourhood of the very place. Cicero says, here "I don't mean to stir from Delos till I see *all the peaks of Gyrae* clear." This brilliant emendation perhaps comes as near to carrying positive conviction as any conjecture can do, and we may anticipate that henceforward it will form part of the *textus receptus*.

In *Att.* v. 21 the editors adopt the reading of Gronovius, *caculae*, 'a soldier's servant,' for the MS. reading *canule*, which is generally taken to represent a proper name, Canuleius. In *Att.* vii. 1 they give a very probable explanation of the curious sentence, 'ubi illae sunt densae dexteræ?' by printing it as a verse from an iambic poet, with the first syllable of *illae* short according to the archaic usage. The strange epithet *densae*, for which *tensae* has been commonly conjectured, is then probably a rendering or reminiscence of a Greek original πυκναί. In *Att.* vii. 3 they retain, with Lachmann, the archaic *noenu*, for the MS. '*noen*' which has been too hastily changed into *non* by editors. It is clear that such an archaism was much more likely in Cicero himself than in any of his copyists. So also they print *quouis* in a letter of Caelius, *Fam.* viii. 1, for *cuius*, introduced against the MSS. In *Att.* vii. 2 they alter *prudentialius* of the MSS. into *prudentialis*, as an essential antithesis to *spurce*.

Many similar conjectures are only suggested in the notes, some of them as good probably as most of those admitted into the text. Such are the insertion of *de* before *DCCC aperuisti* in *Att.* v. 1; *ride modo* for *vide modo* in a letter of Caelius, *Fam.* viii. 2, after Wesenberg; *νομαίαν ἀργίας* *excusationem*, in *Att.* v. 11, for the corrupt *νομαναρία* *excusationem*, i.e. 'the banal excuse of idleness.' Perhaps better than any of these is the explanation suggested of (*Julia lege*) *transita* in *Att.* v. 21, as an inter-linear gloss, *in transitu*, of the original ἐν παρόδῳ, 'during my official progress.' On the other hand the editors would do well to recollect occasionally that different conjectures thrown out, as it were, at random only weaken one another, and that when they hesitate between *puta te me* or *πατηρόν* for *putato* (*Att.* vii. 7), and offer for *iam Romae* (*Att.* v. 19), an 'embarras de richesse' of *quadrimam*, *tanta ῥώμη*, *iam στοργῇ*, *iam ὀρμῇ*, *iam amore*, and even *moratam*, none of these wild guesses are likely to be very seriously considered.

The letters included in the present volume, 118 in all, are those of the two years 51 and 50 B.C. only, during nearly the whole of which time Cicero was absent on his 'Lord-Lieutenancy' of Cilicia. They are of far less dramatic interest than the preceding set of the Exile, or the succeeding one of the Civil War, but are nevertheless of considerable importance, both as throwing light on the worn-out senatorial system of provincial misgovernment to which the revelation of the character of that most detestable of all Romans, Brutus, startlingly contributes, and also, chiefly owing to the cynically candid letters of Caelius, as helping us to thread our way through the intricate tangle of preliminary feints which preceded the actual outbreak of the War. In place of an excursus on the Provincial Government of Cicero, Prof. Tyrrell reprints an essay contributed by him to the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1888. It was noted at the time as a very able essay, but it perhaps needs a certain amount of rewriting to adapt it to its present position. There is also a life of that remarkably interesting character, Marcus Caelius Rufus, based in large measure upon the charmingly written paper on him in M. Boissier's '*Cicéron et ses amis*,' and a discussion of his peculiar style, abounding at once in archaisms and in popular slang, where the editors acknowledge their obligations to a pamphlet

on the subject by Dr. Ferdinand Becher of Ilfeld. They adopt without hesitation—indeed without the least mention of a disputed opinion—the theory that Catullus' Lesbia was Clodia, and 'have no doubt' that the Rufus of the 77th ode of Catullus, who had been 'trusted fruitlessly and in vain,' was Marcus Caelius, the very man who, according to Quintilian, gave her the terrible nickname of 'Quadrantaria.' A practised translator cannot but sympathise with Prof. Tyrrell in his task of rendering this name, but he must be painfully conscious that 'a two-penny-halfpenny Clytaemnestra' (p. xlv.) is not only rather feeble in itself, but entirely omits the whole point of the name, which he has rightly explained on the page before by a reference to the '*scortum diobolare*' of Plautus.

This is however a very rare if not unique specimen, at any rate of feebleness in translation. Like all scholars who have emancipated themselves from the wooden stage of translation in which the probable meaning is both the Alpha and the Omega, Prof. Tyrrell most carefully emphasizes the curious and often inaccurate Greek phrases which form such a marked feature of the Letters to Atticus, not, as is sometimes carelessly stated, of Cicero's letters altogether; and his success in the great majority of cases is such as to make one wish that none had been left unattempted. Mostly of course they are rendered by colloquial French, as *στρατήγημα*, a '*ruse*'; *πρόσνευσιν*, a '*penchant*'; *ἐν ἐπιτομῇ*, '*tout court*'; and so forth; but the Greek of medical terms is rightly distinguished as technical, for which the Latin of chemists gives us probably the nearest correspondence, while certain others Prof. Tyrrell rather audaciously still renders by slang, such as *δυσδιάγνωστον*, 'not a pin to choose'; *πεινητικὴν*, 'doing Banting' (surely this at least is too ephemeral); *haec lamprá*, 'this is a score for me.'

All scholars will see with pleasure in the Preface that Prof. Tyrrell and Mr. Purser 'hope to finish the whole work in two more volumes in the course of the next three or four years.' The next volume, which will contain the letters of the Civil War, will probably be the most important and interesting of the whole series, and there is no fear that it will fail at least to rise to the very high level which, when all minor criticisms have been made, this important work has undoubtedly claimed and maintained.

G. E. JEANS.

PALAIPHATOS, A RATIONALIST OF THE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

Intorno all' opuscolo di PALEFATO DE INCREDIBILIBUS. Considerazioni di Niccola Festa.
Firenze—Roma: 1890.

THIS tract should be read by any who are studying the tendencies of Greek thought in the fourth century B.C. The object of the author is to establish the existence of a new literary figure, a rationalist who was on the road to Euëmeros but did not get so far. The first who pointed out that way seems to have been the historian Hekataios: certainly the bold words with which he introduced his *Genealogies*—τάδε γράφω ὡς μοι ἀληθέα δοκεῖ εἶναι οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνονται, εἰσὶν—have nothing to match them in Herodotus; and instances of the manner in which he criticised myths are not wanting even in the few fragments and notices of his works that are preserved to us. But the idea of dealing methodically with legendary miracles was reserved (if Signor's Festa's views are right) for a pupil of Aristotle, and the notion started at Miletus was developed into a system at Athens.

We are familiar with the name Palaiphatos, as the author of a treatise *περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων*. But who was Palaiphatos? Looking into Suidas (and that means into Hesychios), we are more puzzled than ever. We find a number of Palaiphatoi, born or dwelling in different places and authors of various works. Our Italian scholar, following in the tracks of Gutschmid, tries to solve the puzzle by rolling all these people into one, and he juggles his data ingeniously. One wonders whether this method of synthesis is safer than the method of analysis which is more often adopted. Is it more likely to happen that two distinct persons should get rolled into one, or that one person should get split up into two? If it is an unsound principle to solve chronological difficulties about Pheidon of Argos by assuming two Pheidons, is it also dubious to introduce order into the notices of Suidas and various scholiasts by building one Palaiphatos out of four?

The very name Palaiphatos raises a question. Did some one really call his son Palaiphatos, or have we to do with a writer who as far as his name is concerned should be ranked with Stésichoros and possibly Hesiod? Certainly, if the writer *περὶ τῶν ἀπίστων* was Palaiphatos from his birth, he claved in his works to a name which suggested the Homeric *παλαίφατα θέσφατα*

(p. 32). However this may be, the new Palaiphatos, whom Gutschmid and Festa have raised up into life, was born (according to his restorers) at Parion on the Hellespont in the days of Artaxerxes iii. (Ochos) and was a pupil and favourite (παιδικά) of Aristotle at Athens. Theon of Alexandria speaks of Palaiphatos, the Peripatetic (*Rhet. Graec.* i. 221 Walz). The work of the pupil from Parion was to apply systematically a method of interpretation, which we find applied in a special instance by the pupil from Messene. Dicaearchus put into a rational form the legend of the Golden Age (*F.G.H.* ii. p. 233, Porphyrius, *de Abstin.* iv. 2). This Palaiphatos collected the mythical stories prevalent in various countries, and called his writings after those places—*Τρωικά*, *Ἀττικά*, *Κυπριακά*, etc. The treatise which has come down to us, containing the interpretations of nearly fifty tales, is merely (as Festa has tried to show) a selection from these works, and not, in its present form, due to Palaiphatos himself. In this particular point, I think, Festa has made out his case. Whether the author of the *Τρωικά* was also the author of the *ἀπίστων βιβλία* ε', I profess not to know; but I agree with the conclusion that the *de Incredibilibus* is not an original work, but put together from excerpts of a bigger book or a series of books.

Whatever we may think of the identification of Palaiphatos the historian with Palaiphatos the antimythographer, and of both with the grammarian; whatever we may think of the way in which the five places where a Palaiphatos was or may have been born—(1, 2) *Πάριος ἢ Πιριηνεύς*, in some MSS *Παριηνεύς*, (3) *Ἀβυδηνός*, (4, 5) *Αἰγύπτιος ἢ Ἀθηναῖος*—are reduced to Parion and Athens, as an old and a new home; we must certainly own that the general view which Festa advocates is supported by a line of the comic poet Athenion in a passage quoted by Athenaeus:

καὶ οὗτος γὰρ ἔστιν οὗτος Παλαίφατος,

where there is a play on the name. The context shows clearly enough that a reference is intended to a writer who collected all sorts of fanciful and strange matters for the purpose of rendering probable what at first sight seems incredible. The date of Athenion cannot be fixed. Festa, not having learned the new lesson at Berlin, calls him a writer

of 'Middle' Comedy. That a Palaiphatos lived in the fourth century and explained away the miraculous element in the popular myths we can infer, without any juggling, from the *first* notice in Suidas; and such a writer would certainly have been a butt for the comedians of his day. Festa does well to insist on the phrase of Athenion.

Another argument for this date is that a Palaiphatos subsequent to Euëmeros is hardly conceivable. Euëmeros, of whom we know so little, is 'un ampliatore ed un esageratore dell' idea di Palefato.' Palaiphatos never disbelieved in the gods or denied their powers; he only explained away supposed miracles in particular cases. Euëmeros reduced the gods and goddesses to ordinary men and women. Ephoros might be said to represent a stage between the milder and the more thoroughgoing rationalist;

and Festa supposes that the rationalistic tendency apparent in some of the fragments of that historian was due to the new system of Palaiphatos.

I need not go into the origin of the mythical seer Palaiphatos of whom we read in the *Ecphrasis* of Christodoros, who saw a statue, under that name, in the Baths of Zeuxippos at Constantinople. But before concluding, I may notice one point in Suidas which neither Festa nor the Germans (Gutschmid and Eckstein) have accounted for. It surely strikes one as odd that a 'King' should be chosen to give the date of the author of the ἀπίστων βιβλία. What had Palaiphatos, whoever he was, to do with Persia? If Parion was really his birthplace, is the hidden link there?

J. B. BURY.

Sophokles' Aias, für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH SCHUBERT: 1891, verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: G. Freytag.

A USEFUL school edition of the tragedy, by a distinguished Sophoclean scholar, containing a well printed, carefully constituted text, preceded by a short statement of the subject and an analysis of the action, and followed by three supplements. The first supplement contains a careful analysis of the choric metres, the somewhat complicated notation of which is thoroughly explained. The second is a list of the conjectural emendations of the reading of the Laurentian MS. (A) adopted in this edition, with the names of their authors. Among these are three of the editor's own which have previously been published in the *Ztschr. f. Oesterr. Gymn.* in the vols. for 1887 and 1888. (In v. 269, where Gleditsch's τοσοῦτον for the MS. νοσοῦντες is adopted, he reads the v. as a question: in v. 835 he reads ἐνερθε for ἀεί τε: and in v. 1311 ληστῆς for τῆς σῆς.) The third supplement is a short account of the arrangement of a Greek theatre (in which the author teaches that up to the Roman period there was no raised stage for the actors), and of the actors' costume. This is illustrated by some good pictures. There are no explanatory notes.

E. B. ENGLAND.

Der heilige Theodosios, Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos, herausgegeben von HERMANN USENER. Leipzig: Teubner, 1890. pp. xxiii, 210.

THIS excellently printed little volume contains the *Laudatio* of the Archimandrite S. Theodosius, who died A.D. 529, by his disciple Theodoros, Bishop of Petra c. A.D. 536, and a very brief biography of the same saint by Cyril of Scythopolis, who flourished about the middle of the sixth century and was the author of various lives of saints. The text of the two writings is taken from a MS. of the eleventh century at Florence, and was published to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the foundation of the Gymnasium of Weilburg, of which the editor was

formerly a student. The two writings in a manner form a pair, and together make a complete whole, treating of the same subject and being a valuable source of information respecting monasticism in the East. Theodosius was the head of a monastery near Jerusalem. Born in Cappadocia c. A.D. 412 he developed a taste for the life of a monk at an early age. He was for a time a disciple of Simeon Stylites, but eventually founded a monastery of his own, where he was visited by the Cappadocian Sabas, who had founded a monastery on the Kidron. Cyril of Scythopolis wrote a life of Sabas as well as of Theodosius: it has been edited by Cotelier in the *Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta*.

Usener rates the historical value of Cyril's work highly, in spite of the large admixture of the miraculous which, in accordance with the taste of the age, it contains. It is specially valuable for the light which it throws upon chronology, owing to the number of clear dates which Cyril gives. In his life of S. Sabas he takes credit for the χρόνον ἀκρίβεια that he has attained.

The editor appears to have no doubt that the life of Theodosius is the work of Cyril, about which previous scholars have had misgivings. For a time it was known only in a Latin form. He has increased the value of his carefully edited text by adding seventy-three pages of notes.

A. PLUMMER.

Sulpicii Severi Liber de Vita Sancti Martini cum Epistulis et Dialogis. Avec notes, etc. en français, par FR. DÜBNER. Paris, in-12, 1890. Pp. i-viii., 1-116.

THIS little text-book is a new and slightly enlarged edition of one which appeared in 1859. The text has been revised, and the spelling restored, though not uniformly, to a purer type, in accordance with the edition of Karl Halm, 1866. In this respect the editor has shown more courage than Hurter, who in his preface to vol. xlviii of the *Sanctorum Patrum Opuscula*, containing Severus, praises Halm indeed, but adds: 'rationem habentes lectorum nostrorum,

veterem scribendi rationem in rebus quas vocant orthographicis non sequemur.'

Besides the *Vita S. Martini* the little work before us contains, with some omissions, the three Letters acknowledged to be genuine, and also the Dialogues. The first twenty-two chapters of *Dial. i.* are left out, as having no direct reference to St. Martin, and the fact that *Dial. ii.* is really only a continuation of *i.*, and ought not to be numbered separately, is duly pointed out. The seven *Epistulae* often printed at the end of editions of Severus are properly omitted as spurious. Halm prints them, but merely for completeness' sake; mentioning that a transcript of the first was sent to him by the late H. A. J. Munro, 'scientissimus Lucretii editor.'

Dübner's notes, as might be expected from the worker on Didot's great *Thesaurus*, are scholarlike and to the point, though necessarily brief. He is careful to point out the ways in which Severus deviates from the standard of pure latinity. Why such an educational reformer as Dübner should have thought it worth while to edit a fourth century ecclesiastical writer for school use, may to some be not very intelligible. But he defends his choice of an author on the ground that, while only writers of pure Greek and Latin should be used for the early years of a scholar's training, he will read with profit at a later stage these works 'pleines de sève,' whose writers may have disdained the ordinary artifices of composition. Granted his subject, the *method* he adopts is quite in accordance with the principles he insisted on in more than one of his many pamphlets:—'former la jeunesse des écoles secondaires à savoir le plus tôt possible lire couramment les auteurs simples et faciles' (*Quelques mots sur la prochaine Réforme etc.*, 1862).

But whatever benefit students of late Latin, or of ecclesiastical history, may derive from them, we doubt the wisdom of making such treatises as the *Vita S. Martini* into class-books for the French lycées. Apart from the *speciosa miracula* of that once most popular work—a subject unsuited for discussion here—the latinity of Severus does not, in our opinion, deserve the praise sometimes bestowed upon it. It contains abundance of Sallust, Cicero, and Livy, but embedded, not assimilated. The style of a young reader is not likely to be much improved by reading an author, who, as he has constantly to be warned, uses *credo quia* and the subj. for acc. and infin., *esse* and the gerund for fut. inf. pass., *quorum ambo* for *qui ambo*, *sicut* for *dum*, and such forms as *sincerunt* and *specbus*; with whom *paterfamilias* means a cook and *custodias* prisoners; and who can write such a sentence as 'ego, inquam, non solummodo taceo, sed olim de istis tacere disposui' (p. 77).

M. Dübner has rendered a service to lexicography in striking out the word *gurdonicus* (p. 60), still found even in Lewis and Short, and explained as 'doltish,' 'rustic'; showing it to be a local appellative, denoting most probably a native of *Gurdonis Castra*, now Sancerre. He is less correct in saying (p. 8) that *ferrum* is not used in classical prose for gladius. The passage he desires (p. 58) in illustration of *Bosphorus exclusa* may perhaps be found in Tibullus iv. i. 53.

'Qua maris extremis tellus excluditur undis.'

J. H. LUPTON.

Collectio Librorum Juris Antejustiniani. T. 3.

THIS is the third and concluding volume of the valuable *Collectio* issued by Krüger, Mommsen and Studemund. The texts bear evidence of most careful preparation, for which indeed the above names are, in themselves, sufficient guarantee. It may be regretted that Studemund's latest views on some of the

fragmentary passages of Gaius rather weaken than confirm some of his previous suggestions, although this is a satisfactory indication of the care with which the MS. has been re-examined. Remarks, however, are unnecessary upon the first and second volumes, which have been for some years before the public.

In the Vatican fragments, which form a third part of the present volume, we have, so far as it goes, an interesting western precursor of Justinian's Digest and Code. The parallel passages from the latter are fully quoted in foot-notes. This text is preceded by an excellent preface, from Mommsen, containing an account of the MS. and a statement of the internal evidence by which its probable date and source have been determined.

The *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, which follows, is treated in an equally thorough and useful fashion by the same editor. Although a small matter, it is satisfactory to have the above classical *titile*, whether positively ancient or not, instead of the somewhat barbarous and misleading 'Lex Dei.' The attribution of this curious comparison, by Rudorff and others, to Saint Ambrose was so interesting and attractive that one regrets to find so high an authority as Mommsen pronouncing against it.

For the *Consultatio veteris Jurisconsulti* all apparently that could be done has been done by Krüger, in collating the various editions of *Cujas*, his original being, it would seem, irreparably lost.

In the remaining portion of the volume, the same editor (Krüger) gives us a most valuable re-construction of the *Codices Gregorianus* and *Hermogenianus*, including, first the Wisigoth epitome, second the fragments of the *Codices* themselves. These fragments are given by reference to the various authorities for them, which are mostly contained in this third volume of the *Collectio*. The more recently discovered and inaccessible of the authorities are set out by Krüger at the end of his *Conspectus* of the Fragments. In any fresh edition of this volume it might be a convenience to the reader to print the *Codices*, as restored (of course only fragmentarily) by Krüger, *in extenso* and not by reference. This would, however, necessitate considerable repetition.

A most important feature in the *Collectio* must not be omitted. It is completed by excellent Indices, which go far to double its value.

E. C. CLARK.

Latin Verse. By Rev. C. H. BOUSFIELD, M.A., Oxford. George Bell and Sons. 5s. 6d.

ONE cannot but admire the zeal which has prompted the author of these Translations to enter his protest against that depreciation of Latin Verse Composition which has set in with such severity in recent years, and is not likely to stay its course so long as subjects of study are dictated and limited, instead of being merely tested, by examinations. Mr. Bousfield's protest is a strong one: although his 'time and attention,' as he says in his Preface, 'have been engrossed for many years by the multifarious duties of a parish clergyman,' he has found time to translate nearly 100 extracts of English poetry, chiefly into Elegiacs. Still it must be said, with all due recognition of the devotion which has prompted this labour of love, that the strength of the protest consists rather in the quantity than in the quality of the Translations, which, by reason (no doubt) of his paramount duties, the author 'perfectum decies non castigavit ad unguem.'

The title-page sets forth that they are 'for the use of Classical Tutors and Students'; but the former would surely not allow the latter to use *terrigeni*—*rediet*—*solae* and *ullae* (as gen. sing. fem.)—*quam*

grege (p. 19)—*neve* (for *nee*)—*fera* (neut. plur.)—*nullus* (for *nemo*)—*decipere*—*miscuitur*—*lethais*—*vigilat* (for *custodit*) *capellam*—*tris* for *ter*—*locum* *quod*—*quisquam* in the sense of *quivis*—*defuit* transitive:—nor such constructions with *dum* as *dum non petis*, 'provided you not seek' (p. 33)—*expectat dum lux aderit*—(p. 37)—*nec...efflabo...dum placuit* (p. 77)—*dum ferat* (p. 115). Objection also might be taken to many rare and ante- or post-classic words, such as *evanida*—*luam* (*vincla*)—*lalescat*—*gubula*—*Eos*—*enodulere*—*campana*—*pyxis*—*fritinnit*—*eremam*: as well as to the shortening of the final syllable in *libido*—*imago*—*adesto*, &c. Even the student would shake his head at *grātulante*—*ēmēre*—*hospēs*—*Glýcon*—*humilem sepulchrum*—*aliquis cura*.

There are some passages of considerable obscurity: e.g. p. 1, l. 2. 'Qua tibi me dabitur parva fruenda quies'—p. 19, l. 14. 'Tum largi sumptūs vixerat ulla domus,' which one is tempted to emend 'tam l. s. vix. erat u. d.'—p. 37, l. 16. 'Tunc erit utendi quod sibi tempus avet'—p. 97, l. 4. 'jactat ab hoste fugas' ('showed how fields were won.')

Attention may be called also to some misprints, not noticed in the Errata: *robotes* for *soboles* p. 25—*meus* for *mens*, and *oculet* for *occulat* (?) p. 43—*cornicinum* for *cornicinum* p. 45—*susurru* for *susurros* p. 49—*racemis* for *racemis* p. 113—*consumer* for *conumar* (?) p. 117—*versar* for *verser* (?) p. 147—*fores* for *foros* p. 151—*sanguineis* for *sanguineus* p. 175—*vagar* for *vager* p. 197 (?)—*tremit* for *premit* (?) p. 205: and on p. 163, line 5 is defective.

The translation from Cowper on p. 13 is spoiled by representing the shepherd in his contest with the nightingale as using the lyre and not the reed: and on p. 99 'Even children followed with endearing wile' is strangely rendered by 'parvulus ipse puer sequitur pede saepe doloso,' as if the intention was to pick the parson's pocket. 'Formosis viris' too is scarcely an adequate rendering of 'the fine folk of

the town.' Again, in the Epigram on p. 137, something better might have resulted from the employment of 'fax conjugii' and 'faces' than either the translation in the text, or that substituted in the Errata.

Mr. Bousfield is seen at his best in such passages as the last eight lines on p. 19 (excepting the sixth line 'non mihi dat plures, quam grege, delicias')—in the translation of T. Moore's, 'Hush, sweet lute' on p. 35—in some good rhythmical lines on p. 49—or these 'Floruit et perit procerum regumque potestas, Fors fecit variâ fors facietque vice.'

Princes and lords may flourish, or may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath can fade.

The translation of Gray's Sonnet on the Death of Mr. R. West is a good piece of work, and may compete with either of those printed in *Folia Silvæ*: so also are the pieces on p. 89 and 119—two of the few examples of Hexameters which the book contains. The following also may be quoted as neat:—

Hic canit irato quas verrit ab aequore prædas,
Noctis et effusis otia mixta jocis.—P. 111.

and

Quid si sacra vetet justum tibi terra sepulchrum,
Si dicat solitas noenia nulla preces?

Hic tamen, hic rediens notos ver sparget odores,
teque levi viridis pondere terra premet.—P. 175.

In short, any one who will take the trouble to read through the whole will find many agreeable examples of care and taste, though no marks of brilliant or refined scholarship: but there are too many oversights and faults.

The spelling is old-fashioned: and the practice of marking with an accent all adverbs, whether ending in *ē*, *ē*, *o*, or *er*, is (to say the least of it) very unnecessary. But these are small matters.

H. KYNASTON.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

OUR next number will, we hope, contain a review of the newly discovered treatise by one who is generally recognized as the first English authority in regard to Aristotle's political writings. Meanwhile we insert a complete list of the emendations of the text which have been sent directly to the *Classical Review*, as well as of those which have appeared elsewhere up to Feb. 21. Each emendation is assigned to its author by the initials. Where two or more emendations have been sent on the same passage, they are given in the order in which they were received by the editors. Where the same emendation is made by more than three persons it is followed by Z instead of by the initials.

Mr. Kenyon has kindly compared the emendations offered with the papyrus, and added a note (signed K) where they are confirmed by the MS. reading.

We hope to have a further list of emendations in the April number.

The emendations are by the following contributors:—

J. Burnet (JB.), I. Bywater (a) (B.), L. Campbell (LC.), C. E. Haskins (b) (CEH.), J. W. Headlam (JWH.), R. D. Hicks (b) (RDH.), A. E. Housman (H.), H. Jackson (J.), E. C. Marchant (ECM.), John E. B. Mayor (M.), Joseph B. Mayor (JBM.), A. S. Murray (ASM.), W. L. Newman (N.), W. R. Paton (c) (WRP.), A. Platt (P.), F. T. Richards (a) (FTR.), H. Richards (a) (HR.), W. Ridgeway (d) (WR.), W. G. Rutherford (R.), J. E. Sandys (e) (S.), A. Sidgwick (AS.), J. A. Smith (a) (JAS.), C. Torr (f) (CT.), W. Wyse (g) (W.).

(a) These appeared in the *Academy* for Feb. 14.

(b) In *Cambridge Reporter* for Feb. 17.

(c) In *Athenacum* for Feb. 21.

(d) In *Academy* for Feb. 21.

(e) Partly in *Academy* for Feb. 7, partly sent direct to C. R.

(f) In *Athenacum* for Feb. 7.

(g) Partly in *Athenacum* for Feb. 14 and 21, partly sent direct.

c. 2 pr. p. 2 l. 4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβη στασιάζειν τοὺς τε γνωρίζοντας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πολλὸν χρόνον * τὸν δῆμον.* * τὸν δῆμον: these words are superfluous and are probably a gloss upon τὸ πλῆθος.

When Cobet removes glosses from late texts, he can appeal to *scholia*, in which even common words are explained. Readers and scribes in Egypt, say 100 A.D., needed no such helps: again, πλῆθος is not co-extensive with δῆμος, and is elsewhere found in close connexion with it. Thus c. 20 pr. p. 52: ἡττημένους δὲ ταῖς ἐταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης προσηγάγετο τὸν δῆμον, ἀποδιδοὺς τῷ πλῆθει τὴν πολιτείαν. c. 21 pr. p. 53 διὰ μὲν οὖν ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἐπίστευεν (so the Editor in the note for ἐπίστευον of MS.) ὁ δῆμος τῷ Κλεισθένει: τότε δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους προεστηκώς. In c. 2 οἱ γνώριμοι and τὸ πλῆθος are the factions whose struggles convulse τὸν δῆμον. For στασιάζω is here transitive. Otherwise πολλὸν χρόνον must have been placed just before or just after στασιάζειν. In the ms. reading it separates the complex subject of the verb from the object, and keeps the reader in suspense.

c. 2 pr. p. 2 cf. c. 5 pr. p. 13 τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐσῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δουλούντων τοῖς ὀλίγοις, ἀντίστη τοῖς γνωρίμοις ὁ δῆμος, where ὁ δῆμος does denote a party in the state. In c. 25 p. 69 l. 5 it is again found with πλῆθος: αὐξανόμενον δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους γενόμενος τοῦ δήμου προστάτης Ἐφιάλτης. cf. Aristot. pol. iv 6 p. 1293 a 3 μετέχουσι μὲν πάντες τῆς πολιτείας διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ πλῆθους. Thuc. vi 39 § 1 πρῶτα μὲν δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνομάσθαι, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος. **M.**

P. 2, l. 6. ἦν γὰρ... Read ἦν γὰρ τότε. **JAS.**

P. 3, l. 6. καὶ δεδεμένοι. Insert γάρ after καί. **JBM.**

P. 3, l. 9. χαλεπώτατον μὲν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας [ἀρχῶν μὴ μετ']έχειν. I do not think that the lacuna is rightly filled up; but ἀρχῶν, if right, carries with it the correction κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν. **W.** For τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχῶν read τὴν πολιτείαν δικαίῳν. **JBM.** 'τὴν πολιτείαν is consistent with MS.' **K.**

P. 3, l. 14. Read Δράκο[ντος τοιαύδε]. **R.**

P. 5, l. 3. Insert ἡ between ἐπικατέστη πολεμαρχία so as to assimilate it to πρώτη μὲν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως in l. 1 and τελευταία δ' ἡ τοῦ ἀρχοντος, p. 6, l. 1. **JBM.**

P. 6, l. 4. For ἀρχ[ε]ιν read ἀρξ[ε]ιν. The future after ὀμνύουσι. **W.**

P. 6, l. 5—10. παραχωρησάντων τῶν Κοδ[ριδῶν]...τῷ ἀρχόντι * δωρεῶν.* τοῦτο μὲν

οὖν ὁποτέρως π ο υ ἔχει μικρόν, [καὶ ἐγένετο δ' ἡ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς χρόνοις: [ση]μείον καὶ...ῶν τὸν ἀρχοντα διοικεῖν ὥσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πολέμαρχος, ἀλλὰ... Read παραχωρησάντων τῶν Κοδριδῶν τῶν προσγιγνομένων τῷ ἀρχόντι δωρεῶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁποτέρως ἔχει μικρόν διαφέρειν ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις. **JBM.** μικρόν διαφέρει ἅτε δὴ ἐν ἀτάκτοις τοῖς χρόνοις, and at the end ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐπίθετα. **WRP.** For καὶ...ῶν read τὸ μὴ τῶν μυστηρίων, referring to p. 143, l. 3 **JB.** The words lost between ἀλλὰ and διὸ are perhaps ὥσπερ οἱ θεσμοθέται. Some distinction seems to be drawn between the mode in which on the one hand the βασιλεὺς and the πολέμαρχος administered the δικαστήρια, and on the other the ἀρχων and the θεσμοθέται. **R.**

P. 6, l. 8. Was the last word in the lacuna πατρίων? It should be noted that the archon performed none of the θυσίαι πατριοί, cp. p. 143. But I hesitate to propose a supplement before seeing the facsimile. **W.** 'πατρίων is possible.' **K.**

P. 6, l. 14. The supplement αἶρ[εθέντες ἐπὶ] is unsatisfactory. Read αἶρ[ουμένων] τὰς ἀρχάς. **W.**

P. 6, l. 17. [οὔτοι] μὲν οὖν [ἐς] τοσοῦτον προέχουσιν ἄλλων. ᾤκησαν δ' οὐκ ἅμα πάντες οἱ ἐννέα ἀρχοντες. 'The MS. reading here,' says the editor, 'is ἀλλωνησαν.' Read ἀλλήλων. ἦσαν. **J.** In connexion with this corruption it is worth while to draw attention to Diog. Laert. i. 2, 58, καὶ πρῶτος τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸ συνεπεῖν, ὥς Ἀπολλόδωρος φησιν ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν. This passage fits with Suidas cited in the note οὐκ ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς ἅμα δικάζειν, and throws some doubt on Dr. Jackson's suggestion ἀλλήλων. **W.**

P. 6, l. 17. The form ἐς does not seem to be used in this treatise, so that if there is only space for two letters ἐς is wrong. But the copy is evidently so carelessly made that nothing can be decided in such questions till the facsimile appears. **R.**

P. 7, last line. Cf. 129-10. If we keep κρίνειν perhaps we should read αὐτοτελῶς. **JBM.**

P. 11, l. 1. I would prefer to read ἡρῶντο δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐννέα ἀρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις οὐσίαν κεκτημένους οὐκ ἐλάττω δέκα μὲν ἐλευθέρων, τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἀρχὰς οὐκ ἐλάττω εἰ (for ἐλάττους) ἐκ τῶν ὅπλα παρεχομένων κ.τ.λ. **R.** Probably ἐλάττω, i.e. ἐλάττω κεκτημένους, the property of the ἄλλαι ἀρχαί being lower. The στρατηγοί mentioned afterwards are exceptional. **ECM.**

P. 11, l. 3. I regard ἑκατόν as corrupt. **R.** ἐλευθέρων. Read ἐλευθέρων. **AS., W.** For

ἐλάττων' read ἔλαττον adv.: see Dobree *Advers.* on Thuc. II. 13. **ECM.**

P. 11, l. 5. τούτους. Read τούτου. **R.**

δεῖ[ν εἶναι] (on which we are told in the note that *δεῖ* is a correction, the word originally written beginning with *δι*), read διαμένειν, with a reference to the following μέχρι εὐθυνῶν. **JBM., LC.**

P. 11, l. 5. For τούτους δέ—τοῦ γένους, we should perhaps read τούτου δέ—τοῦ τέλους. **S.**

P. 11, l. 6. τοὺς ἐπάρχους τοῦ γένους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν...τας δ' ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους δεχομένους οὐπερ οἱ στρατηγοί. Read τοὺς ἐπάρχους ἐκαστον ἔτους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν, λογισ- τὰς δ' <εἶναι> ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους γενο- μένους οὐπερ κ.τ.λ. **JBM.** Fill up lacuna by δοκιμαστάς and read perhaps παρεχομένους for δεχομένους. **R.**

P. 11, l. 12. κληροῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην καὶ [τὰ]ς ἄλλ[ας] ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας, καὶ δις τὸν αὐτὸν μὴ ἄρχειν πρὸ τοῦ πάντ[ας περι]ελθεῖν. This passage suggests an explanation of the use of the lot in elections. The rule that no one should sit for a second time until every qualified person had sat once, seems to imply that, theoretically, the lot decided, not who should hold a given office, but in what order the qualified persons should succeed to it. Thus conceived, the use of the lot is not so plainly repugnant to common sense as it is generally supposed to be. **J.**

P. 12, l. 2. πρὸ τοῦ πάντ[ας περι]ελθεῖν. With this reading I suppose πάντας must be subject, 'all came round again.' A more usual construction would be εἰς πάντας περιελθεῖν οὐ διὰ πάντων διελθεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. **JBM.** Perhaps πρὸ τοῦ πάντ[ας ἐξ]ῆς] λαχεῖν. Cf. Xenophon, *Rep. Ath.* i. 6, μὴ ἂν λέγειν πάντας ἐξῆς ἢ μὴδὲ βουλευεῖν. **S.**

P. 14, l. 5. καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡλ αυ εν καὶ πρὸς ἐκατέρους ὑπὲρ ἐκατέρων μάχεται καὶ διαμφισβητεῖ. The editor says 'the reading is very doubtful, with the exception of the first καί.' For ἐπ' ἡλ αυ εν, which appears to give no sense, read ἐπαλλάττει. Cf. *Pol.* ii. 6, αἴτιον δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως καὶ ὃ ποιεῖ τοὺς λόγους ἐπαλλάττειν. **JBM., HR.** (the latter adding that it is a favourite word with Aristotle, which seems suitable to describe the attitude of a man who sees and takes both sides of a question at once, who is at home in both camps). ἐπράνεν. **WR.** ἐπιβαλὼν. **R.** 'Cannot reconcile ἐπαλλάττει with MS.' **K.**

P. 14, l. 8. ἦν δ' ὁ Σόλων τῇ μὲν ῥήσσει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῶν πρώτων, τῇ δ' οὐσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν μέσων. ῥήσει here being impossible, I thought of φύσει; and it seems

confirmed by p. 48, l. 10, οἱ καὶ [τῇ] φύσει τῶν ἐπιφανῶν...ῆσαν. This use of φύσις is perhaps against Aristotelian authorship. So is the use of τὰ πράγματα, unless *Pol.* i. 11, 12 be parallel. **HR., W.** citing Plutarch *Solon* c. 1, οὐσία μὲν καὶ δυνάμει μέσου τῶν πολιτῶν, οἰκίας δὲ πρώτης κατὰ γένος. 'φύσει is consistent with MS.' **K.**

P. 15, l. 5. οἱ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐς κόρον ἀάσατε. The last word is always used in a transitive sense, which seems here impossible. Should we correct ἡίσασατε, 'who have arrived at a plethora of wealth'? **JBM.** Dr. Postgate proposes the certain emendation ἡλάσατε, comparing Tyrtæus 11 (7), 10 ἀμφοτέρων δ' εἰς κόρον ἡλάσατε.

P. 15, l. 6. τ[ρέφεσθ]ε. Read τ[ίθεσθ]ε. **P.**

P. 15, l. 10. Reading θ' for τε we get Solon's pentameter τὴν τε φιλαργυρίαν τὴν θ' ὑπερφηανίαν, where the double τε suggests a poetical quotation. **JBM., J.** Cf. Plut. *Sol.* c. 14, § 3 ὁκνῶν φησι τὸ πρῶτον ἄσασθαι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ δεδοικῶς τῶν μὲν τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν τῶν δὲ τὴν ὑπερφηανίαν. We thus have δεδοικῶς τὴν φιλοχρηματίαν τὴν θ' ὑπερφηανίαν. **M.**

P. 15, last line. ἐν οἷς πειρῶνται τι [καὶ] διαβάλλειν αὐτόν. Read τινες for τι [καὶ]. **W.** ἄς σεισάσθαιαν καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἀποσεισάμενοι τὸ βάρος. The present καλοῦσιν can hardly refer to those who shook off the burden under Solon. I propose ἀποσεισασμένων gen. abs. **JBM.**

P. 16, l. 4. For [κεκτη]μένοι read [βουλό]μενοι, thus supplying a government for the following βλασφημεῖν, while the subsequent words depend on συνέβη at the beginning of the sentence. **JB., M., W.**

P. 16, l. 7. γινομένης. Read γενομένης. **R.**

P. 16, l. 11. For [ᾶμα] τ' ἐξόν, where the brackets show that ᾶμα is put in by Mr. Kenyon to represent something illegible, read ὥστ' ἐξόν. ᾶμα τε is quite ungrammatical. **HR., J.,** putting a comma after τῆς πολέως.

c. 6 p. 16 l. 13 ἀπεχ[θάν]εσθαι...καί...[ποι]ήσασθαι. Obviously both verbs should be in the aorist and the ms. allows it. **M.** 'I think it would be possible to read ἀπεχθέσθαι. There is a lacuna after the χ, and if θ were written rather large, it would with the first part of the ε, be sufficient to fill it.' **K.**

P. 16, l. 17. μετεκρούσατο, said by the editor to be 'a very doubtful reading.' Read μεταχειρισάμενος ἴασατο, **JBM.,** μετεχειρίσατο, **S.,** citing Plat. *Rep.* 408 C ἱατροί...νοσώδεις μετεχειρίσαντο; *ib.* 346 E τὰ ἀλλότρια κακὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι ἀνορθοῦντα. **HR.**'s suggestion of κατεπαύσατο seems hardly possible.

P. 16, l. 18. For μέμνηκε read μέμνηται. **Z.** 'I find that the MS. has μέμνηται.' **K.**

P. 17, last line. τόνδε τρόπον occurs without the article also in 82, 11, 97, 1. And so τοῦτον τρόπον in 28, last line but three, where the editor inserts τόν. No doubt this should be done in all cases, or τόνδε changed to τοιόνδε. **JBM., AS., W.**

P. 19, l. 8. τῆς οἰκείας. Read γῆς οἰκείας. **B.**

P. 20, l. 2. εἰκὼν Διφίλου. Insert Ἀνθεμίονος: the statue dedicated by Anthemion could not have been one of his father Diphilus, who, as it appears, belonged to the class of Thetes, and therefore could not properly be represented with a horse beside him. The occurrence of the name below may have occasioned its omission here. **ASM.**

P. 20, l. 5. παρέστηκεν ἵππος ἐκμαρτυρῶν ὡς τὴν ἱππάδα τοῦτο σημαίνουσιν. The last five words are obelized. Is there any objection to taking them as an accusative absolute, as in p. 81 last line ὡς οὐ δημοτικὴν οὖσαν τὴν πολιτείαν? **JBM., M., AS.** ἐκμαρτυρῶν should have been marked as corrupt. **W.**

P. 24, l. 3. (οἶον [εἰκὸς] γέ) γραπταὶ τοὺς ναυκράους εἰσπράττειν. Omit round brackets, **JB.**; and read ὅσον for οἶον 'to exact as much as is fitting.' **JBM.**

P. 24, l. 4. We should perhaps read ἀργύρ[ιον] for ἀργυρ[ίον]. **R.**

P. 24, l. 8. It is pretty plain that ἐς (*sic*) τά τε ἄλλα is not right. **R.** Cf. n. on p. 6.

P. 24, last line. τὰς ἐκτίσεις ἀνέφερον εἰς πόλιν. Should we not read here εἰς ἀκρόπολιν as in p. 149, 6; or at least εἰς τὴν πόλιν if we suppose the author to have used the word in the old sense of acropolis? **JBM.**

P. 25, l. 6. (ὁρῶν) ἐνίους διὰ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν [ἀποστά]ντας τὸ αὐτόματον νόμον ἔθηκε πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἴδιον. For τὸ αὐτόματον I propose τῶν πραγμάτων. **JBM.** Perhaps ἀποκνοῦντας τὸ αὐτόματον, **R.**, ὑπομένοντας or περιμένοντας τὸ αὐτόματον 'letting things take their chance.' Plut. Sol. 20 says περιμένειν ἀκυνδύνως τὰ τῶν κρατούντων. **ECM.** περιμένοντας or ἀγαπώντας. **M.** For [ἀποστά]ντας τὸ αὐτόματον, we should expect [περιμένο]ντας τὸ ἀποβαίνον. **S.**

P. 25, l. 8. ὃς ἂν... μὴ ἀΐρηται τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων. Read μὴ αἰρήται, **W.**, μὴ τιθήται, **HR.**

P. 26, l. 2. [δικάζεσθαι.] Cf. Plut. Sol. c. 18, γράφεσθαι τὸν ἀδικούντα καὶ διώκειν. I first thought of γράφεσθαι, but now [τιμω-

ρεῖσθαι] seems the appropriate supplement. **W.**

P. 26, l. 7. From ἀλλ' ὥσπερ το ἐπικλήρων may be an adscript. **R.**

P. 27, l. 1. Solon is thought to have purposely made the laws obscure ὅπως τι τῆς κρίσεως [ἐ]χῃ [ὁ δῆμος κ] ὑρίος. Should we read διὰ τῆς κρίσεως ἐχῃ ὁ δῆμος τὸ κύρος? Cf. p. 94. 9 τὸ κύρος ὃ ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλυσαν. I at first thought of εἴη ὁ δῆμος κύριος, but the writer seems always to keep the subjunctive in final sentences. **JBM.**

P. 27, l. 1. As μ' is the symbol for μετὰ in composition, we might venture to read τῆς κρίσεως μετέχῃ ὁ δῆμος κύριος. A participle seems required: can ὢν have fallen out before οὐ? **W.** For κύριος, read perhaps κυρίως, comparing p. 9, l. 3. **J.**

P. 27, l. 11. [ἐ]χοῦσα. The supplement should mean 'weighing': I thought of ἄγουσα and ἔλκουσα, the former being the usual word. If βοῦς should be restored from Pollux on p. 57, l. 13, possibly διδράχμον <βοῦς>. **W.**

P. 27, l. 12. If παραπλήσιον is right we must read δραχμαῖς for δραχμάς. **R.**

P. 27, l. 13. Read ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὸν πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα, ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν καὶ ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον. The corruption of ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν may have arisen from the words in an earlier copy being written tachygraphically as ρ' <τ' μνᾶν. **R.** ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὸν πρὸς τ[ὸ] νόμισμα *τ[ρ]εῖς καὶ *ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας. Mr. T. R. Glover, Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, here suggests τιθεῖς καθ' ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς. **S.** 'τιθεῖς is possible, but καὶ is clearly written.' **K.**

P. 27, last four lines. Proposed reading: ἡ μνᾶ πρότερον μὲν ἔχουσα τρεῖς καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα δραχμῶν ἀνεπληρώθη ταῖς ἑκατὸν. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὸν παραπλήσιον πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα, ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας. To this I think there was a marginal gloss ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀρχαῖος χαρακτήρ βοῦς καὶ τὸ νίμισμα διδράχμων. **JBM.** Mr. Kenyon suggests that τρεῖς καὶ may have been written as an explanation of the indefinite παραπλήσιον as it stands before ἐβδομήκοντα, and then inserted in the wrong place.

On p. 27 we get some information about Solon's reforms in weights, measures and currency, as the writer says that after the Seisachtheia Solon increases the measures, weights, and currency (τὴν τε τῶν μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος αὔξησιν.) For the measures were made greater than those of Pheidon (a fact of great importance for those who wrangle over the Attic foot), and the mina which heretofore contained 70

drachms was made up to 100. Then we are informed that the 'ancient stamp' was a didrachm; after which he adds ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ σταθμὸν πρὸς τὸ νόμισμα τρεῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας καὶ ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν αἱ μναὶ τῷ στατήρι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σταθμοῖς. Mr. Kenyon thinks τρεῖς καὶ 'corrupt,' as there never was a talent with 63 minae. Now, as we are told by Plutarch that 73 (not 70) old drachms (Aeginetan drachms are, of course, meant) went to the talent, it is very tempting to suppose that τρεῖς καὶ really belong to ἐβδομήκοντα three lines above. But if this be done, there is no augmentation of weights effected. It is therefore, probably safer to take the reading as it stands, and to understand that Solon augmented the talent by adding three additional *old* minae, the new talent, of course, only having 60 minae, as the three additional minae were spread over all. The old stater of 129 grs. was thus raised to 135 grs., and so on proportionally in the case of the drachm and obol. **WR.**

P. 28, l. 1. Can ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν be right? **JBM.** l. 5. Read ἡνώχλων.

P. 28, l. 7. ἀποδημίαν ἐλογίσασατο. Read προνφασίατο, **JBM.**, ἐποίησατο, **HR.**, citing p. 32, 18, where the same phrase recurs. Mr. Kenyon states that, after reinspection of the MS., he believes the latter to be the true reading. [Corrected in ed. 2.]

P. 28, l. 8. For εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν [περὶ Κα] νόπου [πόλ] εἰ δέκα ἐτῶν, perhaps εἰς Αἰγύπτου τὰ ὑπὲρ Κανώπου ὥς εἰ δέκα ἐτῶν. Cf. Plut. *Sol.* 26 (Bergk, fr. 28), Νείλῳ ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς **JBM.**

Read perhaps εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν [ἐπὶ Κα] νόπου [ὥς] εἰ δέκα ἐτῶν. In the next sentence for δίκαιον read δίκαιος. **J.** The nom. c. infin. after δίκαιον εἶναι may perhaps be defended by Dem. 15 § 16 ὃν οὐδένος αὐτοὶ δοῖναι δίκην δίκαιον ἂν εἶναι (where, however, several editors prefer δίκαιοι ἂν, which involvès a *hiatus*); and by Dem. *Proem.* p. 1439, 14 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ δίκαιον ὑπέιληφα πρῶτον ἀπάντων αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν. In the text the construction after δίκαιον εἶναι is apparently identical with that frequently found after δεῖν (Rehdantz, *Indices Dem.* s.v. οἶσθαι). **S.**

P. 28, l. 13. For ἀμφοτέρως read ἀμφοτέρους. **R.**

P. 28, l. 17. For [μέντοι] I should suggest Σόλων. **JBM.**

P. 28, l. 20. ἀπεχθεσθῆναι. Read ἀπεχθέσθαι. **W.** ἀπεχθέσθαι ἀνασώσας. **R.** 'There can be no doubt that ἀπεχθεσθῆναι is the MS. reading.' **K.**

P. 29, last line but two. For καὶ πάλιν διαγνώθῃ ποῦ λέγει read καὶ πάλιν δὲ

ἄλλοθί που λέγει, **JBM.**, **B.** ἐτέρωθί που, **RDH.**, **W.**, **S.** δὴ ἄλλοθί που. **JAS.** 'The δ is certain.' **K.**

P. 30, l. 8. θάκοισιν. Read κακοῖσιν. **N.**, **P.** Mr. Kenyon believes this to be the true reading of the MS., which is rather rubbed here. [Corrected in ed. 2.]

P. 30, l. 13.

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκ' ἀξονήλατον
δῆμόν τι τούτων πρὶν τυχῶν ἐπαυσά-
μην,
συμμαρτυροίη, &c.

Obviously corrupt but, if ἀξονήλατον is sound, the general sense clear: 'Why I saved the afflicted people... may be my witness.'

Read

ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ μὲν οὐνεκ' ἀξονήλατον
δῆμον, τοιοῦτων πρὶν τυχόντ', ἐπαύσα-
ν ὦν, . . .

where ὦν is in antithesis to πρὶν. **AS.**

Read εἵνεκα ξενήλατον (due to a friend). Mr. Wyse suggested ἐλυσάμην for ἐπανασάμην; perhaps ἐρρυσάμην would be nearer the MS. The whole must have been something like

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν (?) εἵνεκα ξενήλατον
δῆμον παρουσῶν πημονῶν ἐρρυσάμην. **P.**

'οὐνεκα is clear. I think the letter after ξ is ο. The most doubtful is λ, which might be σ or γ. I have no doubt about ἐπανασάμην, but ἐλυσάμην is nearer the MS. than ἐρρυσάμην.' **K.**

P. 31, l. 4. πολλαχῇ πεπηγότα[s]. Perhaps πόλλ' ἔτη for the somewhat unmeaning πολλαχῇ. **JBM.**

P. 31, l. 5. I propose πρόσθεν γε for πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα. The participle is not opposed to what precedes but gives a reason for συμμαρτυροίη. **JBM.**

P. 31, l. 16. θεσμούς θ' ὁμοίως. Read θεσμούς δ' ὁμοίως with Bergk. **W.** 'Original τε corrected, I think, to θ.' **K.**

P. 32, l. 2. The MS. reads the highly corrupt passage

εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
ἀ τοῖς ἐναντίο [ισι]ν ἦνδανεν τότε
αἰθῖς δὲ αὐτοῖσιν οὐτεραι φρασάιατο,

where the text of Aristides reads for the last line

αἰθῖς δ' ἀ τοῖσιν ἀτέροις δρᾶσαι δίχα,

in which ἀτέροις, being an anapaest, is inadmissible. Now here τότε is superfluous, and I believe δίχα has got in from a gloss: I should propose

εἰ γὰρ ἤθελον
 ἂ τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν ἦνδανεν ποεῖν
 αὐθις δ' ἂ χωρὶς ἄτεροι φρασαίαιτο,

so that χωρὶς is explained by δρᾶσαι δίχα. **AS.** αὐθις δ' ἂ τοῖσιν οὔτεροι φρασαίαιτο, **P.**, observing however that the construction of ἤθελον remains a difficulty. Mr. Kenyon mentions that Bergk had already pointed out that ἀτέροις, the reading of Aristides, involves an unjustifiable quantity. Prof. Diels takes οὔτεροι as οἱ ἐτέρα.

P. 32, l. 4. ὦν οὐνέκ'. Should this be τῶν οὐνέκ', as in p. 30, l. 12? **JBM.** Yes. **K.**

P. 32, l. 4. ποιούμενος. Read ποιεύμενος. Aristides has κυκεύμενος in this passage. **P.** Also we have above, p. 31, 12, τρομέμενοι.

P. 32, l. 8. διαφραδὴν. Read μ' ἀμφραδὴν. **P.**

P. 32, l. 4 from bottom. πρὶν ἂν ταράξας πῦαρ ἐξέλειν γάλα. Read πρὶν ἀνταράξας πῦαρ ἐξέειλεν γάλα. **AS.** Mr. Kenyon says ἐξείλεν is certain; ἂν is obliterated, and there is room, if needed, for more than two letters. [In the Corrigenda we find ἀνταράξας and ἐξείλεν.]

P. 33, l. 1. The comma after ἀποδημήσαντος destroys the sense. **R.**

P. 33, l. 5. τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀρχαίαν ἐποίησαν. Read διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν. **H., JB., LC.** But can ἀναρχίαν ποιεῖν mean 'they left the state without an archon'?

Perhaps τὴν αὐτὴν αὖ ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν. [In this treatise the rule of the hiatus, though generally observed, appears to admit of occasional exceptions.] **J.**

P. 35, l. 5. A lacuna should be marked after ἀρχήν. **R.**

P. 36, l. 10, lege μετὰ τὴν τῶν τυράνων. **R.**

P. 36, last line but three. ἐποίησαν διαφημισμόν. Read διαψηφισμόν found in Athenaeus p. 218 A, and confirmed by διαψηφίζονται below, p. 107 last line. **S.**

P. 39, l. 1. οὐκ (or οὐδέν) ἔπειθεν. **RDH.**

P. 40, l. 4. We should perhaps read καταξούσης. **R.**

c. 14 p. 41 l. 1. Read Παιανίων **M., RDH.** 'Παιανίων can be read; I confused the final stroke of the ν (which is obliterated) with the ι.' **K.**

P. 41, l. 3. Θρητταν. Read Θρατταν. **AS.** 'Possible.' **K.**

P. 41, l. 11. κατέσχεν. Read κατεῖχεν. **W.**

P. 42, l. 8, lege παρείλετο δέ. **R.**

P. 42, l. 11. [φωνῇ δ' ἐξεκλησί]ασεν μικρόν. Perhaps a more possible reading is φωνῇ δέ μετεσκεύασεν μικράν. **JBM.** The word before μικρόν is perhaps κατεσκεύασεν. **R.**

P. 42, l. 15. ἐπὶ τούτων. Read ἐπὶ τούτῳ. **R., M.** comparing Plut. Sulla 14 § 10 Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένον. In p. 143, l. 7 the MS. has ἐπὶ Ληναίων for Ληναίω. 'The MS. has unquestionably ἐπὶ τούτων, but the corruption would be easy.' **K.**

P. 43, l. 2. ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων. Add μένειν, **JBM.**, or εἶναι, **ECM.**, who cites Aesch. iii. 8, Demosth. 15, 11; vi. 4; 26, 33, &c. Compare also l. 16 below. The sign for εἶναι is only a stroke \. Probably it has fallen out after ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων. **W.** Mr. Kenyon, on a re-examination of the MS., confirms the latter reading, which is given in the Corrigenda to ed. 2.

c. 15 f. p. 43 l. 2 οὐ[δὲ κατα]θυμνείν. 'I believe the scribe wrote merely οὐδὲ θυμνείν and δυσθυμνείν, I quite agree, is probably preferable to καταθυμνείν.' I had suggested to the Editor δυσθυμνείν, because Aristotle uses δύσθυμος and δυσθυμία. **M.**

P. 43, l. 3. [αὐτῷ νῦν] μελήσεισθαι. Read αὐτὸς ἐπιμελήσεισθαι. **Z.**

P. 43, l. 11. προεδάνειζε χρήματα. Read προσεδάνειζε. **W., R.** But prohere seems more appropriate than προσ-. The money is lent beforehand to enable the farmers to cultivate the ground; it is not an additional loan. That there is no classical instance of its use is not an objection to it more than to many other words used in this treatise.

P. 43, l. 12. δια[μπε]ρὲς. Objected to by **HR.** and **W.** The former suggests διὰ παντός as possible. That ὥστε δια...es ἐγεωργοῦντο is an adscript seems to be proved by the way in which the next sentence begins. **R.**

ἐγεωργοῦντο. Read ἐγεώργουν, **W., JAS.** **RDH.** See p. 44, 5.

P. 44, l. 14. παρώχλει. Read παρηνώχλει. **JBM., W.**

P. 44, l. 15. ἐτήρει δ[ι'] ἡσυχίαν. Perhaps δι' ἡσυχίας, 'kept (the people) at rest.' **JBM.** 'I am inclined to think the MS. has τὴν not δι'.' **K.**

P. 44, l. 18. It is easy to see that the supplied words are wrong. **R.**

P. 44, l. 18. διὰ [τῆς ὕβρεως]. Read διὰ τὴν ὕβριν. **AS.**

P. 44, l. 20. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων ἦν [τῶν ἀρεσκο]μένων τὸ δημοτικὸν εἶναι τῷ ἦθει. For ἀρεσκομένων read ἐπαίνουμένων. **JBM., N.** κεχαρισμένων is suggested by **HR.**

P. 44, last line. ἔμεινε [τυραννῶν, εἰ]τ ἐκπέσοι πάλιν ἐπελάμβανε ραδίως. For εἰτ' read ὅπότε. **AS.** For ἐπελάμβανε read ἀπελάμβανε. **W.** Probably corrupt. There is no object after ἐπελάμβανε, and no infinitive after ἐβούλοντο. Perhaps ἔμεινε, [καὶ

δὴ καὶ ὁ πρὸς ἐκέσους, πάλιν ἀπελάμβανε
 ῥαδίως <τὴν ἀρχήν>. **JBM.**

P. 45, l. 4. πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπεφύκει καλῶς
 can hardly stand as it is. Has τὰ ἄλλα been
 lost before it and ἡ τυραννίς at the end?
JBM.

P. 45, l. 4. [ὠφέλησεν]. Read [ἐδημαγώ-
 γει]. Cp. Aristot. *Pol.* 5, 11, 33, 1315b 3
sq.; 2, 9, 20, 1270b 13 *sqq.*; 5, 6, 6, 1305b
 23 *sqq.*; 5, 12, 1, 1315b 17 *sq.* **N.** Perhaps
 ἐθώπενεν. **J.B.M.**

P. 45, l. 7. καθ[ήκ]ων πρὸς τῆς τυραννίδος.
 If καθήκων is right we must read either
 καθήκων πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα or καθήκων ἦν πρὸς
 τῆς τυραννίδος. **R.** For πρὸς read perhaps
 περί. **W.**

P. 45, ll. 9—11. εἰάν [τιν]ες τυραννεῖν
 ἐπανίστω[ν]ται [ἡ] ἐπὶ τυραννίδι τις συγκαθίστη
 τὴν τυραννίδα. This cannot be right. **W.** He
 suggests that ἡ should be read for τις. For
 the last two words **LC.** proposes τιν' ἐταιρείαν.
 Mr. Kenyon thinks ἐπὶ τυραννίδι a gloss on
 τυραννεῖν which crept into the text. He
 refers to the so-called Solonian law in
 Andoc. *De Myst.* p. 13, 13, εἰάν τις τυραννεῖν
 ἐπαναστῇ ἢ τὸν τύραννον συγκαταστήσῃ.

Insert ἐπι<τιθῆται> before τυραννίδι, cf.
 Lyeurg. in Leoer. § 125, Aris. *Pol.* viii (v),
 c. 7 § 7, 1308 a 22, etc. **RDH.**

P. 45, l. 12. It is a great pity that the
 editor has seen fit to alter such excellent
 spellings as ἐνκατεγήρασε. **R.**

P. 45, l. 22. Read προάγοντες. **R.**

P. 45, l. 8 from bottom. Should it not be
 ἔφηνεν 'was in exile,' rather than ἔφυγεν
 'went into exile'? **JBM., R.**

P. 45, last line but one. κατείχον τὴν
 ἀρχὴν προαγαγόντες τὰ πράγματα τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον. Below, p. 80, we have προάγειν
 (τὰς πολιτείας) ἕως μηδὲν παρανομοῖεν. We
 want here, not προαγαγόντες, but a present
 participle to express 'carrying on.' **JBM.**

P. 46, l. 3. Θέτταλος for Θετταλὸς is still
 found even in the second edition here, and
 in ll. 7 and 21, and in l. 18 of p. 47. **R.**

P. 46, l. 9. κομίσαντος. One would have
 expected πείσαντος or Πεισιστράτῳ χαριζόμενοι.
JBM.

P. 46, l. 11. τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων. Omit
 μὲν. **JBM.**

P. 47, l. 8. μετὰ πολιτῶν πολλῶν.
 In the note it is said the first letters of
 πολιτῶν are doubtful, and that according to
 Thucydides the conspirators were οὐ πολλοί.
 Should we read μετὰ συνειδότων οὐ
 πολλῶν? **JBM.**

P. 47. μετερχόμενος. Read καταρχόμενος.
HR., W. 'The μ is certain.' **K.**

P. 48, l. 5. [τὴν μὲν οὖν ὄλ]ην ἐλυμαί-
 νοντο πράξιν, αὐτῶν δ' ὁ μὲν Ἀρμόδιος εὐθέως

ἐτελεύτησεν. The proposed filling up of the
 lacuna seems scarcely to explain the oppo-
 sition implied in the μὲν and following δέ.
 There is nothing to balance the general
 failure. Perhaps we should read οὕτως
 οὖν τὴν τε ὄλην and suppose the δέ to
 stand as an emphatic substitute for the more
 usual καί. **JBM.**

P. 48, l. 16. ἐπέμποντο. Read ἔπεμπον.
W.

P. 48, last line. For ἀγενεῖς read ἐναγεῖς.
HR., R. But would the act of putting to
 death the guiltless be in itself sufficient to
 entail a curse upon them? Perhaps ἀπεχθεῖς.
JBM.

P. 49. ἐκεῖ μεθιδρυσόμενος. For ἐκεῖ read
 ἐκείσε. **JBM., AS.**

P. 50, l. 13. With some diffidence I sug-
 gest ὅθεν εὐπόρησαν χρησμῶν (dele comma)
 πρὸς κ.τ.λ. If so in line 15 δέ must be re-
 placed by γάρ. How slight a change this is,
 γ' for δ', may be seen from the list of ab-
 breviations. **W.** 'The MS. is clear.' **K.**

P. 50, last line but three. εἰς τοῦτ' εὐθέως.
 Corrupt. **AS.**

P. 51, l. 3. ἡττηθέντος. Read ἡττηθέντος.
Z. [Corrected in ed. 2.]

P. 51, l. 12. For ἐπεξιώντας read ὑπεξιών-
 τας. **W.**

P. 51, last line. κατασχόντες τὴν τυραννίδα
 . . . ἔτη μάλιστα ἑπτακαίδεκα. Should not
 the participle be the perfect? **JBM.**

P. 52, l. 2. ἐνὸς δ' ἐλ. ἐνὸς δέ πεντήκοντα.
 Here and in c. 27 p. 75 l. 7 (ἐνὸς δέ πεντηκοστῷ
 ἔτει) read δέιν, as in the rhet. ii 14 f. where
 even Cope takes δέιν as that for δέον, which
 Kühner (also in the new edition by Blass)
 denounces as a Byzantine barbarism. πλεῖν
 is for πλείον not for πλεόν. It is remark-
 able that this numerical expression (= *unde-
 quinginta*) has escaped lexicographers and
 grammarians. **M., AS.**

P. 52, l. 8. ἐπιλειπόμενος τῇ δυνάμει.
 Read ἀπολειπόμενος here and also in 76, l. 6
 and 93, l. 5. **HR.** Perhaps ὑπολειπόμενος.
CEH.

P. 53, last line. Omit οὖν, reading per-
 haps δένειμε for ἔνειμε. **W.**

P. 56, l. 7. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπάρχον
 ἔτι τοῖς τόποις. I think we should read ἅπα-
 σιν as the editor suggests. If we keep ἅπαν-
 τες, it can only refer to the δῆμοι which had
 just been divided into two classes. If we
 read ἅπασιν, we naturally supply οἱ κτίσαντες
 as the subject of the verb, 'the names of the
 founders were sometimes irrecoverable.'
JBM.

P. 57, l. 1. ταῖς δὲ φυλαῖς ἐποίησεν ἐπ' ω-
 νυμ[ίας] ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ἑκατὸν ἀρχηγ-
 τῶν οὓς ἀνέλεν ἡ Πυθία δέκα. For ἐπωνυμίας

read ἐπ' ὠνόμους, agreeing with the following οὗς. **JBM., R.**

P. 57, l. 2. δέκα is perhaps an adscript. **R.**

P. 58, l. 4. καταλιπόντες ἔτη δύο. Read διαλιπόντες. **W.**

P. 59, l. 4. συνεξήμαρτανον. **AS., W.** [Corrected in ed. 2.]

P. 60, l. 1. Should we not read τοὺς μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα, instead of τοῖς? **JBM.**

Ch. 22, p. 61. ἐκνύμεσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντακοσίῳν. As Mr. Kenyon points out, this contradicts the statement of ch. 8, that each tribe chose ten candidates, so that the total would be 100. We want also some statement as to the qualification for the archonship. I should suspect therefore that πεντακοσίῳν is a corruption for πεντακοσιομεδίμων. δημοτῶν is also inconsistent with a statement in ch. 62. The whole passage should probably be ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ [ἐκ] τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίμων. **JWH.**

P. 61, l. 7. ὡς ἐφάνη τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ. ἐφάνη is a singular expression. Is it possible that ἀπεγράφη is the word? See Suid. s.v. ἀγράφου μετάλλου δίκη; Hyper. *Eux.* col. xliii. ἐξ ἀναπογ[άφ]ων μετάλλων π(επλ)ουτήκασι; *C.I.A.* ii. 783, 8 ἀπεγράφατο [κα]ινος[ορί]αν [ἐπὶ] [M]α[ρωνείᾳ]; Harp. s.v. διαγραφῆ. **W.**

P. 63, l. 1. οὐ λέγων ὅτι χρήσεται τοῖς χρήμασιν ἀλλὰ δανείσαι κελεύων. For ὅτι read ὅ τι. **JBM., W., AS.**

P. 63, l. 3. A comma after ἀνάλωμα. **AS.**

P. 64, l. 1. παρακομίσασθαι τὰ χρήματα. Should not this be ἀνακομίσασθαι, 'to recover'? **JBM.** Both Landwehr and Diels give κομίσασθαι as the reading of the Berlin fragment. The uncompounded verb is preferable. **W.** 'κομίσασθαι is the true reading.' **K.**

P. 64, l. 10. τὸ λοιπὸν ὄρισαν τοῖς ὀστρακίζομένοις ἐν τῷς Γεραιστοῦ καὶ Σκυλλαίου κατοικίῳν. As Argos is west of Scyllaeum and Samos east of Geraestus, these cannot have been the extreme western and eastern limits of residence in the sense suggested in the editor's note. Read ἐκτός. **W.** Mr. Wyse's correction, ἐκτός, is confirmed by the *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense* (s.v. ὀστρακισμοῦ τρόπος)...μὴ ἐπιβαίοντα ἐν τῷς Γεραιστοῦ (Dobree's emendation for Πέρα τοῦ) Εὐβοίας ἀκρωτηρίῳ. **S.**

P. 64, last line but two. Ξέρξον στρατιάν. Read στρατείαν. **B., LC.**

P. 65, l. 7. Is ἐξαπορήσαντες τοῖς πράγμασιν Greek? **R.**

P. 65, l. 10. παρεχώρουν αὐτῇ τῷ ἀξιώματι. Queried by **W.** The MS. has αὐτῇ. *Lege* παρεχώρουν αὐτῆς ἀξιώματι. **R.** On **M.**'s sug-

gestion τοῦ ἀξιώματος Mr. Kenyon remarks: 'τῷ ἀξιώματι is the MS. reading; could it not mean "they gave place to it in rank" or "position"?'

P. 66, l. 2. ἀκόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. The writer is praising the Athenian government of that period and describing the general popularity of Athens. Would it not be striking a false note to say that Sparta was opposed to their hegemony? Moreover it is inconsistent with the account given by Thucydides i. 95 and Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5, 34 where a Spartan declares that the Athenians were chosen leaders at sea, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμβουλευομένων. Read therefore ἐκόντων. **JBM.**

P. 66, last line but two. Τιμοσθέων. Read Τιμοσθένους. **B.** 'MS. admits of this.' **K.**

P. 68, l. 9. ἄλλαι δὲ νῆες αἱ τοὺς φόρους ἄγουσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κνάμου δυσχίλιους ἄνδρας. Insert ἐπὶ before τοὺς φόρους. **JBM.**

P. 69, l. 6. Σωφρονίδου. Read Σοφωνίδου or Σωφρονίδου. **AS.** Aelian (v.h. ii. 43. iii. 17. xi. 9) calls the father of Ephialtes Sophonides, which name must now be substituted for Simonides in Diod. *Sic.* xi. 776. **M.** 'The MS. admits of this.' **K.**

P. 71, l. 8. τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους. Read αὐτούς. **R.**

P. 72, l. 7. καὶ ἀνγρέθη δὲ καὶ ὁ Εφιάλτης. Omit first καί. **JBM.**

P. 73, l. 8. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα πάντα διψκουν οὐχ ὁμοίως καὶ πρότερον τοῖς νόμοις προσέχοντες. Omit οὐχ as a dittography. **W.**

This however is not very consistent with the following words τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων αἵρεσιν οὐκ ἐκίνουν, 'On the one hand they managed all the rest as before according to the laws, but on the other hand they did not disturb the election of the archons.' To avoid this we must, I think, make a further change, and insert after αἵρεσιν the words τὸ μὲν εὐθύς or something of the kind, preparing for the following ἀλλ' ἔκτω ἔτει κ.τ.λ. **JBM.**

P. 74, l. 3, *lege* οἱ καλούμενοι οἱ κατὰ δήμους. **R.**

P. 74 l. 4. καὶ τρίτῳ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἀντιδότῳ: read κ. τ. μ. αὐτ. ἔπει ἐπὶ Ἀ. **M.**

P. 74, l. 8. πρώτου. Read πρώτον. **R., LC.** For πρώτον read πρὸ τοῦ. **J.**

P. 75, l. 7. ἐνὸς δεῖ. Read δεῖν as in p. 52, 2. **M.**

P. 75, l. 10. στρατίαις. Read στρατείαις. **B., LC.**

P. 76, l. 4. τὰ χωρία πάντα ἄφρακτα ἦν, ὅπως ἐξ ἦν τῷ βουλευμένῳ τῆς ὁπώρας ἀπολαύειν. The editor's note is 'this is the reading of the MS. though it may be questioned whether we should not read ἐξῆ.'

The imperfect indicative is impossible. **W.** For the superfluous *ν* cf. p. 42, l. 15 above. **M.** If it were stated that Cimon pulled down his fences in order to allow the people to enter his orchards, the subjunctive with *ὅπως* would naturally follow, but here it is simply stated as a fact that there was not, perhaps never had been, a fence—so that it was possible for people to enter. I should therefore prefer to read *ὥς τε ἐξέῃν* **JBM.**

P. 76, l. 5. *ἐπιλειπόμενος*. Read *ἀπολειπόμενος*. **HR.**

P. 76, l. 7. *τῶν πολέμων εἰσγηγητής*. Read *πολιτικῶν*. **W.** Cf. Pl. *Pericles* c. 4, τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ συνῆν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτῃς καὶ διδάσκαλος. Probably Plutarch wrote with this treatise before him.

P. 76, l. 7. *Οἴθηεν*: in other parts of the book such words are accented properisponemenon. **R.**

P. 76, l. 11. *χείρῳ γενέσθαι*. Add *τὰ πράγματα* or *τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν*, as in the last line. **JBM.**

P. 76, l. 11. Mark some word or words lost after *γενέσθαι*, either *τὴν πόλιν* or *τὰ πράγματα*. **R.**

P. 77, l. 3. *οὐκ εὐδοκιμοῦντα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἐπικέσιν*. Omit *τά*. **JBM., W., WR.** See p. 109, l. 8, where *τά* is omitted by Harpocration. **M.**

P. 77, l. 15. *τῶν ἐτέρων*. Read *τῶν ἐσθλῶν*. The same corruption on p. 78, l. 5. **W.** Query *ἐπικέων* in both. **M.** Mr. Kenyon says: 'The MS. is clear, and I should have thought that, considering the context, the word was not unnatural. A. is giving a list of the *προστάται* τοῦ δήμου, and concurrently of the leaders on the other side; and he uses various synonyms to express the conservative party, among which that of the *other party*, or the *opposition*, seems to me not unreasonable.'

P. 78, l. 1. *διαφθεῖραι τὸν δῆμον ταῖς ὁρμαῖς*. If this is the right reading, we may compare Plut. i 1012, *πράότερος καὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς φύσει μαλακώτερος*, but perhaps some such words as *ἐκάστοτε χαριζόμενος* have been lost after *ὁρμαῖς* (sc. τοῦ δήμου), which is barely intelligible by itself ('through his impulsiveness'?). **JBM.**

P. 78, l. 3. *περιζωσάμενος ἐδημηγόρησε*. Plutarch (*Nic.* 9) has *περισπάσας τὸ ἱμάτιον*. See Dr. Holden's note. This shows that Rose was on the right track when he observed (*Ar. Ps.* p. 424) '*debebat ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἔχειν*,' and that the tempting correction *περιεζωσμένος* is wrong. **W.**

P. 78, l. 7. *διεδίδου*. Apparently corrupt. *διεδίδουτο*? **W., R.**

P. 79, l. 4. *προσαγαγόντας*. Read *προαγαγόντας*. **N., R.**

P. 79, l. 9. Read *δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ βέλ.τιωτοι*. **R.**

P. 80, l. 5. *ἀμφισβήτησις τῆς κρίσεως*. Read perhaps *τις* for *τῆς*? **W.**

P. 80, l. 15. *ἰσχυρότατα*. Should this be *ἰσχυρότερα*? **JBM.**

P. 80, l. 18. *τὸν μὲν πρὸ τοῦ ψηφίσματος λόγον*. I suspect *περὶ* to be the true reading. **W.**

P. 81, l. 1. *διὰ τὸ νομίζειν βασιλέα [ἄσμενο]ν ἑαυτοῖς συμπολεμήσειν*. Read *μᾶλλον*. **JBM.** μέλλειν. **ECM.**

P. 81, l. 8. For *συγγράψουσι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας* read *συμβουλευέουσιν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας*. **R.**

P. 82, l. 5. *τὰς προκλήσεις ἀνείλον ὅπως ἂν οἱ ἐθέλοντες Ἀθηναῖοι συμβουλευέωσι*. Read *προσκήσεις*. **W.** Read *Ἀθηναίων*. **M.**

P. 82, l. 11. *τόνδε τρόπον*. See on p. 17.

P. 82, l. 13. *ἅπαντας* suits the context better than *ἀπάσας*. **R.**

P. 82, last line but two. *τὴν δ' ἄλλην πολιτείαν ἐπιτρέψαι πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις*. Read *πᾶσαν*. **JBM., N.**

P. 85, l. 9. *εἰάν MS., κᾶν text*. Rather *εἰάν δέ*. **JBM.**

P. 86, l. 1. Cf. p. 113, 3 *κήρυξιν καὶ πρεσβεία*. Read *πρεσβείας* here also. **W.**

P. 87, l. 9. *τὴν δὲ βουλὴν ἐπειδὴν καταστήσῃ*. Should not we read *καταστή* 'when it is constituted'? For the present (*τὸ νῦν εἶναι*) the election is to be in the hands of the 5000, but afterwards, as it is said below, the council will elect according to the law. **JBM., W.** *ἐξέτασιν ὁπλοῖς*. Read *ὅπλων*. **R.** *ἐν ὅπλοις*. **W.**

P. 87, l. 11. *ἄρχειν τὸν ἐισιόντα ἐνιαυτόν*. Perhaps *ἐπιόντα*, as it is the whole year, not the commencement, which is spoken of. **JBM.**

P. 88. *εἰς δὲ τὸν ἅλλον χρόνον ἵνα νευηθῶσιν οἱ τετρακόσιοι εἰς τὰς τέτταρας λήξεις *ὅταν τοῖς ἀστοῖς γίνηται μετὰ τὸν ἅλλον βουλευέν, διανεμάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες.**

At the beginning of ch. 30 it is stated that the 5,000 elected a board of 100 men to draw up the constitution. Shortly afterwards it appears that one of the duties of the latter is to arrange four councils of 100 each. In ch. 31 it is stated that the constitution cannot be immediately put into operation, and we have a list of regulations for the intermediate time, with the verb in the infinitive mood. In the above sentence, which closes the chapter, the infinitive is changed into the direct imperative. In the note it is said to be 'manifestly corrupt,' but I see no objection to translating 'As regards the future,

in order that the 400 may be distributed into the four divisions (above mentioned), let the hundred make the distribution when it is possible for the citizens to sit in council with the rest' (those, I presume, who are now manning the fleet). Should we read here τοῖς ἐν ἄσται for τ. ἀστούς, or are we to distinguish between ἄστοι and πολῖται? **JBM.**

P. 88, l. 9. Read ἡ μὲν βουλή ἡ ἐπὶ Καλλίου. **R.**

P. 90, l. 9. ἀρχὴν εἶναι μισθοφόρων. Read α. ε. μισθοφόρον, as we have above, p. 75, l. 12 ἐποίησε μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια, compare p. 82, l. 13 τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἀμίσθους ἄρχειν. **JBM., R.**

P. 91, l. 8. For ἀνιέναι read ἀπιέναι. **JBM., AS.** (the latter referring to Rose fr. 370 quoted next page).

P. 91, l. 10. Read ἐξαπατηθέν. **R.**

P. 92, l. 4. χωρησάμενοι. Read χρησάμενοι. **Z.** So in MS. and in Corrigenda to ed. 2.

P. 93, l. 1. διασώσσειν ἐπειρώντο. Read διασῶσαι. **JBM., W.**

P. 93, l. 3. ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐπεθύμουν. Read ὀλιγαρχίας. **JBM., R.** 'Not in MS., but corrected in ed. 2.' **K.**

P. 93, l. 5. ἐπιλείπεσθαι. Read ἀπολείπεσθαι. **HR.**

P. 94, l. 3. δι' αὐτῶν. Should this be δι' αὐτῶν, referring to the μαστιγοφόροι just mentioned? **JBM.**

P. 94, l. 3. ὑπηρέτας seems to be an adscript to μαστιγοφόρους. **R.**

P. 94, l. 10. Supply ἕκαστον before or after κύριον. **R.**

P. 95, l. 1. μανίων ἢ γηρῶν. The law is known from [Dem.] 46 § 14, p. 1133, 11, ἐὰν μὴ μανίων ἢ γήρως ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ νόσον ἕνεκα, ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος κ.τ.λ. Here therefore correct γηρῶν το γήρως <ἕνεκα>, and possibly the aorist participle to the present. **W.**

P. 95, l. 7. ἔχαιρον. Read ἔχαιρεν. **AS., R.**

P. 95, l. 14. χρόνου διαπεσόντος. Read διαλιπόντος. **JBM.**

P. 96, line 2 from bottom. Transpose οἱ τριάκοντα before ἔγνωσαν. The preceding καὶ joins the participles καταλαβόντος and ἀποχωρήσαντες. **JBM.**

P. 97, l. 1. τόνδε τρόπον. See on p. 17. P. 97, last line, κατασκευάσασι. **RDH.**

P. 98, l. 7. Insert δέ after πρέσβεις. **JBM., AS.**

P. 99, l. 1. ἐν οἷς μὲν ἡρέθησαν οὐκ ἔπραττον. The editor's suggested ἐφ' οἷς must of course be accepted.

P. 99, l. 8. For βεβαίως read βιαίως. **JBM.**

P. 100, l. 1. ὁ Ἀχέρδους υἱός. Read Ἀχερδοούσιος. Phayllus was of the deme called Ἀχερδοῦς, as Rhinon was of that of Παιανία. **B.**

P. 100, l. 2. Omit τ' after Πανσανίαν. **JBM.**

P. 100, l. 4. For ἐπὶ πέρας γὰρ ἤγαγε we should perhaps read ἐπιμελῶς γὰρ ἤπειγε. **JBM.**

P. 100, l. 11. τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ. Perhaps ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ. **W.** 'Possible.' **K.**

P. 100, l. 15. ἐπ' Εὐκλείδους ἄρχοντος. Read Εὐκλείδου. **B.** 'So MS.' **K.** Even in the second edition Εὐκλείδους is not corrected in form though it is in accent. **R.**

P. 100, l. 17. τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἄσται μεινάντων ἐξοικεῖν ἔχειν Ἐλευσίνα. Insert τῶν before ἐν ἄσται, and for following ἔχειν read perhaps ἐξείναι εἰς. **JBM.** 'Not in MS., but Ἀθηναίων is a later insertion above the line, so that one could either omit it altogether or insert τῶν in addition.' **K.**

P. 100, l. 18. ἐπιτίμους ὄντας καὶ κυρίου καὶ αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ πᾶσιν καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν καρπούμενους. Is ἐπὶ πᾶσιν right? ἐαυτῶν has occurred to me. **J.**

P. 100, l. 22. μὴ ἐξείναι δὲ μήτε τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις εἰς τὸ ἄστυ μήτε τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστους Ἐλευσινιάδε ἰέναι πλὴν μυστηρίους ἑκατέρους.

ἐκατέρους might perhaps be defended or excused: but should we not read μυστηρίους ἑκατέροις, 'at the mysteries, greater and less'? **J.**

P. 101, l. 13. Unless we are prepared to sanction πρὶν with the subjunctive in Attic prose we must correct πρὶν ἀπογράφηται to πρὶν ἂν ἀπογράφηται. **W.** 'So MS.' **K.**

P. 101, l. 15. εἴ τίς τινα αὐτοχειρὶ <ἀπεκτονεῖ> ἐκτίσει ἱερώσας. The proposed reading is inconsistent with the usages of tenses and moods throughout the document. **JAS.** Read εἴ τίς τινα ἀποκτείνας ἐκτίσει ἱερώσας. **R.** Possibly αὐτοχειρία, and in line 17 ἡ τρώσας, are worth recording as provisional suggestions, pending an examination of the papyrus. **W.** 'The MS. has been corrected to ἱερώσας. The original writing cannot be deciphered.' **K.**

P. 102, l. 7. ἀναγραφὴν. Read ἀπογραφὴν. **W., J.**

P. 103, l. 13. ἅμα should probably be ἀλλὰ. **HR.** 'Possible.' **K.** τά τε ἅλλα would read better. **JBM.**

P. 103, l. 14. καρδία καὶ κοινῇ. Read καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ. **Z.** So Corrigenda.

P. 103, l. 15. For προγεγενημέναις read προσγεγενημέναις. **W.**

P. 103, l. 21. ἄρχειν μὲν τῆς ὁμονοίας. 'μεν: MS. δεν.' Perhaps ἄρχειν δὲ ἰν. **W.**

For μὲν (MS. δὲν) read δέιν. Cp. Demosth. in *Leptin.* c. 12 (referring to the same matter), τῶν δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑπάρχει τῆς ὁμοιότητος σημείον ἀξιοῦντων. **N.** 'I think an ι has been inserted correcting δὲν to δέιν.' **K.**

P. 103, l. 22. For ἔτι read ἔσθ' ὅ τι. **R.** Is it possible that the original was οὐχ ὅτι, and that the latter word having been corrupted to ἔτι, οἶον was inserted by a later scribe? **JBM.**

P. 103, last line. οἱ δημοκρατήσαντες. Read δημοκρατησάμενοι. **M.**

P. 104, l. 8. ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρον μὲν ἄρχοντος, [δ]οκοῦντος δὲ δικαίως τοῦ δήμου λαβεῖν τὴν [ἐξουσίαν] διὰ τὸ ποιήσασθαι τὴν κάθοδον δι' αὐτὸν τὸν δῆμον. This certainly cannot stand: we must at least read αὐτοῦ for αὐτόν. In the note, however, it is suggested that Θρασυβούλου should be read instead of the former δήμου, προστασίαν for ἐξουσίαν, and αὐτόν for αὐτόν. If we accept this I should still prefer the genitive αὐτοῦ. **JBM.**

P. 104, l. 13. μετ' αὐτοῦ. Perhaps μετ' αὐτόν. **W.**

P. 105, l. 1. δευτέρα δὲ καὶ πρώτη μετὰ ταῦτα [ἐξ]έχουσα πολιτείας τάξις ἢ ἐπὶ Θεσέως. (MS. πολιτείαν τάξιν). Read δευτέρα δὲ ἦν ἢ καὶ πρώτη μ.τ. μέτεχουσα κ.τ.λ. **JBM.** With some hesitation I propose παρέχουσα πολιτείας τάξιν. **W.** παρέχουσα πολιτείαν τάξις. **R.**

P. 105, last line but two. Should we read ἦ for καί? **JBM.**

P. 106, l. 4. καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἐνάτη δὲ [δ]ημοκρατία πάλιν. Omit δέ. **JBM.**

P. 107, l. 9. Read, or rather divide, thus: ὅταν δ' ἐγγράφονται. **W., AS., HR.**

P. 108, l. 4. Another confusion of prepositions. For ἐπιψηφίσονται read ἀποψηφίσονται. **W.**

P. 108, l. 13. [εἰ]ς τὰς φυλάς. Possibly it should be κατὰ φυλάς. **W.** 'Yes.' **K.**

P. 108, l. 19. [ἐπιμ]ελήτην ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πάντα. Corrupt. **AS.** Omit ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων which is due to an adscript upon ὁ δῆμος two lines above ὡς τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων. **R.**

P. 108, l. 21. Is περιῆλθον right? Perhaps περίασιν. **S.**

P. 108, last line but one. [οἷ]τινες ... διδάσκουσιν. Read διδάξουσιν. **R.**

P. 109, l. 6. I am inclined to read ἐξασκοῦσι rather than διάγουσι, and perhaps δεύτερον l. 7. **W.**

P. 109, l. 13. ἵνα μὴ πράγμασι συμμιγείεντι. Read συμμιγῶσιν τι. **AS.** Read συμμιγνύονται. **JBM.** Read μὴ πράγμασι συγγίνονται. **R.** 'The termination εἰν is clear.' **K.**

P. 110, l. 7. I know of no authority for τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, gen. plur., for Dem. 18, 55 and 118 are not genuine documents. The dative singular would be the easiest correction. But p. 120 l. 1 we have the quite well attested phrase τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν (cf. Aesch. 3. 25). In *C. I. A.* ii. 114 C vs. 5 the right reading is doubtful. **W.** 'The MS. has τὸ θεωρικόν.' **K.**

Ch. 43, p. 110. τοῦ τῶν κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητοῦ. Mr. Kenyon's note is not quite correct, as the title does occur once in the *Politics*, though not in any particular connection with Athens (*Polit.* vii. 5, 3, 1321b, 26). It is however very remarkable that we find in this work no mention of the well-known official called sometimes ταμίης τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου, sometimes ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει. This is the more noticeable as the work was written just after the administration of Lycurgus, in whose time the office became of exceptional importance. Now in this passage he has just mentioned two other officials, ὁ ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν and οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, both of whom had financial duties. The word διοίκησις also is generally used of business. It is strange, then, to find the ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν κρηνῶν associated with men whose duties were so entirely unconnected with his. I expect therefore that for κρηνῶν we should read κοινῶν, and that the title is another name for ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει. **JWH.**

P. 111, l. 5. I think εἰς must be omitted after συνάγουσιν, as in Harpocration (*s.v.* κυρία ἐκκλησία). The phrase συναγ. εἰς βουλήν does not, I think, occur elsewhere, and it is certainly inappropriate for the following δῆμον. Cf. p. 113, last line but one. **JBM.** And in Pollux viii. 96 it is ὅταν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸν δῆμον ἢ τὴν βουλήν συνάγωσιν. **W.**

P. 111, l. 7. τὴν μὲν οὖν βουλήν ὁσημέραι, πλὴν ἑάν τις ἀφέσιμος ᾖ. I should keep the ὅσαι ἡμέραι of the MS., as it facilitates the following τις. **JBM.**

P. 112, l. 14. ὦν ἂν βούληται. Perhaps περὶ ὦν ἂν βούληται. περὶ in MS. is sometimes π'. **W.** 'But this hand uses no abbreviation.' **K.**

P. 116, l. 8. ποιούσι δὲ καὶ δεκαρχαίρεσις. The syllable δεκ is probably a careless repetition of the preceding δὲ καί, which, according to the table of abbreviations, would presumably be written δέκ'. **S.**

P. 117, l. 3 foll. ἢ δὲ βουλή πρότερον μὲν ἦν κυρία...καὶ δῆσαι καὶ ἀποκτείνει. καὶ Λυσίμαχον αὐτῆς ἀγαγούσης ὡς τὸν δήμιον καθημένον ἤδη μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν Εὐμηλείδης...ἀφειλετο. There are several difficulties in the second sentence. We

should have expected a clause with δέ answering to πρότερον μέν. Then the phrase ἄγειν ὡς τὸν δῆμιον used of the council in respect to their slave, the public executioner, seems to me very extraordinary. I should have expected ἀπαγαγεῖν παραδούσης τῷ δημίῳ. Cf. Lys. 135, 62 θάνατον καταψηφισάμενοι τῷ δημίῳ παρέδοτε καὶ ἀπετυμπανίσθη. The following καθημένον, reminding one of the phrase ὁ δῆμος καθῆται, makes one wonder whether we should read δῆμον for δῆμιον. If on the other hand καθημένον agrees with Λυσίμαχον, it does not seem a suitable word for one in the position described, just about to suffer the punishment of τυμπανισμός (compare ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου below). Should we read καταδεδεμένον for καθημένον, and insert καὶ before μέλλοντα? Probably ἀφείλετο must be taken in the sense of 'rescued,' not as in l. 11, ἀφείλετο τῆς βουλῆς τὸ θανατοῦν. **JBM.**

P. 117, l. 14. Is ἐπιζημιώσεις right after ζημιώσῃ in the preceding line? **W.**

P. 119, l. 8. Here, and at line 14, read κληροῦνται ὃ εἰς ἐξ <ἐκάς>της φυλῆς. Cf. p. 149 note. **W.**

P. 120, l. 5. τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγον φευγόντων καὶ τῶν...[ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς πωλοῦσιν. Possibly the blank may be filled by ἀτίμων. One of the forms of ἀτιμία was followed by confiscation, and we know from Harpocration, who refers to this treatise in his article on πωληταί, that among their duties was the sale of τὰ δημεύμενα. **S.**

P. 120, l. 9. τὸν τὰ πρ...ἂν πρίηται. Perhaps the corruption here may have arisen from misunderstanding some contraction of ὀνόματα. **R.**

P. 120, l. 16. [τα μισθωθ]έντα. Perhaps [τα ἀπογραφ]έντα. **W.**

P. 120, l. 21. Cf. [Dem.] 43 § 58 s. f. τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδόντας τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν. Restore τὰς μισθώσεις τῶν τεμενῶν here. **W.**

P. 120, l. 22. ἐν γραμματε[ίῳ]...ὤρνεοις. Read ἐν γραμματείοις λελεγκωμένοις, comparing l. 9. **J.**

P. 121, l. 10. Read κἄν τις ἐλλίπη καταβολὴ ἐντέθεν, γέγραπται. **R.**

P. 121, l. 18. καί...ασιν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ εἴ τις τινα οἶδεν ἀδικοῦντα. The lacuna may perhaps be filled with the words [κατηγορίαν δίδ]οασιν. Cf. 139—6, δοὺς κατηγορίαν. **JBM.** Perhaps προτιθε[σ]ασιν. **S.**

P. 122, l. 8. Read ἐπιγραφόμενος for [παρ]α[β]όμενος. **W.**

P. 122, ll. 18, 19. For τρέφειν in these lines read τρέχειν. If a charger was in good condition but unmanageable, he was mulcted in his allowance of corn. If he could not go,

or would not stand still when bidden, he was marked with ⊙ as unfit for service. **LC.**

P. 122, l. 20. ἀνάγουσι τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ...Read χαράττονσι (or ἀναγράφουσι) τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πυγῇ. **LC.**

Read κἄν μὲν τις κατ[ά]στασιν ἔχ[ω]ν κακῶς δοκῇ τρέφειν, ζημιᾷ τῷ σίτῳ (the Boule stops his allowance). Cf. Harpoer. and Suidas s. v. κατάστασις. **W.**

20, ἀνάγουσι τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν . . . (see the editor's note), 'what is the whole process spoken of' may be learnt from Hesych, s. v. τρυσίππιον· τὸν χαρακτῆρα τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τετρ[υ]μένοις... (here Hesychius is defective) ἵνα μηκέτι στρατεύονται. τροχὸς δὲ ἦν ὁ ἐπιβαλλόμενος χαρακτῆρ τῇ γνάθῳ τῶν ἵππων. Cf. also Photius s. v. ἱππότροχος, Eustath. 1517, 8, whose explanation of τρυσίππιον is ἔγκανμα ἵππου γεγνηκαῖος ἐπὶ τῆς γνάθου, ὅμοιον τροχῷ, and Pollux 7, 186.

Read ἐπιβάλλουσι τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γνάθον, 'the Bouleutae put a circular brand on the jaw' of the rejected horses. (For change from singular to plural cf. p. 123, ll. 14 and 16.) **RDH.**

In l. 19 τρέφειν has no sense as applied to the horses. It may be a repetition of τρέφειν in the line before, which has replaced some other verb. In a similar passage, Hipp. 1, 13, Xenophon proposed that restive horses should be rejected at the inspection: τοῖς μὴ θέλουσι μένειν may well mean τοῖς βιαίους ἵπποῖς. If however the infinitive could not = μένειν κατὰ χώραν, then πονεῖν would be an easy remedy.

From Hesych. s. v. ἵππου τροχός· τοῖς γεγνηκαῖοις ἵπποις ἐχάραττον ἐπὶ τὴν γνάθον σημείον. κ.τ.λ., Mr. Wyse is inclined to propose χαράττονσι for the corrupt ἀνάγουσι. Dr. Jackson proposes ἀνάπτουσι, and for [τ]ρέφειν, [στ]ρέφειν. **RDH.**

P. 122, l. 19. τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις [τ]ρέφειν. If (as Mr. Hicks suggests) τρέφειν has been erroneously repeated from the preceding line, ἀκολουθεῖν may be substituted. See (in addition to Xen. Hipp. 1, 13), Xen. Mem. 3, 3, 4, εἰαν μὲν οὖν παρέχωνταί σοι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ μὲν οὕτω κακὸποδας ἢ κακοσκελεῖς ἢ ἀσθενεῖς, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀτρόφους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀκολουθεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀναγώγους ὥστε μὴ μένειν ὅπου ἂν σὺ τάξῃς. **W.**

P. 122, l. 22. [οἷτινες α]ὐτῇ δοκῶσιν. Read ὅσοι ἂν. **AS.**

P. 122, l. 23. κἄν τινα π[ρο]χειροτονήσῃ καταβέβηκεν οὗτος. Read here and in the next line but one ἀποχειροτονήσῃ. **JBM., LC.**

P. 122, l. 24. Restore ἀμίππους for ἀνίπ-

πους. **W.** The MSS. have ἀνίπτων, ἀνίππους, ἀνίππους in Xen. *Hell.* 7, 5, 23–25, where Keller reads ἀμίπτων, ἀμίππους, ἀμίππους. **N.**

P. 124, l. 7. συνοικεῖ. Read συνδιοικεῖ, as at the beginning of ch. 47. **M., JBM., W.** 'So MS., corrected in corrigenda to ed. 2.' **K.**

P. 125, l. 1. ὅπως τῶν κοπρολόγων μηδεὶς ἐν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ τείχους καταβαλεῖ κόπρον. (The MS. has ἐντὸς ἰδίων with dots above the final σ of ἐντὸς and the δ and σπ above the last three letters of ἰδίων.) Read ἐν τὸς παριών. **AS.** ἐντὸς τῆς περιόδου. **R.** The correction μηδεὶς ἐντὸς τοῦ Πελαργικοῦ τείχους is tempting: cf. p. 51, l. 10, *C. I. A.* iv. 1 Fasc. 2 n. 27 b, vs. 56 sqq. and Herod. 5, 64, ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ. But perhaps ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους gives sufficiently good sense. **W.** 'Over the last three letters of ἰδίων are written the characters σ π (apa). The latter character is rather doubtful and might be read as τα.' Accepting τα, I find in ἰδίων^α letter for letter ἰ σταδίων. 'within 10 stadia of the city wall.' **M.**

P. 125, l. 4. ὀχετοὺς μετεώρας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἔκρουν ἐχομ[ένας]. Read μετεώρους and ἔχοντας. **B.** 'μετεώρους corrected in ed. 2.' **K.** Cf. Plato *Laws* 761 B τὰς ἐκροὰς αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ἰδάτων) εἵργοντας οἰκοδομήμασί τε καὶ ταφρέμασιν. I restore the passage thus: ὀχετοὺς μετεώρας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκροὰς ἔχοντας ποιεῖν. **W.**

P. 126, ll. 4, 7. πωληταὶ... χρήσονται. Here twice over we have ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως followed by subjunctive. **W.** Read χρήσονται. **AS., R.**

P. 127, l. 11. καταπλέοντος εἰς τὸ σιτικὸν ἐμπόριον. Read Ἀττικόν as in Harpocration s.v. ἐπιμελὴς ἐμπορίον. Then καταπλέοντος acquires a meaning, for τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐμπόριον was a recognized term for the Peiraeus, Demosth. pp. 917, 26, 918, 6, cf. 932, 13. **CT.** I suggest that the real reading is ἀστικόν. The term ἀστικὸν ἐμπόριον is explained in Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 208, ὅπου οἱ ἀστοὶ ἐμπορεύονται, and similarly on pp. 284 and 456. **S.**

P. 127, l. 15. Read ἀπαξομένους. **R.**

P. 129, l. 6. Read ἰδίας for ἄλλας. **W.**

P. 130, l. 9. τοῖς τῆς φύλης τοῦ φεύγοντος δικάζουσιν. Read τῇ φύλῃ. Cp. 122, 12, 146, 8. Lysias 23, 2, has τοὺς τῇ Ἱπποθωντίδῃ δικάζοντας, but the accusative is confirmed by the analogy of [Dem.] 47, 12, οἱ τὴν Οἰνηίδα καὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθίδα διαιτῶντες. **W.** 'Possible' **K.**

P. 132, l. 9. ἐὰν τύχη ἀρχὴν ἄρχων [ἄλλῃ]ν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ. Read τις ἐν. **JB.** Possibly [ἄλλην ἐν] ἐκείνῳ κ.τ.λ. **W.**

P. 133, l. 11. οὔτοι (i.e. the λογισταί) γάρ

εἰσι μόνοι τοῖς ὑπευθύνους λογίζόμενοι. Insert οἱ after μόνοι. **JBM.**

P. 134, l. 6. γραμματέων ἐστὶ κύριος. Read γραμματῶν with Harpocration. **JB.**

P. 135, l. 3. Read ἀτελείαις, not πολιτείαις. **W.**

P. 136, l. 1. (οἱ ἱεροποιοί) τά τε [μαν]τευτὰ ἱερὰ θύουσιν κ.τ.λ. The *Lex. Seg.* (p. 265 of Bekker's *Anecdota*) has τά τε μαντεύματα ἱεροθυτοῦσι, and the *Lex. Demosth. Patm.* p. 11, has οἱ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ἱερὰ θύουσιν (not τὰ μαντεύματα ἱερὰ θύουσιν). **S.**

P. 137, l. 1. ἐπ[τα]τηρίς. Read ἑπταετηρίς. **M., JAS.** Not in L. and S. though it occurs also in Dionys. ap. Eus. h. e. vii 23 4. **M.**

P. 137, l. 3. (Of the festivals) καὶ τούτων οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγί[νεται]. It is natural to conjecture ἔτι γίνεταί, though it does not seem easily reconcilable with the facts as stated in the notes. **JBM.**

P. 137, l. 4. ...δὲ πρόκειται...αἰς...ἐπὶ Κηφισοφώντος ἄρχοντος. Perhaps [ἄθλα] δὲ πρόκειται...αἰς [νεωστῆ] ἐπὶ Κηφισοφώντος ἄρχοντος? If the letter preceding αἰς were τ, and not φ or ρ, which Mr. Kenyon thinks it was, many words might be suggested to fill the gap. **N.**

P. 137, l. 11. Omit ἐνέα. **R.**

P. 139, l. 9 sqq. καὶ πρότερον μὲν εἰς ἐνέβαλλε τὴν [ψ]ῆφον, νῦν δ' ἀναγκὴ πάντας. ἔστι δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἴνα κ.τ.λ. A more satisfactory sense can be obtained by a change of punctuation. Remove the full stop after πάντας and replace δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι by διαψηφίζεσθαι. ('So probably MS.' **K.**). The latter part of the sentence will then run νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη πάντας ἐστὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. **W.**

P. 139, l. 13. δοκιμασθὲν δὲ...βαδίζουσιν. Read δοκιμασθέντες. **R., HR.**

P. 140, l. 8. A new paragraph should begin at καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρχων. **R.**

P. 140, l. 14. Cf. Demosth. 39 § 7, p. 996, 21, πρότερον σέ φέρουσιν ἢ μὲ; The accusative seems absolutely required. Read τούτων here and on p. 141, l. 1. **W.**

P. 141, l. 2—

τὰς σκήψεις εἰσ[άγει] ἂν τις ἡ λε.....η π[ρὸς] ἕτερον ταύτην τὴν λητουργίαν]..... [ἐ]τέραν λητουργίαν καὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ... εἰας μὴ ἐς.....ἔτη μὴ γεγονέναι.

I had thought of λελύσθαι φῆ, but this does not give us a satisfactory construction.

The following is suggested as a provisional restoration:

τὰς σκήψεις εἰσάγει ἂν τις ἡ λε[λητουργεῖναι φ]ῆ πρότερον ταύτην τὴν λητουργίαν [ἢ λητουργεῖν] ἕτεραν λητουργίαν, καὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ ἕνεκα? μὴ ἐξ[εῖναι] διὰ τὸ μ' ἔτη μὴ γεγονέναι. Cf. Dem. 50 § 9, τούτων ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν

πρόφασιν ποιούμενος ὅτι τριηραρχῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην δύο ληγουρίας ληγουργεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ νόμοι ἔδωκιν. For the position of ἔνεκα, cf. Dem. *Lept.* 88; *Lysias*, 14 § 32; 20 § 30. **S.**

P. 141, l. 2. Perhaps we may partly fill up the lacuna—ἐὰν τις ἡ λειτουργεῖν μὴ ἔλῃ] ἢ πρὸς ἕτερον ταύτην τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀποθῇται καὶ αἰτήσῃ ἐξέτασιν. **R.**

P. 141, l. 8. ἀρχιέρων τῷ, cf. *C.I.G.* 158a 33. **CT.** 'Possible' **K.**

P. 141, l. 9. For ἐπεμελεῖτο read ἐπιμελεῖται. **AS., R.** 'Possible.' **K.**

P. 142, l. 2. <γο>νέων κακώσεως is certain. **W.** Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 269, s.v. κακώσεως: ...ἡ τοιαύτη δίκη οὕτως ἀπεφέρετο γονέων κακώσεως, ὁρφάνων κακώσεως ἢ οἴκου ὁρφανικοῦ κακώσεως. These three kinds of κάκωσις are all mentioned in the text in the same terms and in the same order. This is conclusive (if any argument is needed) in favour of Mr. Wyse's emendation, γονέων for νέων. **S.**

P. 142, l. 8. τὰ πατρῶα or πατρίαν οὐσίαν would be a more satisfactory supplement. **W.**

P. 142, l. 8. Read αἰτιῶται. **R.**

P. 142, l. 10. Mark a lacuna after καταστάσιν. **R.**

P. 142, l. 12. θέλωσ]ιν. Read θέλουσιν. **AS.** (Corrected in ed. 2).

P. 142, l. 18. καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ [κλήρων]...α, I have thought of κ. τ. ἀποτιμώντων χωρία, but this involves the supposition that γένηται in l. 19 is wrong. In l. 20 the sense required is ἐὰν μὴ ἀποδώσιν. **W.**

P. 142, l. 19. Probably τιμητής. **W.**

P. 142, l. 20. Read διδώσι. **R.**

P. 142, last line. ανμ . . . [δί]δωσι τοῖς παισὶν τὸν σίτον οὕτως εἰσπραττεῖ. Read καὶ οἱ ἐπίτροποι ἂν μὴ ἀποδώσι τοῖς παισὶν τὸν σίτον οὕτως εἰσπραττεῖ. **S.**

P. 143, l. 5. ἐχειροτόνει. Read χειροτονεῖ. **JBM., R.**

P. 143, l. 7. Διονυσίων τῶν ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων. Read Ἀθηναίω. **M., B., AS.**

P. 143, l. 8. [ταύτην] μὲν οὖν πομπὴν κοινῇ πέμπουσιν...τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα διατίθησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς. For ταύτην read τήν. **JBM.**

P. 143, l. 14. I see no reason to alter πρὸς τινα of MS. **W.**

P. 145, l. 5. δικάζουσιν]...αἰ[ο]ι καὶ ὑπαίθριοι. Read σκοταῖοι. We learn from Lucian, *Permotimus*, 64, that the Areopagites gave their sentences in the dark. **S.** In support of Dr. Sandys' conjecture, σκοταῖοι, see Lucian, *De Domo*, 18: ἀλλ' οὖν ἕκαστος ἐπειδὴν μόνον ὑπερβῇ τὸν οὐδόν, ἀθρόφῳ τῷ κάλλει περιχυθεὶς λόγων μὲν ἐκείνων ἢ ἀκροάσεως ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰοῦντι ἔοικεν, ὅλος δὲ πρὸς τοῖς

ὁρῶμένοις ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ τύχοι τις παντέλως τυφλὸς ὢν ἢ ἐν νυκτὶ ὥσπερ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή ποιοῖτο τὴν ἀκροάσιν. **M. JAS.** also refers to Luc. *De Domo*. 18. Read perhaps θυραῖοι. **HR.**

P. 145, ll. 9, 10. Correct οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔξεστιν ἐμβάλλειν αὐτῷ. For the latter part of this corrupt passage it is necessary to compare [Dem.] 47 § 69, p. 1160, 19, ὁνομαστὶ μὲν μηδενὶ προαγορεύειν τοῖς δέδρακόσι δὲ καὶ κτείνασιν. That is, the blank in the indictment was filled by 'the perpetrators and slayers' (the participles are masculine). Cf. also Plato *Laus* 874 A B ἐὰν δὲ τεθνεὺς μὲν αὖ τις φανῇ καὶ μὴ ἀμελὸς ζητοῦσιν ἀνέυρετος γίγνηται, τὰς μὲν προρρήσεις τὰς αὐτὰς γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προαγορεύειν δὲ τὸν φόνον τῷ δράσαντι καὶ ἐπιδικασάμενον ἐν ἀγορᾷ κηρύττει 'τῷ κτείναντι τὸν καὶ τὸν καὶ ὠφληκότι φόνου μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἱερῶν.' I propose then ὅταν δέ τις μὴ εἰδῇ (or, as the letters are much rubbed, ἀγνοῇ) τὸν ποιήσαντα, τῷ δράσαντι λαγχάνει. The dative participle is of course masculine. **W.**

P. 146, l. 2. Read ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. **R.**

P. 147, l. 2. Possibly we should read ἐπιχειροτονίας. **W.**

P. 147, l. 3. τὰς προβολὰς εἰσάγουσιν οὗτοι καὶ γραφὰς παρανόμων καὶ νόμον μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θεῖναι. Insert τοῦ before νόμον. **JBM.**

P. 147, l. 17. <κατα>κυροῦσι. **W.**

P. 148, l. 12. τὸ δ' ἔλαιον συλλέγεται. **RDH.**

P. 148, l. 15. πρότερον δ' ἐπώλει τὸν καρπὸν ἢ πόλιν. The reading ἐπώλει is confirmed by Lys. 7, 2 τοὺς ἐωνημένους τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν μοριῶν. For the supervision of the sacred olives by the Areopagus see the whole speech. A point of some interest to be noted is that the phrase 'formerly,' recurring so often in the second section of the work, may sometimes refer to the period after the year of Euclides, for Lys. 7, according to Blass (*Att. Ber.* i.² p. 591), is not earlier than 395 B.C. **W.**

P. 149, l. 13. ἀργύρια καὶ χρυσᾶ. Read ἀργυρᾶ. **R.**

P. 150, l. 6. τῆς φ[υ]λῆς. Read τῆς χηλῆς, cf. Thuc. viii. 90, 4. Thus the χηλή, the northern side of the Peiraeus, was under the same officer as the ἀκτὴ, the southern side. **CT.**

P. 152, l. 7. χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ φυλάρχους, ἓνα τῆς φυλῆς. δέκα has dropt out after δὲ καὶ. **S.**

P. 155, l. 3 foll. τοῖς δὲ πρυτανεύουσιν εἰς σίτησιν* . . . [π]ροστίθεται δέκα προστίθενται.* Perhaps τοῖς δὲ πρυτανεύουσιν εἰς σίτησιν εἰς ὀβολὸς προστίθεται καὶ τοῖς δέκα δύο, i.e. an additional fee of one obol is paid

to the prytanes for maintenance, which in the case of the epistates and proedri is further raised to two obols. R. 'The MS. admits of εἰς ὀβολός.' K.

P. 156, l. 4. ἐκ[ατομ]βίωνα. Read ἑκατομ-
βαιῶνα. AS. 'Possible.' K.

P. 162, ll. 2—12. ἐμπηγνύτης is an impossible word: the true reading must be ἐμπήκτης. B. ἐμπήκτης, proposed by Mr. Bywater, is confirmed by Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 258, ἐμπήκτης: ὁ θεσμοθέτης. That the lexicographer had this passage in view is proved by the previous context where it is stated of the θεσμοθέτης that he ἐμπηγνυσι τὰ πινάκια. S.

P. 168, l. 14. Correct ὁ κήρυξ ἀγορεύει for ὁ κήρυξ ἀγοράζει. W. 'Possible.' K.

We have received further emendations too late for insertion from J. B. Bury, G. E. Marindin, R. Y. Tyrrell, and W. G. Rutherford, which will appear in our next number.

ARISTOTLE, *Atheniensium Respublica*, 61.—There is a statement here that five of the ten Στρατηγοί at Athens had specific duties while the other five took the miscellaneous work; and that these specific duties were about Ὀπλῆται, Χώρα, Μονυχία, Ἀκτή, Συμμορίαί. The treatise, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ was composed or revised between 328 and 325 B.C. This is the earliest notice of these specific duties; the Demosthenic decrees being spurious. The following notices come next in date. Deinarchos, in *Philoclem*, 2, mentions a Στρατηγός for Μονυχία in 325 B.C. The decree, *C.I.A.* ii. 809, a. 209, mentions a Στρατηγός for Συμμορίαί in 324 B.C. Plutarch, *Phocion*, 32, mentions a Στρατηγός for Χώρα in 317 B.C. The decree, *C.I.A.* ii. 331, mentions a Στρατηγός for Ναυτικόν before 315 B.C.—almost certainly in 317 B.C., cf. Diodoros, xviii. 72, 3—for

Παρασκευή in 296 B.C. and for Χώρα and Ξένοι and Ὀπλᾶ subsequently.

Thus the statement was no longer true in 317 B.C., as there was then a Στρατηγός for Ναυτικόν. The decree in Plutarch, p. 852, authenticated by *C.I.A.* ii. 240, states that Lycurgos was χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς: and this suggests that there was a Στρατηγός for Παρασκευή before 325 B.C. But the decree does not actually style him Στρατηγός, and he probably was Ἐπιστάτης. There is ample evidence, *C.I.A.* ii. 403—405, 839, that the Στρατηγός for Παρασκευή was mainly occupied with public worship, not with warfare; and in *C.I.A.* ii. 733, B, 2, στρατ[ηγῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκ]εὴν κεχ[ει]ροτονημένων, the restoration is entirely unwarranted.

As there are no notices of these specific duties before 328 B.C. at the earliest, though there are many afterwards, it seems highly probable that this division of duties was instituted about this date. There certainly was no Στρατηγός for Συμμορίαί five years before. An official inscription for the year 334, 333 B.C. contains the following note, *C.I.A.* ii. 804, A, b. 72—75, τούτῳ συντρη-
ήραρχον οἱ Στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ Εἰκοσιν κατέστησαν, where the Twenty are clearly representatives of the twenty Συμμορίαί. Thus the Στρατηγοὶ were then discharging collectively the proper duties of a Στρατηγός for Συμμορίαί.

The statement, then, must be limited to some few years between 333 and 317 B.C.

CECIL TORR.

C. 18, p. 48. ὁ λεγόμενος λόγος κ.τ.λ. Thucydides' informant seems to have confused the circumstances of the arrest of Aristogiton with the disarmament of the people by Pisistratus as narrated *supra* c. 15, p. 42.

C. 30, p. 84. Either the Hellenotamiae were not allowed to speak or move a resolution, or sat without voting, or those of them who acted as treasurers for the time being were precluded from sitting on the Council.

C. 35, p. 94. May not Archestratus have acted with Pericles rather than with Ephialtes? Compare c. 27.

C. 49, p. 122. The horses meant are not those of the ἵπποις (*infra* p. 123), but others kept by the State for military service.

ib. The ἄντιποι seem to be a different class from the πρόδρομοι. Was there at this time a sort of mounted infantry, composed of citizens who could ride, but were unable to maintain the position of ἵπποις? Compare the διστάχαι in Alexander's army (Smith's Dict. of Ant. art. *Exercitus*). P. 123 throws light on Lysias *pro Mantitheo* § 13 p. 147.

C. 54, p. 135. πολιτείας. Does not the word mean 'citizenships'? *i.e.* When any one was made an Athenian citizen, the name of the γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν was appended to the record.

L. CAMPBELL.

¹ The reference is to the following note which appeared in the *Athenaeum* for Feb. 7.

c. 46 ποιεῖται (ἡ βουλὴ) καὶνὰς τριήρεις ἢ τετρήρεις, ὁποῦντες ἂν ὁ δῆμος χειροτονήσῃ. That certainly was written after the Athenians began to build quadriremes and before they began to build quinqueremes. The list of the fleet for the year 330, 329 B.C. mentions 18 quadriremes (*C.I.A.* ii. 807 b 67—79). The lists are missing for several years before. Probably the Athenians began to build quadriremes two or three years before; but the point is immaterial in determining the date of the treatise, as events of the year 329, 328 B.C. are mentioned in c. 54, ἐπὶ Κηφισοφῶντος ἀρχόντος. The Athenians began to build quinqueremes in 325 B.C., for the list for the year 325, 324 B.C. mentions seven, while the list for the year 326, 325 B.C. mentions none (*C.I.A.* ii. 808 d 22—39; 809 d 62—92). Thus the treatise was composed (or revised) between 328 and 325 B.C.

p. 7, l. 2. We are here told that the residence of the Archon-Basileus was in the Βουκόλιον. This explains

the otherwise obscure passage quoted by Athenaeus, p. 235, from the law relating to the Archon-Basileus: τοὺς δὲ παραίτους ἐκ τῆς βουκολίας ἐκλέγειν ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ ἑαυτῶν ἐκτέα κριθῶν κ.τ.λ. Hence we may correct the rendering of ἐκ τῆς (or ἐκτός) βουκολίας (*absque dolo*) in Telfy's *Corpus Iuris Attici*, § 358.

p. 38, l. 8. The story about Solon and Pisistratus is told in almost the same words in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 16.

p. 62, l. 1. ὡς ἐφάνη τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνεία. Cp. Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 279, Μαρώνεια: τόπος ἦν τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅπου τὰ μέταλλα εὐρέθη.

pp. 98, 99. The two boards of Ten mentioned in connexion with the Thirty tyrants are also distinguished from one another in the *Lex. Seg.* p. 235, 31 of Bekker's *Anecdota*, δέκα ἡσαν τινες ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἱ ἄρξαντες κατὰ τὴν τυραννίδα τῶν τριακόντα ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτοὺς εὐθύναι τῆς ἀρχῆς δοῦναι. μὴ ἀρνοῦμεν δὲ ὅτι ἑτεροὶ εἰσὶ δέκα, οὓς Ἀθηναῖοι εἴλοντο μετὰ τὴν τῶν τριακόντα κατάλυσιν.

p. 124 *init.* The paraphrase of the passage on the subject of the ἀδύνατοι is to be found, not on p. 200, 3, but on p. 345, 18 of Bekker's *Anecdota*.

p. 126. The statement that the μετρονόμοι were ten in number, five for Athens and five for the Peiraeus, though not in accordance with Harpocration, is confirmed by the following article in Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 278, s.v. ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἀθήνῃσι κληρωτῆ ἡ τῶν μετρονόμων, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν πέντε μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεὶ, πέντε δὲ ἐν Ἀσσει. οὗτοι δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶχον, ὅπως δίκαια ᾖ τὰ μέτρα τῶν πωλούντων.

p. 135, ll. 6-8. The purport of this passage is given in nearly the same words in Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 226, s.v. γραμματεῦς, καὶ τὸν γραμματέα ὁ δῆμος χειροτονεῖ, ἀναγνωσόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ. καὶ οὗτος οὐδενὸς τὸ σύνολον ἄλλου ἐστὶ κύριος ἡ τοῦ ἀναγνώναι. J. E. SANDYS.

p. 3 l. 4 ἡ δὲ πᾶσα γῆ δι' ὀλίγων ἦν. cf. p. 13 l. 8 ἡ χώρα δι' ὀλίγων ἦν.

p. 3 l. 6 [δεδεμένοι τοῖς δανεῖσιν] ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι. The editor refers to c. 4 f. p. 13 l. 7, in which the passage is cited: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν δεδεμένοι, καθάπερ εἰρηται. See also c. 6 pr. p. 15 κωλύσας [δανεῖσιν] ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, and c. 9 p. 26 l. 1.

p. 3 last line but one: τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς [ἵστασαν] ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην. cf. c. 3 f. p. 9 ἡ γὰρ αἵρεσις τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην καὶ πλουτίνδην ἦν. c. 1 p. 1 ὁμόσαντες ἀριστίνδην. Add to *lexx.* the law in Dem. p. 1069 7. Plut. Sol. 12 § 2. Lysand. 13 § 7 (where also πλουτίνδην, as in vii sap. com. 11 pr. p. 154). Euseb. ecl. proph. iv 4 p. 177 18. CIA I. 61. App. b. c. i 35. Ael. in Suid. Διονυσίων σκαυμάτων has πλ.

c. 3 p. 4 l. 1: δεκαετία. Add to *lexx.* Epiphani. haer. 16 l.

c. 3 p. 6 l. 11: διδὸ καὶ νεωστὶ γέγονεν ἡ ἀρχὴ μεγάλη τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις αὐξηθεῖσα. cf. c. 25 p. 69 f. ἔπειτα τῆς βουλῆς...ἀπαντα περιεῖλε τὰ ἐπιθέτα.

c. 5 p. 14 f. ἦν δ' ὁ Σόλων...τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν μέσων. Aristot. pol. iv 11 p. 1296 a 18: σημεῖον δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν καὶ τὸ τοὺς βελτίστους νομοθέτας εἶναι τῶν μέσων πολιτῶν. Plut. Sol. 1 § 2.

c. 6 p. 15 l. 3 from foot χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς. cf. pp. 16 27 35. Heraclid. Pontic. in Rose fragm. Aristot.² 611 3: νομοθετῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἐποίησε, τὴν σεισάχθειαν λεγομένην. Diog. Laert. I. 45. Dem. 17 § 15 p. 215 f. Cic. Att. vii 11 § 1. Ast on Plat. legg. (p. 160 of his ed.) 736 C.

c. 7 p. 17 l. 1 τοῖς δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν. cf. Dem. 23 § 66 p. 642 Acl. v. h. viii 10. Ios. Ap. I 4: τῶν δημοσίων γραμ-

μάτων ἀρχαιότατους τοὺς ὑπὸ Δράκοντος αὐτοῖς περὶ τῶν φονικῶν γραφέντας νόμους. Paus. vi 11 § 6.

c. 7 p. 17 l. 4 ὁμνύντες πρὸς τῷ λίθῳ. cf. c. 55 p. 139 l. 14. Bergk in Rhein. Mus. N. F. XIII 453 seq. Liddell and Scott s.v. λίθος.

c. 7 p. 17 l. 5 ἀναθήσειν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν. cf. c. 55 f. pp. 139 140.

c. 7 p. 19 l. 1: τὰς μὲν οὖν] ἀρχὰς ἀπένεμεν ἄρχειν ἐκ πεντακοσιομεδίων καὶ ἱππέων καὶ (zeugitῶν. cf. Aristot. pol. ii 9 (12) p. 1274 a 15 εἴπει Σόλων...τὰς...ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων κατέστησε πάσας, ἐκ τῶν πεντακοσιομεδίων καὶ (zeugitῶν καὶ...τῆς καλουμένης ἱππάδος. Poll. viii. 129.

c. 7 p. 19 l. 6 τοῖς δὲ τὸ θητικὸν τελοῦσιν ἐκκλησίας καὶ δικαστηρίων μετέδωκε μόνον. cf. at the end of the chapter, p. 20 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους θητικὸν οὐδεμίᾳ μετέχοντας ἀρχῆς. Aristot. pol. ii 9 (12) p. 1274 a 21 τὸ δὲ τέταρτον τὸ θητικόν, οἷς οὐδεμίᾳ ἀρχῆς μετῆν. The whole passage p. 19 l. 7—p. 20 l. 5 is in Poll. viii 129—131.

c. 8f p. 25 l. 7. The law against neutrality is found in Cic. *Att.* x 1 § 2, Plut. ii 550^{bc}, 823^f, 965^d, Diog. Laert. i 58, Cantacuzen. iv 13. Nicephorus Gregora ix 6 fin.

c. 9 p. 25 26 δοκεῖ δὲ τῆς Σόλωνος πολιτείας τρία ταῦτ' εἶναι τὰ δημοτικώτατα, πρῶτον μὲν...τρίτον δὲ ([ῆ]) μάλιστα φασιν ἰσχυκέναι τὸ πλῆθος] ἡ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον] ἐφέσις]. κύριος γὰρ ὧν ὁ δῆμος τῆς ψήφου κύριος γίνεται τῆς πολιτείας. cf. Aristot. pol. ii 9 (12) 1273 b 35—1274 a 4 c.g. εἶκοι δὲ Σόλων τὸν...δῆμον καταστήθη, τὰ δικαστήρια ποιήσας ἐκ πάντων. διδὸ καὶ μέμφονται τινας αὐτῷ· λύσαι γὰρ θάτερον, κύριον ποιήσαντα τὸ δικαστήριον πάντων, κληρωτὸν ὦν. Isocr. or. 7 § 16 p. 143 ἐκέλευν τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἣν Σόλων μὲν ὁ δημοτικώτατος γενόμενος ἐνομοθέτησε. Dem. or. 18 § 6 p. 227 Σόλων, εἰνούς ὧν ὅνιν καὶ δημοτικούς.

c. 9 p. 26 l. 7 περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων. cf. c. 42 p. 109 f. περὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων. c. 56 p. 142 l. 4 ἐπικλήρων κακώσεως. 1. 12 κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων ἐπὶ [δικασίαι]. 1. 13 and 18 τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήρων. c. 59 f. p. 146 καὶ κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων.

c. 10 pr. p. 27 τῶν τε μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν. Böckh metrol. Unters. 277 seq. Andocid. myst. 83 πολιτεύεσθαι Ἀθηναίους κατὰ τὰ πατρία, νόμοι δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς Σόλωνος καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς. Mommsen *röm. Münzwesen* 43 seq. Hultsch *gr. u. röm. Metrolgie* 169 seq.

c. 10 f. p. 28 l. 1 ἐξήκοντα μνᾶς τὸ τάλαντον ἀγούσας. cf. c. 51 p. 127 l. 6 τὸν σταθμὸν ἄγοντας ὅσον ἂν οὗτοι τάξωσιν.

c. 11 f. p. 28: ἀμφοτέροις ἡναντιώθη, καὶ ἐξδὸν αὐτῷ μεθ' ὁποτέρῳ ἡβουλετο συστάει τυραννεῖν εἴλετο πρὸς ἀμφοτέροις ἀπεχθεσθῆναι σώσας τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα νομοθετήσας. Loosely cited by Aristid. II 360 Dind. (= II 273 2 seq. Jebb = III 460 Canter): ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅ γε δήπου Σόλων ἐλάνθανεν αὐτὸν ὅσου τινὸς ἄξιος γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων τῇ πόλει. οὐ γὰρ καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνου γ' ἔμελλεν ἐρήσασθαι τίνα βελτίω τῶν δούλων ἢ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐποίησεν, οὐδ' ὥς ἂνευ τάξεως καὶ κοσμιότητος τὴν πόλιν φόρων καὶ φλυαρίῳ ἐνέπλησεν οὐδεμίαν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ ἐκείνος αὐτοῦ νομίμους καὶ κοσμίους ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐποίησεν, ἄλλος γέ τις ἂν δόξειεν. ἐκείνος μέντοι παρὸν αὐτῷ στασιαζούσης τῆς πόλεως ὁποτέρων βούλοιο προστάτη τυραννεῖν, ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀμφοτέροις εἴλετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῶν μὲν πλουσίων ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν ἀφείλε, τῷ δὲ δῆμῳ δ' οὐκ ἔδωκεν ὅσον ἐβούλετο...καὶ οὕτε φόβος τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων οὕτε τιμὴ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν οὐτ' ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν προηγάγετο αὐτὸν οὐδ' ἐξέστησεν οὐδ' ἐπῆρε παρ' ἃ βέλτιστα ἡγεῖτο πράξει τι.

c. 13 p. 36 Πεισίστρατος δημοτικώτατος εἶναι δοκῶν. The words recur c. 13 pr. p. 37.

c. 14 p. 39 l. 6 Πισίστρατος (so, Πισ-, ms.), δέ...

διόκει τὰ κοινὰ πολιτικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς. Repeated with a reference to this place, c. 16 p. r. 43. πολιτικῶς may be compared with Lat. *civilius*.

c. 14 p. 40 l. 3 ἀρχαῖκῶς καὶ λίαν ἀπλῶς. Hence Plut. Sol. 3 § 5 ἐν δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἀπλοῦς ἐστὶ λίαν καὶ ἀρχαῖος.

c. 14 f. p. 41 παραιβατούσης is so written in ms.

c. 14 and 15: cf. Aristot. pol. viii (v) 9 (12) p. 1315 b 30 δὲ γὰρ ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν.

c. 15 p. 42 l. 5 τὴν ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι μάχην cf. c. 17 f. p. 46.

c. 16 p. 44 l. 4 up. With the whole passage (καὶ ποτε προσκληθεὶς φόνου δίκην εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπήντησεν ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος, ὁ δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος φοβηθεὶς ἔλιπεν) cf. Aristot. pol. viii (v) 9 (12) p. 1365 b 21: φασὶ δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατον ὑπομείναι ποτε προσκληθέντα δίκην εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον.

c. 17 pr. p. 45: Πισίστρατος (sic) μὲν οὖν...ἀπέθανε...ἀφ' οὗ μὲν κατέστη τὸ πρῶτον τυραννὸς ἑτηρίακοντα καὶ τρία βιώσας, ἃ δ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ διέμεινεν ἐνδὸς δέοντα εἰκοσι. ἔφυγεν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ. cf. Aristot. pol. viii (v) 9 (12) p. 1315 b 29 τρίτῃ δ' [ἐγένετο τυραννίς] ἡ τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν Ἀθήνησιν. οὐκ ἐγένετο δὲ συνεχὴς δις γὰρ ἔφυγε Πεισίστρατος τυραννῶν ὥστ' ἐν ἔτεσι τριακόσι καὶ τρισὶν ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη τοῦτον ἐτυράννευσεν, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ οἱ παῖδες, ὥστε τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο ἑτῆ τριακόσι καὶ πέντε. Our treatise (c. 19 f. pp. 51 52) gives 17 years for the sons' reign, and a total of 49 years for the whole tyranny, which includes the years of exile. Justin. ii 8 § 10: occupata tyrannide per annos xxxiii regnavit.

c. 23 f. p. 66 τοὺς ὅρκους ὄμοσεν τοῖς Ἰωσι ὥστε τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν εἶναι καὶ φίλον ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοὺς μὲνδρους ἐν τῷ πελάγει καθέσαν. cf. Plut. Aristid. 25 § 1. An interesting parallel to Herodot. i 165 (where see Bähr) and Hor. epod. 16 25.

c. 24 p. 68 l. 5: ἀρχαὶ δ' ἐνδημοὶ μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας, ὑπερίορι δ' εἰς ἑπτακοσίους. cf. the law in Aeschin. c. Timarch. 21 § 47 p. 3 f. μηδὲ ἀρχὴν ἀρχέτω μηδεμίαν, μήτε ἐνδημον μήτε ὑπερίορον.

c. 25 p. 69 l. 2 ἡ πολιτεία...ὕποφερομένη. cf. c. 36 pr. p. 95 οὕτως δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑποφερομένης.

c. 25 p. 72 l. 4 κατηγοροῦντων τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ὅ τ' Ἐφιάλτης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς...ἔως περιέλιοντο αὐτὸν τὴν δύναμιν. Aristot. pol. ii 9 3 p. 1274a 7 καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Ἀρείφ πάγῳ βουλήν Ἐφιάλτης ἐκόλουσε καὶ Περικλῆς. Philochorus (vii fr. 141b in Müller fragm. hist. Gr. I 407 from lex. rhet. ad calc. Phot. p. 674 Dobree) ὅ τε Ἐφιάλτης μόνᾳ κατέλιπε τῇ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῇ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος. Plut. Pericl. 9 § 4. Paus. i 29 15 Ἐφιάλτης δὲ τὰ νόμιμα τὰ ἐν Ἀρείφ πάγῳ μάλιστα ἐλυμήνατο. Plut. Cimon 15 § 1. praec. ger. rei p. c. 15 § 18 p. 182 ὡς Περικλῆς...δὲ Ἐφιάλτου...τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν ἐταπεινώσε.

c. 25 f. p. 72 ὁ Ἐφιάλτης δολοφονήσας. Diod. xi 77 6: τῆς νυκτὸς ἀναίρεθεις ἀθλον ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ Βίου τελευτήν. [Plat.] Axioch. 368d: ποῦ δ' Ἐφιάλτης [τέθνηκε];

c. 26 p. 78 Κλεοφῶν ὁ λυρποιοῖς. So styled by Andoc. myst. § 146 p. 19. Aesch. fals. leg. § 76 p. 38. schol. Aristoph. Thesm. 805. ran. 681 (restored by Taylor). cf. Suid. s.v. φιλοτιμώτερος Κλεοφῶντος. Ael. v. h. xii 43 says that his father's name was unknown.

c. 27 p. 75 l. 12: ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρα τὰ δικαστήρια Περικλῆς πρῶτος, ἀντιδιαμαγωγῶν πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος εὐπορίαν. Plat. Gorg. 515^e: ταυτὶ γὰρ ἔγωγος ἀκούω, Περικλέα πεποικηκέναι Ἀθηναίους ἀργούς καὶ πλείους καὶ λάλους καὶ φιλαργύρους, εἰς μισθοφορίαν πρῶτον καταστήσαντα. Plut. Pericl. 9 § 3.

c. 29 p. 81 l. 1 συμμεισθέντων τῶν πολλῶν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν βασιλέα...ἐναντοῖς συμπολεμήσειν ἐὰν δὲ τὸν ποίησονται τὴν πολιτείαν. Aristot. pol. viii (v) 3 8

p. 1304 l. 10 ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐξαπατήσαντες τὸ πρῶτον ἐκόντων μεταβάλλουσι τὴν πολιτείαν, εἴθ' ὕστερον βίᾳ κατέχουσιν ἀκόντων, οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων τὸν δῆμον ἐξαπάτησαν φάσκοντες τὸν βασιλέα χρήματα παρέχειν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ψευδόμενοι δὲ κατέχουν ἐπειρώτο τὴν πολιτείαν.

ibid. l. 4 τὸν δῆμον ἐλέσθαι μετὰ τῶν προϋπαρχόντων δέκα προβούλων ἄλλους εἰκοσι ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τεττάρκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, οἷτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡ μὴν συγγραφεῖν ἢ ἂν ἡγῶνται βέλτιστα εἶναι τῇ πόλει συγγραφεῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας. Aristot. rhet. iii 18 6 p. 1419a 26 οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ Πεισάνδρῳ εἰ ἔδοξε αὐτῷ ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προβούλοις, καταστήσαι τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἔφη. τί δέ; οὐ ποιεῖται σοὶ ταῦτα ἔδοκει εἶναι; ἔφη. οὐκ οὖν σὺ ταῦτα ἔπραξας τὰ πονηρά; ναὶ ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα βελτίω. Isocr. Areop. § 58 p. 151. Lys. 12 § 65 p. 126.

c. 30 p. 85 l. 11 τὰς δ' ἔδρας ποιεῖν τῆς βουλῆς. cf. c. 4 p. 12 l. 4: ὅταν ἔδρα βουλῆς ἡ ἐκκλησίας ἡ. It is the technical term. CIA I 31 l. 7. 59 l. 41. II 800b 15 cet.

c. 32 pp. 88 89 Pisander, Antiphon and Theraemenes found together also in Lys. adion. Eratosth. § 65.

c. 34 p. 91 l. 5 συναναμαχήσαντας. Hellanic. fr. 80 (Müller fr. hist. Gr. I 56) in schol. Aristoph. ran. 694. [Plat.] Axioch. 368a states that all ten στρατηγοὶ were condemned to death.

c. 37 p. 97 l. 2 νόμους εἰσένεγκαν εἰς τὴν βουλήν δύο κελεύοντες ἐπιχειροῦνται, ὧν ὁ μὲν εἰς αὐτοκράτορας ἔποιε τοὺς τριακόσι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποκτείνει τοὺς μὴ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου μετέχοντας τῶν τρισχιλίων. cf. Isocr. Callim. § 16 p. 374d νῦν δὲ οὐδένα φανήσομαι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐτε χρήματα ζημιώσας οὐτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος εἰς κίνδυνον καταστήσας, οὐτ' ἐκ μὲν τῶν μετεχόντων τῆς πολιτείας ἐξαλείψας εἰς δὲ τὸν μετὰ Λυσάνδρου κατάλογον ἐγγράψας.

c. 39 p. 101 l. 6 up: τῶν δὲ παρελθούτων μηδενὶ πρὸς μηδὲνα μνησικακεῖν ἐξεῖναι πλὴν πρὸς τοὺς τριάκοντα καὶ τοὺς δέκα καὶ τοὺς ἑνδeka καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Πειραιεύς ἀρξοντας, μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐὰν δίδωσιν εὐθύνas. Cf. c. 40 p. 103 l. 6 and 13. Xen. Hell. ii 4 43: καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἡ μὴν μὴ μνησικακῆσιν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύοντα, καὶ τοῖς ὅρκους ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος. Andocid. myst. § 81 ἔδοξε μὴ μνησικακῆσιν ἀλλήλοις τῶν γεγεννημένων. § 90 φέρε δὴ τοῖνυν, οἱ ὅρκοι μὲν πᾶς ἔχουσιν; ὁ μὲν κινδὺς τῇ πόλει ἀπάσῃ, ὧν ὁμομόκατε πάντες μετὰ τὰς διαλλαγὰς, 'καὶ οὐ μνησικακῆσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν τριακόντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα' οὐδὲ τούτων δὲ ἂν ἐθέλῃ εὐθύνas δίδόναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥς ἔρξεν.' ὅπου τοῖνυν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τριακόσι ὥμυντε μὴ μνησικακῆσιν τοῖς μεγίστοις κακίαις αἰτίαις, εἰ δίδοιεν εὐθύνas, ἡ που σχολῇ τῶν γε ἄλλων πολιτῶν τινι ἡξιοῦτε μνησικακεῖν. cf. § 91. Iustin v 10 § 11. comm. on Aristoph. Plut. 1146.

c. 42 p. 107 l. 6 μετέχουσι μὲν τῆς πολιτείας οἱ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότας ἀστών. cf. c. 26 f. p. 74 ἔγνωσαν μὴ μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστών ἡ γεγονός. cf. Aristot. pol. iii 1 9 p. 1275b 21 ὀρίζονται δὲ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν πολιτίαν τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ υθατόρον μόνον. Plut. Pericl. 37 § 3 μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυνεῖν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. Ael. v. h. vi 10 Περικλῆς στρατηγὼν Ἀθηναίους νόμον ἔγραψεν, ἐὰν μὴ τύχῃ τις ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ὑπάρχων ἀστών, τούτῳ μὴ μετείται τῆς πολιτείας. xiii 24. Suid. s.v. δημοπολίτης. Diog. Laert. ii 31. cf. Aristot. pol. iii 5 (3) 5 p. 1278a 34: τέλος δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστών πολιτας ποιοῦσιν. Philipp. Beiträge zur Gesch. d. att. Bürgerrechts p. 69 seq. Isaeus or. 8 19 p. 71. Dem. or. 57 54 p. 1315. 59 92 p. 1376.

c. 42 p. 108 f. καταπέλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσι. cf. Eth. N. iii 2 p. 1111a 8 ὁ δὲ πράττει ἀγνοήσκειν ἂν τις, οἷον...δεῖξαι βουλόμενος ἀφεῖναι, ὥς δὲ τὸν καταπέλτην.

c. 42 p. 109 l. 7 ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γινομένης. Iuv. x 128 n. Plut. Timol. 34 § 3. 38 § 3 bis. Nep. Timol. 4 § 2. Athenian decree in Ioseph. ant. xiv 8 5. The inscriptions bearing on the point are collected by Adam Reusch de diebus contionum ordinar. ap. Atheniensis (diss. phil. Argentor. sel. III 4).

c. 43 p. 111 l. 2 κατὰ σελήνην γὰρ ἄγοσι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν. Aristoph. nub. 626 κατὰ σελήνην ὡς ἄγειν χρὴ τοῦ βίου τὰς ἡμέρας. Diog. i 59 (of Solon) ἡξίωσε τε Ἀθηναίους τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν.

c. 44 p. 116 l. 2 τῆς τ' εὐκοσμίας ἐπιμελοῦνται. Aristot. pol. vi (iv) 15 p. 1299b 16 and 19. vii (vi) 8 p. 1321b 4 and 20. Isocr. Areop. § 37 p. 147 ὥστε τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐπέστησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας. CIG III 1083. Chrys. XI 471^e.

c. 45 pr. p. 117 τὸν δῆμιον. Euseb. mart. Pal. 13 § 6 f.

c. 48 p. 121 l. 3 ἐπιστυλίῳ. CIG I 4608.

c. 49 p. 124 l. 7 συνοικεῖ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τὰ πλείσθ', ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. I conjectured συνοικεῖ before I observed that the author, as his manner is, repeats himself. See c. 47, pr. p. 119 συνοικεῖ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τὰ πλείστα. cf. 57 p. 143 l. 4 up: ὡς δ' ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεῖ οὗτος πάσας.

c. 51 p. 127 l. 4 ὅπως οἱ τε μυλῶθροι πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς πρὸν κριθῶν τὰ ἄλφита πωλήσουσι καὶ οἱ ἄρτοποιῶται πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πυρῶν τοὺς ἄρτους. cf. Theophr. h. pl. viii 8 2: Ἀθήνησι γούν αἱ κριθαὶ τὰ πλείστα ποιοῦσιν ἄλφита, κριθοφόρος γὰρ ἄριστή. For μυλῶθρος see H. Blümner Terminologie und Technologie der Gewerbe und Künste I. (Leipz. 1875) 38 5.

P. 52, l. 1. τὰ δὲ σύμπαντα σὺν οἷς κ.τ.λ. I note the idiomatic use of the preposition σὺν, as in the Orators and upon inscriptions, in an enumeration.

c. 55 f. pp. 139 140 ὀμνύουσιν...δῶρα μὴ λήψεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕνεκα, κἂν τι λάβωσιν ἀνδριάντα ἀναθήσειν χρυσόν. cf. Ast and Stallbaum on Plat. Phaedr. 235d. Pollux VIII 85 Suid. χρυσή εἰκών. Zenaras Χρύσειος ἀνδρείας (sic).

c. 57 p. 144 l. 7 καὶ φάρμακον ἐὰν ἀποκτείνῃ δούς καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς. Demosth. or. 23 § 24 p. 628 γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τὴν βουλὴν δικάζειν φόνου καὶ τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς καὶ φαρμάκων, ἐὰν τις ἀποκτείνῃ δούς.

ib. l. 8 τῶν δ' ἀκουσίῳ καὶ βουλευέσεως κἂν οἰκτερῇ ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἢ μέτοικον ἢ ξένον. cf. schol. Aeschin. f. l. 57 δὲ δικάζον δ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνου καὶ βουλευέσεως καὶ οἰκτερῇ ἢ μέτοικον ἢ ξένον ἀποκτείναντι. law in Dem. or. 23 § 53 p. 637 ἐάν τις ἀποκτείνῃ ἐν ἄλλοις ἄκων ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ καθελὼν ἢ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγνοήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τούτων ἕνεκα μὴ φεύγειν κτείναντα.

c. 57 p. 145 l. 1 τούτῳ δ' ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικάζουσι. Dem. or. 231 § 77, 78 pp. 645-6. Aristot. pol. vi (iv) 16 (13) 2 p. 1300b 27 τέταρτον δὲ [δικαστήριον] ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρεται φόνου, οἷον Ἀθήνησι λέγεται καὶ τὸ ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικαστήριον. Bursian Geogr. Griech. I 270. Bekker anecd. 311 17. Poll. viii 120. Paus. i 28 § 11.

c. 62 p. 155 l. 2 εἴθ' ἢ βουλὴ πέντε ὁβολούς. cf. Thuc. viii 69 f.

c. 31 p. 162 line 13 ἐκ τῆς ὕδριας. For ὕδρια = κάδος = urna see Rh. Mus. 26 72. Xen. Hell. i 7 9 διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους πάντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἄλφισιν δύο ὕδριας· ἐφ' ἑκάστη δὲ τῇ

φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτ' δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτ' αὐτὰς μὴ, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν.

col. 37 l. 4 ἐν τῷ μέρει. See Blomfield Agam. 335. Thuc. iv 11 3. viii 16 3.

With several passages of the Ἀθ. πολ. may be compared Rud. Schoell, de extraordinariis quibusdam magistratibus Atheniensium (in the comm. phil. in honorem Th. Mommseni Berol. 1877) 451-470.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

The passage of Polybius referred to by Mr. Kenyon (Introd., p. xvii.) as citing a direct mention by Timaeus of the Πολιτεία of Aristotle does not appear to contain any such direct mention. It tells us that Aristotle wrote about the Locrian state, and was criticised by Timaeus: it does not tell us in what work he did so. As no other early authority for Aristotle's Πολιτεία is quoted, it is important that this piece of evidence should be accurately stated.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

P. 107, l. 1. πρῶτον μὲν Ἀγύρριος ὁβολὸν ἐπόριεν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κλαζομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπικαλούμενος διώβολον, πάλιν δ' Ἀγύρριος τριώβολον. In the *Ion* attributed to Plato, 541 C., Heracleides of Clazomenae is mentioned, together with Apollodorus of Cyzicus and Phanosthenes of Andros, as a foreigner who had held the office of *στρατηγός* and other offices at Athens.

H. JACKSON.

P. 62. Note on *τάλαντα* ἑκατόν.

I cannot admit that Polyaeus (i. 30, 5) 'evidently took this story from Aristotle.' Polyaeus gives details not in the text, e.g. ἐν τῷ πρὸς Αἰγινήτας πολέμῳ and *ad fin.* οὐ μόνον κατὰ Αἰγινῶν ταῖς τριήρεσι ταῦται ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ Περγῶν ἐχρήσαντο. If it be suggested that Polyaeus 'contaminated' Herodotus (7, 144) and 'Aristotle,' I reply that he differs from Herodotus as to the use made of the ships: for Herodotus expressly states that they were not used for the war against Aegina. Is it not possible that the narrative of Polyaeus is derived ultimately from the same source as the story in the text? 'Aristotle's' version reads like an abbreviated excerpt: how obscure, for example, is the bearing of the observation οὐ λέγων ὅ τι χρῆσται τοῖς χρήμασι!

P. 120, l. 3. τὰ παθόντα μέταλλα [ἔσα] ἐργάσιμα τὰ εἰς τρία ἔτη πεπραμένα καὶ τὰ συγκεχωρημένα τὰ... πεπραμένα. It may be worth while to examine carefully the MS. here. The inscriptions containing records of purchases of mines (*C.I.A.* ii. 780-783) distinguishes between *ἀνασάξιμα* and *καινοτομίαι*. See Harp. s. v. ἀποσάξαντα; Bekk. *An. Gr.* p. 205, l. 10; Hyper. *Eux.* col. xlv.

Is it merely an accident that the period of three years is mentioned in Hyper. *Eux.* col. xlv. and in the opening words of the speech πρὸς Μήκωνον attributed to Dinarchus, *Fr. Or. Att.* (Sauppe) p. 325, l. 2 sqq.?

W. WYSE.

UN-ARISTOTELIAN WORDS AND PHRASES CONTAINED IN THE ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

There seems to be little room for doubt as to the age of this treatise, but a good deal as to the authorship. The impression produced on my own mind by the general tone of thought and language is certainly against its being by Aristotle; but it is desirable to

get something more tangible than impressions, and as a contribution to this question I have jotted down some words and phrases which seem to point to another than Aristotle as the author.

In the first place we have, according to the printed

text, the following entirely new words, for the list of which I am indebted to Prof. J. E. B. Mayor.

'Of new words Dr. Sandys has expunged two, δεκαρχαιρεσία p. 116 and διαφημισμός p. 36, and Mr. Bywater one, ἐμπηγνυτής 162 bis. Remain διαφραδὴν 32 (Solon). ἐπεισκαλέω and ἐπείσκλητος 85. ἐπιζημίωσις 117. ἐπταετηρίς 137. ἐπτάχους 166. προδιασπείρω 40. προδρομέω 122. προεδρικός 147. προσαναζητέω 81. προσπαργίνομαι 159. τριακοντόριον 141. In all 12.'

In the next place there are others which are only to be found in our text and in quotations from it, such as

διερριννημένον (ἐπίθημα) 168 'a perforated lid.' Others are not found elsewhere in any contemporary writer. Such are

καταφατίζω, 17, only found besides in Plut. *Sol.* *Ξενοσίον*, 20, found in Pollux. *ἐπιδιανέμα*, 28, first in Josephus, and that in a different sense.

μεμψιμοιρία, 32, in Lucian and Pseudo-Arist. *Virt. et Vit.* 7. 6.

προδανείζω, 43, Dio Cass. Plut.

ἐξαπορέω, 65, Polybius.

προδανείζω, 43, Dio Cass. Lucian.

συναρέσκεσθαι τοῖς γενομένοις, 90, Sext. Emp.

μαριά, 95, Josephus.

ὁστρακοφορία, 112, Plutarch.

εὐσημία, 117, only used by Hippocrates, and that in a technical sense.

ἐπιστύλιον, 120, Plutarch.

ἐκθυμα, 125, 'sin-offering.' Only found elsewhere

in Hippocrates, meaning 'pustule.'

ἐπιθετον, 6, 'an appendage,' not found elsewhere in this sense.

παραστρατηγηθῆναι διὰ τῶν φίλων, 16, Dion. H. and Plutarch in a different sense.

I give next examples of unusual phrases or constructions; for those marked with × some sort of parallel may be found in Aristotle, but not, I think, for the others.

× P. 3, l. 4. ἡ γῆ δι' ὀλίγων ἦν 'the land was in few hands,' also p. 13, l. 18. This is not quite the same as p. 82, l. 2 δι' ὀλίγων ποιείσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν, and *Pol.* iii. 13 ἡ πολιτεία δι' ὀλίγων ἐστίν.

P. 3, l. 6. δεδομένοι (with dat.) τοῖς δανεύσασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι.

P. 27. ἀναπληροῦσθαι ταῖς ἐκατόν (δραχμαῖς) a somewhat poetical phrase for ἀν. εἰς τὰς ἐκατόν.

P. 36, l. 4. ζητεῖν τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, cf. 93, 6.

P. 36, l. 7. προσεκεκόσμητο τούτοις, apparently 'were arrayed on the same side with them.' Elsewhere only found in sense 'to adorn further,' Plut. II. 316 B.

P. 39, l. 2. ἐξαράμενος τὰ ὅπλα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. I can find no parallel to this.

P. 48, l. 10. [τῇ] φύσει τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ φίλοι

τοῖς τυράννοις ἦσαν, 'were by their birth of the illustrious class.'

P. 65, p. 4. οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, 'the Areopagus having obtained the supremacy without any decree.'

P. 90, l. 16. ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς πολιτείας οὐσης and l. 8 τὰ πράγματα παρέδωκαν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων.

P. 92, l. 6. ἡτύχησαν τὴν ναυμαχίαν, 'were defeated.'

P. 93, last line. προσελόμενοι σφισὶν αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντας. Not uncommon in Herod. and Xenoph., never in Aristotle.

P. 99, l. 11. ἔνιοι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἵππευσι, used, I suppose, instead of τῶν ἱππέων to show that the class of *equites* is intended. Is there any parallel?

P. 100, l. 4. ἐπὶ πέρας ἤγαγε τὴν εἰρήνην, 'concluded the peace.' Any example?

P. 103, last line. οὐχ οἶον—ἀλλὰ καὶ, not found before Polybius, and condemned as un-Attic by Phrynichus.

P. 106. μεχρὶ τῆς νῦν. What is the first instance of this use? Aristotle seems always to use the phrase τὸ νῦν, not ἡ νῦν.

P. 106, l. 7. προσεπιλαμβάνουσα τῷ πλήθει τὴν ἔξουσίαν. Any example?

× P. 106, l. 14. εὐδιαφορώτεροι ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν, used in a different sense *Pol.* v. 6. 10 ὀλιγαρχία οὐκ εὐδιάφορος ἐξ αὐτῆς.

× P. 108, l. 1. γεγονέναι τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου.

P. 109. συμμίνυσθαι πράγμασι, 'to be mixed up in affairs.'

P. 111, l. 7. τὴν βουλὴν (συναγοῦσιν) ὅσαι ἡμέραι, cf. ὅσα ἔτη *Xen. Ath.* III. 4, ὅσοι μῆνες *Dem.* 744. 25.

P. 111, l. 7. εἰάν τις ἡμέρα ἀφέσιμος ᾖ, 'a holiday,' not found before Aristides.

*Os εἰάν is found for ὅς ἂν in pp. 84, 87, 140; ὅσαπερ εἰάν in p. 157. This is rejected in the standard texts of classical authors, though not unfrequently occurring in the MSS.

It may be argued, if these late words are inconsistent with the Aristotelian authorship, are they not equally inconsistent with the date which seems to be ascertained on independent grounds? But though we may say positively of a very voluminous author, that the absence of a common phrase such as οὐχ οἶον in his known writings affords a presumption against the probability of a treatise, in which it occurs, being written by him; we cannot speak with the same confidence of all contemporary writers. And the time of Alexander was just one for the production of a plentiful crop of neologisms.

It would be interesting if some one would look into the negative evidence arising from the absence of well-known Aristotelianisms in our treatise. I have not made special search but I do not think I have come across a single κὰν εἰ. J. B. MAYOR.

SOME NOTES ON THE NEW ANTIOPE FRAGMENTS.

IN vol. xvii. of *Hermathena* (Feb. 1891) a short description is given by Prof. Mahaffy of the new fragments of the *Antiope*, as well as of some of the documents found together with them and which help to date them. The following is a summary of Prof. Mahaffy's paper:

These new papyrus fragments were recovered by Mr. Flinders Petrie in the structure of certain Ptolemaic mummy cases which he exhumed at Gurob in the Fayoum: a fuller account with facsimiles is to be published in the forthcoming *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*.

Some of the papers found with the *Antiope* are dated in the early years of Ptolemy iii., that is to say, before B.C. 230, and no date later than this has been obtained throughout; it is therefore improbable that the *Antiope* is more recent; on the contrary, we may infer that a play of Euripides would take longer than mere accounts, letters, &c., to become waste paper; besides which, the palaeography of the hand is very old, probably generations older than this date; the *Antiope* is therefore the oldest known MS. of a Greek play.

The main reasons for its identification are as follows: the argument of the *Antiope* is given by Hyginus, who also enumerates the actors, and both correspond with the new fragments; and a fragment given by Stobaeus is evidently taken from the final chorus which is here recovered.

The myth of *Antiope*, as treated by Euripides, is given by Hyginus in these terms. *Antiope*, daughter of Nykteus of Thebes, was with child by Zeus, and fearing her father's anger fled to Mount Kithaeron, where the twins Amphion and Zethus were born: she then married Epopeus of Sikyon. Her father died of sorrow, but her uncle Lykos, to avenge him, killed Epopeus and carried *Antiope* captive to Thebes. Here she endured cruel treatment at the hands of Lykos and Dirke his wife, but eventually escaped to her sons, who had meantime grown up in the care of shepherds on Kithaeron. Hither comes also Dirke to celebrate a Bacchic festival: she seizes *Antiope*, but is in turn taken by Amphion and Zethus and suffers the punishment of being tied to the bull; this punishment Dirke had herself prepared for *Antiope*.

Here the narrative of Hyginus ends; but from the few fragments we learn something further, as will be seen. The final *denouement* is thus brought about. Lykos appears in pursuit of *Antiope*, and is beguiled into an ambushade by Amphion and Zethus. The longest *Fragment (C)* begins with the close of an excited choral song after Lykos has fallen into the snare prepared for him by the young men. Then he reappears, dragged out by them, a captive about to be slain. After an animated dialogue, Hermes intervenes, stops this new violence, and gives directions to Lykos and Amphion concerning the building of Thebes and the transfer of the monarchy to Amphion. With the acquiescing of Lykos the fragment closes.

Frag. A. Rhesis refuting *Antiope's* claim that her sons were the offspring of Zeus: might be spoken either by Dirke or Lykos.

Consultation how best to take measures for the capture of *Antiope*: probably a dialogue in which one of the twins (perhaps Zethus) poses as the guide to draw Lykos into the snare.

Frag. B. At the end is the speech of Lykos, when he first appears on the stage and is introduced by a line of the chorus warning the previous speaker to be silent. The first part is probably a speech of Zethus addressing his mother, calming her fears at the approach of the tyrant; he urges that if Zeus be really, as she says, their father, he will help them in the struggle. The argument seems to be: 'Let us not think how we shall fly, but how we may summon the father that begat us, to help in avenging us. We cannot escape, for the fresh blood of Dirke will convict us of murder; we must either win or die—And now appeal to Zeus above not to indulge in amours with mortals unless he intends to help the children that result. It is ignoble not to stand by one's friends; let him therefore help us to compass the death of this hateful tyrant.'

The writing is arranged in parallel columns of about thirty-five lines each. Prof. Mahaffy thinks that the play was written, not on one large roll of papyrus, but on one side of leaves of a moderate quarto size, with a broad margin; if this be so, the *Antiope* is in this respect unique among ancient papyri; it seems doubtful whether the editor has sufficient evidence to warrant so unusual a conclusion.

If he is right, the entire play must have occupied about twelve leaves of which we have nearly an entire one in *Fragment C*. The uncials are small and compactly written, the forms of letters being those which we meet in inscriptions of the early part of the fourth century. Of the other fragments, the only one to compare with the *Antiope* is that of the *Phaedo* from the same find; according to the editors, the writing of the *Phaedo* is even more highly finished.

(1) I think that in ll. 8, 9, of B we should fill up the lost beginnings by *νὸ μὲν* and *σὺ δ' ἂν* respectively, and read

*νὸ μὲν θανεῖν δεῖ τῷδ' ἐν ἡμέρας φάει
σὺ δ' ἂν τρώπαια πολέμιων στήσας χερί.*

I am sorry to add another to the very small number of 2nd pers. sing. 1st aor. optatives in *-αις*, but there seems to me no doubt about *στήσας* here.

(2) In B, l. 13 I would prefer γήμαντα to Mr. Bury's σπείραντα.

(3) In B, l. 15 Mr. Bury's restoration is obscure, and disregards the evidence of the papyrus as to the last word. I would suggest

ἴθι λαμπρὸς, ἄγραν τ' εὐτυχῇ θείης ἐμὴν.

(4) In B, l. 17 Mr. Bury again disregards the evidence which points rather to

τὰ λοιπὰ σ' εἰ χρή δοξάσαι τυραννικόν.

(5) In C, l. 13 I am afraid to say what I believe to be the origin of the words at the beginning and end of the line, and I shall wait till I see the papyrus or a facsimile. I would expect however to see ἔσπευσε in place of ἔπεισεν.

(6) In C, l. 21 the half-obliterated word is surely ζητητικός.

(7) In C, l. 43 Ἰσμήνου is probably a mistake for Ἰσμήνου.

(8) In C, l. 44 I would restore as follows :

σὺ μὲν χερῶν τὸ πνεῦμ' ἐκ πολεμίων λαβών.

(9) In C, l. 49 of course TE...MNAI may represent a proper name, but it seems more likely that it is either a mistake for στερέμναι, a bye-form of στερέμνιος vouched for in ancient lexica, or else is from τέραμνος, a word differently glossed in some lexica, but apparently also glossed as ὑψηλός.

(10) Perhaps l. 50 begins with δέμοντι.

(11) In C, l. 61 the lost letters may be restored in any number of ways ; as ἔδειξεν ἀθέους, ἔδειξ' ἀχρήστους and the like, but it appears to me certain that the next line begins with ἐς σφῶ and that the whole was perhaps

ἐς σφῶ πατρὸς δοκοῦντας οὐκ εἶναι Διός.

(12) In C, 63 πάρεστε seems to be a mistake for περίεστε.

(13) In C, l. 68 perhaps the lost letters are δὲ πεισθείς, and in the next line it is pretty plain that the three last words are ἴν' οὐσα γῆς, though opinions may differ as to the word before ἴνα.

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

(Hermathena, No. xvii.)

PROFESSOR MAHAFFY'S publication of this papyrus (to be followed, one would fain hope, by a facsimile) yields 'delightful employment'—to use his own words—to those who like the game of irresponsible guess-work. And when the guesses have been heaped together, and it is known where they jump,

it will be time to cease from guessing and to begin the sober work of criticism. It is in the spirit thus indicated that the following remarks are offered by one who does not much believe in the possibility of restoring mutilated texts.

I agree with Professor Mahaffy's later judgment in thinking that the right order is B, A, C.

Fr. B.—The first part of this fragment seems to be addressed, not to Antiope, but to Zethus ; and, though the conjecture may seem violent, I imagine a line to have dropped out between 9 and 10. This is an accident to which the habit of writing in double columns was very apt to lead. The following is an attempt to reconstruct the passage on this hypothesis, taking advantage of Mr. Bury's hints :—

Amphion.

μή διανοῦ δέ με δ' ὅπως φευξοίμεθα.
μάτην γάρ ἡμᾶς Ζεὺς ἐγέννησεν πατὴρ
πλὴν εἰ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα τείσεται
ἔκται δὲ πάντως εἰς τοσόνδε συμφορᾶς
ὥστ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐκφύγοιμεν εἰ βουλοίμεθα
δύρκης νεωρὲς αἶμα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην.
μένονσι δ' ἡμῖν εἰς τόδ' ἔρχεται τύχη
ὥς ἢ θανεῖν δεῖ τῷδ' ἐν ἡμέρας φάει
ἦτοι τροπαῖα πολεμίων στήσαι χερί.
[πρὸς πατέρα δ', εἰ χρή πατέρ' ἀγειν ὃς ἐκνόμω
ἔγχευεν οὕτω μητέρ', ἐξαυδῶ τάδε
σὺ δ', ὃς τὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον,
πιθοῦ τοσοῦτον. Μὴ γαμῖν μὲν ἡδῶς
γήμαντα δ' εἶναι σοῖς τέκνοις ἀνωφελή·
οὐ γὰρ καλὸν τόδ', ἀλλὰ συμμαχεῖν φίλοις.
νῶν δ' οὖν πρὸς ἄγραν γ' εὐτυχίης εἴη λιμήν,
ὅπως ἔλωμεν ἄνδρα δυσσεβέστατον,
ὥς τὸν φύσει χρή δοξάσαι τυραννικόν.

Fr. A (left column) contains a conversation between Lycus and Amphion, at which Zethus is also present. They have induced the tyrant to come in search of Antiope, and are now decoying him into the cottage in which the ambush is prepared. They feign that they themselves are dead, and that some harmless strangers within the house can give him the information which he seeks. His body-guard is to be left outside. The first line concludes a description of Antiope which is calculated to whet the resolution of Lycus to destroy her.

Amph. ...τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας ἡδομαι καίνων ἐγώ.
Lyc. οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς τόδ' εἶπας, ἄνθρωπε, στύγιος.
Amph. δρᾶν δεῖ τι· κείνους δ' οἶδ' ἐγὼ τεθνηκότας.
Lyc. καλὸς ἄρ', εἵπερ οἶσθα, ταξώμεσθα νῦν.
Amph. μὴ τᾶν ἄλλων ἢ δόμων στείχειν ἔσω
ἐν οἷσπερ ἡμεῖς καὶ πρὶν οἰκοῦμεν, ξένε.

Lyc. πῶς οὖν τάχιστ' ἂν τοὺς ξένους ἴδοιμ' ἐγώ ;
Antiph. εἰ τοῦσδ' ἀφείλεις δορυφόρους ἕξω στέγης.
Lyc. οἱ δ' οὖν ἀφείνται, καὶ μένω δυοῖν πάρα.
Antiph. τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἡμεῖς καὶ σὺ θήσομεν καλῶς.
Lyc. πόσον τι πλῆθός εἰσιν οἱ ξένοι ; λέγε.
Antiph. παῖδοί γε· κοῦκ ἔχουσιν ἐν χερσὶν βέλη.
Lyc. ἡμεῖς ἂν οὖν φρουροῖτε πανταχῇ πέτρας

Antiph. ἐγὼ δὲ παῖδα Νυκτέως ἐμῇ χερὶ
 μάρψω· σὺ δ' ἂν δέχοιο· καὶ τάχ' εἴσεται.

Fr. A (right column).

When Lycus and the brothers have gone within, the Chorus converse with Antiope, who has here entered. In the well-known manner they interrogate her concerning her intercourse with Zeus. More than this it would be rash to affirm, except that σε in l. 6 is the beginning of σεμνὸν or σεπτὸν and that χρῆσ in l. 10 should be divided χρή σ'. I may suggest however for l. 25 παῖδας δὲ τοὺς Ζηνός γε πῶς τρέφεις, γίναι ;

I have little fresh to offer concerning Fr. C. [left column] except that some use might be made of the scholion on Eur. *Hipp.* 67 (quoted by Nauck) to the effect that a second chorus was employed in this play. For l. 6 I conjecture νευριῶν στένος βρόχοισι καταλαβεῖν. And I do not see why ἐπιπεσοῦσ' ἔλαθεν should not be read in ll. 13, 14. For l. 20 I conjecture ἐκμανθάνοις ἂν ὡς τάχος νεκρῶν ὕπο.

Fr. C (right column) offers little scope for conjecture, and it is ill gleaned after M. Henri Weil.

But may I suggest for ll. 49, 50, 51—

πέτραι τέρεμναι μουσικῇ κηλούμεναι
 δέμας δὲ μητρὸς εἰς νεοῦργ' ἐδώλια
 χρυσεῖο τευκτον τεκτόνων θήσει χερσὶ.

εὐώνυμον κέλευθον ἐξορμωμένους
 ἡμῖν σ', ἄναξ Ἀμφιον, ᾧδ', ἡμᾶς δέ σοι
 σφῶ δ' εἰς πατρῶαν ἐστίαν πεπρωμένω
 τοίγαρ νυν ἡμεῖς, Ζήθε κάμφίων ἄναξ
 φράζῃ τὸν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἀγέρωχον βίον
 ψευδῇ δε λάσκειν ὃς ἂν ἀπαρνῆσθαι τάδε.
 ἦ πάππος ἡμῶν πρόσθεν ἐξηγήσατο
 [Line lost.]

τελῶ· νεκροῦ δὲ τοῦδ' ἄκανστα λείψανα
 αἰδίδιον εἰς τῶνδ' ὠφέλημα γημῶρων
 ρεῖθροισι βρέχουσα τοὺς ἐνόοντας ἐκ Διός
 ἣς δὴ σύγ' ἔξεις παντελῶς μοναρχίαν,
 οὕτω σὺ μὲν κέκλησο Καδμείοις ἄναξ,

And for l. 62—

ἐσέφρησε, πρὶν δοκοῦντας οὐκ εἶναι Διός.

And for l. 68—

Ἑρμῇ πιθόμενος.

The following are mere guesses :—

l. 43. χωρεῖτε πάντες· ἄστυ δ' ἰσμηνοῦ πάρα.

l. 44. σὺ μὲν πέδου τόρνευμα¹ πολεμίων λαβόν.

[Line dropped ?]

Ζῆθ' ὡς προεῖπον...δ' ἀμφίονι.

[Line dropped.]

Nauck's fragment 225—

Ζῆθον μὲν ἐλθεῖν κ.τ.λ.

would seem to be from a different play.

In the speech of Lycus which ends Fr. C several lines appear to be lost, and it is not impossible that here, towards the colophon, though the arrangement has been different hitherto, the two columns may have contained alternate lines. The scribe may have miscalculated the space at his command and tried to save a sheet of papyrus. Observe that the portion to which this applies occupies an equal number of lines in either column (viz. 13). In that case the broken lines 27–35 of C (left column) would belong to Lycus and not to Hermes. On this, which I admit to be a bold supposition, I have attempted the following reconstruction :—

Λυκ. ὦ πολλ' ἄελπτα Ζεὺς τιθεῖς καθ' ἡμέραν.
 ἔδειξ', ἀπείργων τάσδ' ἀβουλίας ἐμὰς
 ἐσέφρησε, πρὶν δοκοῦντας οὐκ εἶναι Διός.
 παρέστε καὶ ζῆτ' ἄχρι μηνυτῆς χρόνος
 λείψειν μὲν ἡμᾶς, σφῶν δὲ μητέ' εὐτυχεῖν,
 ἵτε νῦν κρατύνετ' ἀντ' ἐμοῦ τῆσδε χθονὸς
 λαβόντε Κάδμου σκήπτρα· τὴν γὰρ ἀξίαν
 σφῶν προστίθησι Ζεὺς, ἐγὼ τε σὺν Διὶ
 Ἑρμῇ πιθόμενος Ἄρεος εἰς κρίνῃν βαλῶ
 γυναικα θάψας· τῆσδ' ὅπως ἐνοῦσα γῆς
 νασμοῖσι τέγγῃ πεδία Θηβαίας χθονὸς,
 Δίρκῃ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ὑστέρων κεκλημένη.
 λύω δὲ νείκη καὶ τὰ πρὶν πεπραγμένα.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

¹ Or τ' ὄγμευμα ? Zethus with his plough is to describe the outline of the new city.

NOTES.

MR. CECIL TORR deals severely with Prof. Mahaffy (*Classical Review*, vol. v. p. 56), for various inaccuracies in his *Greek World under Roman Sway*. Is he quite certain of his own accuracy? He says, 'Leucon had not bestowed gifts of corn' [on the Athenians]: if he will refer to *Leptines*, § 33, he will find the distinct assertion that two years before the date of that speech, *i.e.* in B.C. 357-6, Leucon sent a very large present of grain to supply the wants of the Athenians in a 'bad year.' Strabo, p. 311, also mentions a large present [of 2,100,000 medimni], which may possibly, and indeed probably, be identified with the present mentioned by Demosthenes.

W. HOBHOUSE.

My statement was accurate. Mr. Hobhouse misapprehends both the passages that he cites.

Demosthenes, in *Lept.* 31, says that Leucon allowed ships bound for Athens a priority in loading corn; and consequently, 33, let the Athenians have plenty in a year when other nations could not get enough. Isocrates says the same thing, *Trapez.* 57, but more plainly. The corn was not given.

Strabo, vii. 4, 6, says that in former times corn was largely exported from the Crimea to Greece; for instance, Leucon exported 2,100,000 medimni from Theodosia to Athens. Leucon did not hold Theodosia for many years, and this is probably the aggregate of his exports of corn from that port to Athens during those years. There was no gift. C. T.

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EURIPIDES, *Bacchae* 506.—

(*Dionysus and Pentheus speaking*).

- Δ. αὐδᾶ με μὴ δεῖν σωφρονῶν οὐ σώφροσιν.
 Π. ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖν γε κυριώτερος σέθεν.
 506 Δ. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῆς οὐδ' ὀρᾶς οὐθ' ὅστις εἶ.
 Π. Πενθεὺς Ἀγάης παῖς πατρὸς δ' Ἐχλίου.
 Δ. ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τούνομ' ἐπιτήδειος εἶ.

It is needless to enumerate the conjectures that have been made on l. 506. The first part of the line has been amply defended; the only difficulty lies in the last three words. The simplest correction hitherto proposed is Elmsley's *ἔθ' for οὐθ'*. But (1) it is difficult to see what accident or purpose could have substituted *οὐθ'* for *ἔθ'*, and (2) there is no sense in *ἔτι* here. The point of the remark of Dionysus is explained in his next reply to Pentheus (l. 508). He means to say that Pentheus does not understand the tragic significance of his name. *οὐδ' ὀρᾶς ἔθ' ὅστις εἶ* would imply that there was a time in the past when Pentheus really knew 'who he was.' Moreover the direct form of Pentheus' statement of his name and parents seems hardly natural without some direct interrogation going before. 'Pentheus son of Agave and Echion' presumes a catechetical question, 'What is your name?'

The reading, which I propose for consideration, involves the change of only a single letter and carries with it an explanation of the corruption in the MSS.

οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῆς οὐδ' ὀρᾶς—οὗτος, τίς εἶ;

Dionysus abruptly changes his reflexion into the form of a direct question, for the purpose of making Pentheus pronounce his own ill-omened name. *Thou knowest not what thy life is made of nor seest thou—tell me, sir, who art thou?* At *ὀρᾶς* the actor suddenly turns full face to Pentheus. (For *οὗτος*, *heus tu!* in tragedy see Liddell and Scott.)

The corruption arose simply from a wrong dividing of the last words

ΟΥΤΟΤΙCΕΙ

οὗτος comes so unexpectedly that a copyist might well have paused. *ὅστις εἶ* seemed obvious, and *οὐθ'* for *οὗτ'* was a natural consequence.

J. B. BURY.

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EURIPIDES, *Electra* 797.

τοῦτον μὲν οὖν μεθέισαν ἐκ μέσου λόγον.

The explanations of *ἐκ μέσου* in this passage given by Paley and Weil are unsatisfactory.

Paley translates 'apart from the company; in private conference with the king.' This meaning is both difficult to extract from the words, and unsuitable to the context. The colloquy between Orestes and Aegisthus was evidently open, and heard by both the messenger and the several attendants.

Weil's words are '*μεθίναί λόγον ἐκ μέσου, e medio auferre sermonem, laisser un discours, abandonner un sujet de conversation.*' There are at least two objections to this interpretation. Firstly, it hardly suits the context. In the preceding words Orestes had consented to take part with Aegisthus in the sacrifice, in the words immediately following the details of the preparations for the sacrificial rites are given, and it would be very strange to introduce this latter description with the observation that 'they had dismissed the subject.' Secondly, *μεθίναί λόγον* usually means not 'to discontinue' a speech but 'to utter' it: see for example Hippol. 499 οὐχὶ συγκλήσεις στόμα, καὶ μὴ μεθήσεις ἀδθὶς αἰσχίστους λόγους; *Ib.* 1202 ἡχώ...βαρὺν βρόμον μεθήκε φρικώδη κλύειν. Herod. 6, 29 Περσίδα γλώσσαν μετὲς καταμηνύει ἐωντόν. The addition of *ἐκ μέσου* might of course alter the meaning of the words *μεθίναί λόγον*, but the common use of the latter expression throws grave doubt on Weil's explanation.

Perhaps we should read *ἐκ μέσον*, 'thus they spoke for all to hear,' 'in the hearing of all.' This gives the required sense, for we are told that the attendants forthwith began to prepare for the sacrifice, implying that they had heard the conversation, and it also shows how the messenger (who is here speaking) came to know what had passed between Orestes and Aegisthus. The confusion between *ΙC* and *K* is too common to need illustration. Though the phrase *ἐκ μέσον* (λέγειν, προτιθέναι etc.) is most commonly used where a discussion or contest is implied, yet it is also found where merely an announcement is conveyed or a statement made public, as for example Pindar *Fragm.* 171 καλὸν μὲν ἄν μοῖραν τε τερπνὸν ἐς μέσον χρή παντὶ λαῷ δεκνύναι· εἰ δέ τις ἀνθρώποισι θεόσδοτος ἀτλάτα κακότης προστύχῃ, ταῦτα σκότει κρύπτειν εἰκεν.

If *ἐκ μέσον* be retained it should not be taken closely with *μεθέισαν* as Weil proposes, but should be translated simply 'in the midst.' The Greeks say 'they spoke thus from the midst' where we would say 'in the midst,' just as they say 'to fight from horseback' (ἀφ' ἵππων μάχεσθαι) instead of 'on horseback.' For very remarkable examples of this use of prepositions implying motion even with verbs that exclude the idea of motion see the passages quoted by Professor Jebb on *Antigone* 411, *e.g.* *Il.* 14, 153 Ἡρῆ—στᾶσ' ἐξ οὐλύμπου.

Hartung conjectures *ἐν μέσφ*, but the *ductus litterarum* seems to favour *ἐκ μέσον*.

CHARLES H. KEENE.

THUC. II. 4, 4.—*γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκεν λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν ἐξήλθον οὐ πολλοί*. Stahl reads [*λαθόντες καί*]: Herw. *λαθόντες* [*καί*]: Cl. proposes *λαθόντες καταδιακόψαντες*. Read *γυναικὸς δούσης πέλεκεν καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν λαθόντες ἐξήλθον*. For the want of symmetry in *δούσης καὶ διακόψαντες*, cf. Krüger *Gr. Gr.* 56, 14, 2. For the two participles *διακόψαντες*, *λαθόντες*, the first *temporal*, the second *defining* the nature of the finite verb, see Hache, *de Participio Thucyd.* Extrema Pars, p. 3.

E. C. MARCHANT.

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CICERO, *ad Atticum*, i. 16 § 13.

Sed heus tu! videsne consulatum illum nostrum quem Curio antea ἀποθέσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, fabam minimum faturum? Qua re, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητέον, id quod tu facis, et istos consulatus non flocci faciteon. The meaning is that if a certain worthless Afranius got elected, the Roman consulship, once called by Afranius an ἀποθέσις, would now be the reverse. The words fabam minimum are generally believed to be corrupt. If so the word ἀποθέσιν, to which they are plainly contrasted, makes it probable that they are a corruption of a Greek word. This hypothesis accounts for the corruption, and is borne out by φιλοσοφητέον and faciteon immediately succeeding. Further, while faba in Latin seems to have no political signification, κύαμος in Greek is the regular word used of elections by lot, as opposed to those by ballot.

I would suggest therefore κυμισμόν for fabam minimum. We should get first cuamismum with faba written as a gloss above the first part of the word: next faba would be written for cua: and by an easy process, fabam minimum would be evolved from fabamismum. With regard to the omission of the s, the various readings nummum, and minimum, and the traces of an erasure in m in the place where the s would occur are to be noticed.

The word κυμισμόν, which does not occur elsewhere, need not be objected to in a writer like Cicero. It is a natural formation, and likely in late Greek to displace the formations from -εωα, which classical writers used exclusively in the required sense. Plutarch in a doubtful passage has κυμιστός = κυμαεντός.

The sense seems satisfactory, if the emendation be not considered too violent: 'But mark me now! do you see that our glorious Roman consulship, once called by Curio a deification, will, if Afranius is elected, be a mere lottery. Under the circumstances, I think we had better follow your example, and become philosophers, without troubling our heads about such things as consulships.'

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PANDITUR INTEREA DOMUS OMNIPOTENTIS OLYMPI.
—Verg. *Aen.* x. 1.

Most commentators, from Servius down, interpret this line as meaning that another day had dawned, and that it was on the third day of the siege that the gods met in council. But there are several considerations that make against this view.

(1) If there is a night between the events of Book ix. and Book x., it is a complete blank. The only Vergilian parallel to such a blank, that is worth considering, occurs between Books x. and xi.; and there the circumstances are essentially different. The beleaguered garrison has now been relieved; Turnus has fled, and the hero next in importance is slain: so that the imagination readily pictures a suspension of hostilities and an interval of well-

earned rest, when the following dawn is announced. In the present case however it is the second night of active siege, following an eventful first night, when, in the absence of any statement to the contrary, both parties might have been expected to be on the extreme alert—and we feel the want of incident. It is difficult to believe that Vergil, who usually heralds the approach of evening with some circumstance, should have passed over such a night absolutely without remark. How he does deal with a night of siege, when he wishes to avoid repetition, may be gathered from x. 146 *sqq.*, where, after telling us that the fighting was over for the time being, he occupies our attention with other matters until the morrow's sun rises (256).

(2) When Vergil formally begins a day he commonly names the goddess of dawn, and invariably emphasises the accession of *light*. If x. 1, without a syllable of luminous import, is 'an impressive phrase for daybreak,' it is the only phrase of the kind in the *Aeneid*.

(3) There appears to be no good reason, poetic or other, why Jupiter should have deferred convening the assembly until the third day. In x. 6 *sqq.* he remonstrates with the gods for being still at strife. The remonstrance would have come with greater force and fitness at the supreme juncture on the second day. I think Jupiter's language in x. 107 *sqq.* (*hodie ... exorsa*) decidedly in favour of the second day.

(4) As a description of a whole day's siege, x. 118–45 is inadequate and even weak. Why should Vergil have perpetrated such an anti-climax after the stirring events of the day before? It is to be noted in particular that Turnus does not appear at all in these lines, whereas Mnesteus is to the fore, elate with triumph. Referred to the afternoon of the day when the former was expelled from the Trojan camp exhausted, both facts are significant enough. The absence of the Rutulian hero requires explanation on any other hypothesis.

The truth seems to be that x. 1 merely announces the throwing open of the council-chamber which Jupiter leaves in x. 117. In fixing the time at which this was done, let it be observed that in x. 107 *sqq.* Jupiter declares emphatically that he will henceforth allow the fates to take their course without any interference from him between Turnus and Aeneas. Now in ix. 803 Jupiter did interfere to very good purpose, so that the council could not have met before that point. In the presence of *interca* at the beginning of Book x. it is natural to suppose that the council met immediately after; and that in fact the critical situation of the Trojans, which induced Jupiter to intervene in their behalf, impelled him at the same time to convene and rebuke the gods. Venus's language in x. 22, 23 is consistent with the supposition that Turnus was in the Trojan camp while she was speaking; indeed it fits that supposition best, preceded as it is by the reference to Turnus's earlier chariot-riding (apparently ix. 691). We need not suppose with Heyne that this council was held towards evening. If x. 118–45 is descriptive of the close of the second day, as I believe it to be, the council can hardly have met later than the early afternoon. It is to be remembered that the Rutuli had commenced the attack at day-break (ix. 459), so that they would have had the whole morning for the events described in the latter half of Book ix. I infer Vergil's idea to have been that the gods met about the middle of the second day, and that meanwhile (*interca* x. 118) the battle continued raging.

Aeneas would thus return to the camp about twenty-four hours after the death of Nisus and Euryalus.

WALTER J. EVANS.

CAPER p. 103 K.—The contraction for *autem* (*hautem*) commonly found in Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS., viz. *h* with a small curved stroke like a *c* rising from the shoulder of the letter, has been productive of many corruptions in Latin MSS. Here is a new instance from Capet: *Orthographia* (Keil, vol. vii. p. 103): *sic militis puer galearius recte dicitur: nam galearia soloecismus est. non est puer galearia: nam pueram sic rite vocas: puer est galearius † hic a soloecus*. Read *puer galearius autem asoloecus*. The best MS. omits *est*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

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Μετεμύχωσις.—It is stated in the last edition of Liddell and Scott that this word 'seems to be of no authority,' but it will be found in the Exc. Vat. of Diodorus p. 29, or Book x. 6 of the edition of Vogel in the Teubner series; 'Οτι ὁ Πυθαγόρας μετεμύχωσιν ἐδόξατο καὶ κρεοφαγίαν ὡς ἀποτρόπαιον ἤγειτο, πάντων τῶν ζώων τὰς ψυχὰς μετὰ θάνατον εἰς ἕτερα ζῶα λέγων εἰσερέχσθαι.

J. H. SWAINSON.

'STANKO : AN ILLUSTRATION IN OLD ENGLISH.

'Stanko' is a grotesque name-growth from *ἐς τὰν κῶ*.

It is, I think, noteworthy that there is handed down to us just such a name-growth—happily abortive—in English topographical nomenclature.

Ex-eter is, it can scarce be doubted (despite of Horsley), the *Isca* of Ptolemy (2. 3. 30). It is also, in all probability, the *Isca Dumnoniorum* of the 12th and 15th itineraries. It is said by Roger Hoveden, in whose time (that of Henry II.) Cornish was still a living language, to have had in British the same name as *Caerleon-on-Usk*, namely *Caerwisc*, which, says he, meant 'civitas aquae.'

Its first post-Roman appearance is in Willibald's *Vita Bonifacii*. There it appears as *Adescancastre* (Pertz's reading, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.* tom. ii. p. 335, from the Carlsruhe MS.), with the variants *Adestancastre*, *Adescancastre*, and *Ad escan castre*. This last form reveals what one may call the scaffolding of the denomination. 'Ad' is evidently the Old English *æt*.

J. HOSKYNs-ABRAHALL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREECE.

Megalopolis.—The results of the recent excavations of the theatre here have conclusively proved the existence of a Greek stage, in addition to the Roman one, and therefore Dr. Dörpfeld's theory will not hold. Its date is not yet finally ascertained, but as inscriptions have been discovered in the auditorium dating from the fourth century B.C., the presumption is that the stage is of the same date.¹

The portion of the Edict of Diocletian discovered here by the British School at Athens has been edited, with a commentary, by Mr. W. Loring. The chief points of interest in it are as follows: (1) the date of the Edict is fixed by the number of the consulships and tenures of the Tribunicia potestas assigned to its promulgators, as the last quarter of the year A.D. 301; (2) in form it is an *edictum ad provinciales*, i.e. the provincials are directly addressed; (3) the Edict is for the whole Empire; (4) the sums named are maximum, not fixed prices; (5) wilful disobedience of the Edict was punishable by death or deportation; (6) the result of the Edict is mentioned by Lactantius (a contemporary writer) *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, ch. 7; (7) the prices are reckoned in denarii, with the symbols *, ¥, and ϕ. This denarius is the copper coin of the later empire, and equivalent to $\frac{1}{288}$ of the solidus (cf. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 p. 222 sqq.); (8) the only weights and measures occurring in this portion of the inscription are the pound (λίτρα), the ounce (δγκία), the modius, and the mile (μείλιον); (9) evidently there was no authorised Greek version of the Edict; hence the variation in the wording of the different copies, etc.¹

THE AEGEAN SEA.

Lesbos.—Koldewey's excellent publication *Die Antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, 1890, gives a de-

tailed account of the results recently obtained here. At Mytilene little is left, beyond an aqueduct, and one stone of the theatre *in situ*; the plan of the city, however, has been successfully restored. Of the harbour, part of the walls have been found, and on the south side a harbour for triremes outside the city wall, opposite to the mainland, also the *ναυπηγία* and *ψῦκτρα* on the mainland. At Messa an Ionic pseudo-peripteral temple has been excavated, with 8 × 13 columns and Doric antae, but little more than the foundations remain. At Kolumdado remains of an archaic temple have come to light, also a colonnade (Puchstein p. 58), on some of the square stones of which have been found the most ancient forms of clamps known. The site of Antissa is fixed on the north side of the island. At Arisba ancient walls have been discovered closely resembling those at Tyrins.²

ASIA MINOR.

Cilicia.—Mr. J. Theodore Bent's excavations have produced the following results: At Anazarba walls of Roman work remain, but unfortunately they are too ruinous to allow of identifying sites, or reconstructing the plan of the town. There was probably a long colonnade through the centre of the town from Justinian's gate, as was usual in Cilician towns. Ruins of the two aqueducts and other unimportant buildings remain. To the south of the mountains is a stadium three-quarters of a mile long, with rows of seats still discernible, cut in the rock; in front of it is a Corinthian colonnade, at the back a promenade. Above the wall at the back are numerous rock-cut tombs and sarcophagi with inscriptions, late Roman and early Christian. To the north are traces of public buildings, including a theatre cut in the rock; also several fallen columns, tombs, and bas-reliefs (one with figures of four nude athletes and a robed figure holding a chaplet and palm-branch). On the summit of the mountain is the Acropolis, the ruins being all of Armenian date. Further to the north

¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. pt. 2. pp. 294 sqq.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* January 24th.

are two cave-tombs, one with a relief of the three Erinyes.

At Kars-Bazaar were found three stelae with inscriptions, and in the floor of a cottage a fine tessellated pavement, with a Christian inscription. This place is probably the ancient Flaviopolis, though there is no direct evidence.

At Budroum it was impossible to make out accurately the line of the ancient walls. In the town was a long colonnade, with a double row of columns, 320 yards in length, from the south gateway to the back of the theatre; the columns are of blue and red conglomerate with Corinthian caps and Ionic bases. The theatre is of considerable size, later than that at Anazarba, and built, not cut out of the rock; the proscenium is sixty feet in length. Fifteen inscriptions have been found which identify the site as Hieropolis, the seat of the worship of Artemis Perasia. Close to the colonnade in the centre of the town are foundations of the *ἱερόν* and temenos of the temple of Artemis Perasia, as the inscription on a stèle dug up there shows.¹

EGYPT.

Mr. Petrie's excavations in the Fayum have brought to light some very interesting examples of early Greek pottery. Of these some were found in a tomb of 1100 B.C. at Kahun; also 'false amphorae' and an archaic female figure in terra-cotta, ranging from 1400 to 1050 B.C. Other specimens go back even further, to 2500 B.C., with patterns of 'Aegean' origin; some of these have incised patterns on a black ground, resembling the early Italian 'bucchero'-ware. These would seem to be products of the wave of Graeco-Libyan conquest which swept over Egypt from time to time.²

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. xi. pt. 2. October 1890.

1. The Alkmene-vase formerly in Castle Howard. A. S. Murray. (Two Plates).

Mr. Murray agrees with Engelmann in interpreting the principal scene as representing Alkmene taking refuge on an altar to escape the wrath of Amphitryon, Antenor setting fire to a pyre erected in front of the altar, and Zeus sending a storm by the agency of the Hyades to extinguish the fire. He regards it as a production of Southern Italy, about 350–300 B.C.

2. Recent discoveries in Eastern Cilicia. J. T. Bent. (With Map). Also, Inscriptions from the same. E. L. Hicks.

¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. pt. 2, p. 231.

² *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xi. pt. 2, p. 271.

3. Collection of Ancient Marbles at Leeds. E. L. Hicks. (With Plate).

Most of these are inscribed; one of them bears a document relating to a dispute between Paros and Naxos. The collection contains two richly ornamented marble doors.

4. Egyptian Bases of Greek History. W. M. Flinders Petrie. (With Plate).

5. The Making of Pandora. A. H. Smith. (Two Plates).

An interpretation of the sculptured drum from the later Artemision at Ephesos. The seated figure on the extreme right is Zeus; at the extreme left is Hephaistos, leaning on a stick as in the Parthenon frieze; in the middle, Pandora, as if just starting on a journey, not stiff as on the vases. The remaining figures are deities bestowing their gifts; next to Zeus is probably Hera, or possibly Peitho (cp. Hes. *Op. et Di.* 73); on either side of Pandora are Eros and Hermes. The former is represented in his dark and grievous aspect (Hes. *Op.* l. 65); the mouth of Hermes is open as if breathing the gift of speech into her (Hes. *Op.* l. 79). The relief is perhaps copied from that by Pheidias on the base of the Parthenos statue. Pandora is equivalent to the Asiatic Artemis; hence her appropriateness in this case.

6. Two Greek Reliefs. G. C. Richards.

He identifies the Charites-relief on the Akropolis at Athens by means of a similar inscribed relief in the Naples Museum. The name of the smaller figure in the latter case is Telonnesos, therefore the Akropolis-group was probably a votive offering from that place.

7. Fourteenth-Century Tachygraphy. T. W. Allen. (Two Plates).

8. The Theatre at Megalopolis. E. A. Gardner and others.

9. A New Portion of the Edict of Diocletian from Megalopolis. W. Loring.

10. Orphic Myths on Attic Vases. C. H. Smith. He notes the connexion between the myths of Zagreus and the Kabeiroi, and the mixture of the solemn and dignified with the ribald and grotesque, as on the vases from the Kabeirion at Thebes.

Berlin Philologische Wochenschrift, January 24. Review of *Studien zur Aphrodite von Melos*. C. Haeblerlin. Gottingen, 1889.

He suggests on aesthetic grounds that the right hand covered the line of demarcation between the drapery and the nude part of the body, and considers that the apple was not the 'meed of fairest' but the ordinary attribute of the goddess. On the coins of Magnesia Aphrodite appears with a sceptre and apple, with the inscription *Ἀφρο. Μηλεία Μαγνήτων*. This might well be a reproduction of the statue.

H. B. WALTERS.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE 'HOUSE AT DELOS.'

STUDENTS of Greek antiquities are familiar with the ground-plan of an alleged house at Delos, as also with the elevation of its vestibule. The original sponsors for this interesting edifice are Guhl and Koner, who, in their *Leben der Griechen und Römer* § 22, say that its discoverers took it improbably

for a public bath. Turning to the list of illustrations at the end of the volume, we learn that the plan and view given are taken from the third volume of the *Ionian Antiquities*. Winckler (*Die Wohnhäuser der Hellenen*, p. 74) respectfully records Guhl and Koner's opinion. With Durm (*Die Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 240) the building has become simply 'das bekannte Haus in

Delos.' And now in the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, p. 659, we read: 'In the Ionian Antiquities is figured a Greek house at Delos, of which a ground-plan is given by Guhl and Koner.'

The only archaeologist, so far as I am aware, who has ventured to throw doubts on this monument is M. Pierre Paris. In the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1884, p. 474, he says: 'Je dois avouer que, malgré mes recherches dans l'île de Délos, je n'ai rien trouvé de cette construction. Le volume anglais [des "Ionian Antiquities"] n'existe, à ma connaissance, dans aucune bibliothèque d'Athènes; la traduction allemande de Wagner ne parle pas de ce monument, et le volume de planches ne contient pas celles qu'ont reproduites Guhl et Koner.' He proceeds to point out some difficulties in the plan and concludes: 'Tout cela prouve qu'étant même admise l'existence de l'édifice, il faut se défier du plan.'

M. Paris's failure to find the plan and view given by Guhl and Koner was due to the fact that the German translation of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, published in 1829, does not include the third volume (1840). But is it not a little remarkable that no other of the authorities cited above should have 'verified his reference'? Any one doing so would have found at once that the building in question was at *Cnidus*. As for the character of the building, the explorers offered the conjecture that it might have been a bath (p. 20). The only reason given by Guhl and Koner for disputing this is the moderate size of the building. Can they have read the text or examined the plan with sufficient care to discover that the dimensions were 190 ft. × 90 ft.? This gives an area much exceeding that of the small *Thermae* of Pompeii, excluding surrounding shops. Whatever the structure was, the notion that it was a dwelling-house has, at any rate, nothing to stand on.

There is a veritable house at Delos, described by M. Paris in the article above quoted. Let us hope that we shall hear no more of the fictitious one.

F. B. TARBELL.

Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés Grecs et Romains. Vol. II. Peintures des Vases Antiques recueillies par Millin et Millingen: publiées et commentées par SALOMON REINACH. Firmin-Didot et Cie.: Paris.

nach's great scheme, which promises to be of extraordinary use in the work of study and teaching, by bringing within the range of the ordinary purse the indispensable yet often inaccessible collections of archaeological illustrations. The present volume contains reproductions of the 150 plates of ancient vases published in Millin's two folio volumes *Peintures de vases antiques vulgairement appelés Étrusques*, and of the 63 plates in Millingen's *Peintures Antiques et Inédites de Vases Grecs*. The reproductions are of good size, quite clear and distinct, and deserve high commendation. M. Reinach also writes an introduction of 142 pages (besides a preface of xv.), in which he analyses or occasionally reproduces verbatim the text of the original authors, and gives every fact of permanent value that has been stated by them; while he also quotes enough to show the style and character of their writing. But this statement is far from exhausting the merits of the work, and the labour that has been spent on it. What has been said proves that the owner of this volume is for ordinary practical work as well off as if he had the costly original volumes; but I may add that the worker who already possesses the originals will find it advisable also to possess the reproduction. Millin's drawings are often inaccurate, and M. Reinach often makes most important corrections in his introduction. The latter also discusses the interpretation of the subjects from the modern point of view, traces as far as possible the history of each vase (a task which in many cases must have involved great labour), states clearly how much remains unknown in regard to it, and gives a list of other references to and reproductions of each vase. In many pages of the introduction one is struck by other indications of the wide range of M. Reinach's knowledge, and of the information that he gives on many other points besides those just enumerated. For example, on pp. 6, 7 we find a very full account of the collection of the Château Malmaison and of the unfinished publication, of which only a single copy of *Livr. I.* is known to M. Reinach. We should be glad to know if a copy exists in the British Museum or the Bodleian. The list of references in subsequent literature will often be found very useful, and especially so by novices in the subject: such a list cannot of course be made complete by any single man, and is in the case of important vases impossible from their very number. In cases where subsequent references give important additional information, this is stated by M. Reinach (e.g. the form of the

It is only two years since I welcomed in this journal the inaugural volume of M. S. Rei-

vase); occasionally even a second more complete representation of the picture is given. All the new information contained in the introduction is expressed in a direct and simple style which adds to its usefulness; and, while the faults of the two old writers are plainly stated, all is done so obviously for the sake of usefulness, not of vain-glory, that the work will, if I am not mistaken, add greatly to the reputation of both Millin and Millingen. A series of indices adds to the usefulness of the volume, which assures to the *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés* a place in the list of 'indispensable and accessible' works not merely for archaeologists, but for all true scholars. The current idea, that works like this are only for archaeologists, and that the literature of Greece is for scholars alone, cannot continue much longer to impede the progress of classical studies in England.

I can only hope that Vol. III. may soon appear, and that (as some prospect was held out in the preface of Vol. I.) it may be the inaccessible *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, of which only two hundred copies were printed. The popular account recently translated by M. Reinach from the Russian of Prof. Kondakof and Count J. Tolstoi by its profuse illustration only brings home more vividly to us the value of the great work.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE British Museum has lately acquired a marble stèle, sculptured with a relief of a draped female figure and inscribed 'Επιγύνα Μοσχίανος Μειλησία. This stèle has had a curious history. In the seventeenth century it was seen at Athens by Spon, and copied by him. From that source the inscription has been repeated by Boeckh (*C.I.G.* 706), Kumanudes (*Epigr. Epitumb.* 2121), and in the *Corpus Inscr. Attic.* (iii. 2660). Among the drawings of Fourmont in the Bibliothèque at Paris Prof. Conze tells me there is a sketch of this stèle. How or at what time it reached this country is not known. All that has been ascertained is that the stèle was found many years ago when digging foundations at 67 New Bond Street. It was lying 15 feet below the surface. The probability is that some English traveller had brought it from Athens in the last century, and that it had been lost sight of in the course of building operations, like some of the marbles of Lord Guilford. The stèle was next moved to the garden of a house at Hampstead, where I chanced to see and recognize it. The owner at once presented it to the Museum.

A. S. M.

PROPOSED EXCAVATIONS AT CHESTER.

THE necessity for reform in the excavation of ancient sites in Britain, and especially in the publication of the results obtained, has long been evident; Prof. Pelham's article in the *Classical Review* for Feb. 1891, p. 74, was a clear statement of the case, and showed the defects of the system, or rather the want

of system, that has hitherto obtained. What is most needed is that the scattered records of the Roman period of our history should be collected, and that investigations should be controlled and studied by scholars of experience and standing. While we are paying large sums of money for the prosecution of research abroad, our treasures at home are comparatively neglected, not so much because sufficient energy is wanting, but because hitherto the energy has been misdirected.

It is therefore very satisfactory to welcome the scheme of which the prospectus has just been issued. It is signed by Professors Pelham and Middleton, Dr. John Evans, Mr. Haverfield, and others, and appeals for additional subscriptions to set on foot fresh explorations in the North Wall of Chester.

It will be remembered that some repairs lately executed in this Wall resulted in the discovery of Roman inscriptions and sculptures, and a further exploration started by the Chester Archaeological Society produced more inscriptions and sculptures. Of all the historic sites in England, none are so likely to aid our knowledge of Roman history as the Roman military centres, and it is well known that Deva was garrisoned by the Twentieth Legion from the earliest times until the end of the Roman occupation of our island.

The exploration will begin in a part of the North Wall which is now under repair, in which a preliminary search has revealed inscribed and sculptured stones. It will be carried out by the City Surveyor, who conducted the former excavations to a successful issue. Inscriptions and sculptures found will be the property of the Corporation, and will be deposited, with those previously discovered, in the Grosvenor Museum at Chester. The results of the excavations will be published by Prof. Pelham and Mr. Haverfield.

Several subscriptions have already been promised, and an appeal is now made for more. The work is necessarily more expensive than 'digging,' and the space which ought to be examined is large. The probability of finding inscriptions is, however, very great, and the work has claims on both patriotism and scholarship.

Subscriptions may be sent to Prof. Pelham, 20 Bradmore Road, Oxford, or to F. Haverfield Esq., Lancing College, Shoreham, Sussex.

Annuaire de la Société franç. de Numismatique. July—Aug. 1890.

W. Froehner. 'Le nome sur les monnaies d'Égypte.' Contends that the types on the nome-coins of Egypt consist of personifications of each nome and do not, as usually supposed, portray the divinities worshipped in the nome. The nome-coins were struck at Alexandria and not at the nomes themselves. (The no. for Sept.—Oct. contains no articles on ancient Numismatics.)

Nov.—Dec. 1890.

W. Froehner. 'Variétés Numismatiques.' A new coin of Elagabalus.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iv. 1890.

Arthur J. Evans. 'Some new artists' signatures on Sicilian coins.' Among these is the signature on a coin of Himera, issued *circa* B.C. 470—450, of an engraver Kimon, possibly the grandfather of the Kimon whose name appears on fine coins of Syracuse.—Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1889.' The total number of Greek coins acquired is 347 and the paper, which is accompanied by an autotype plate, describes the most

noteworthy specimens. A splendid didrachm of Sybrita in Crète, a new gold stater of Lampsacus (obverse, Head of Demeter) and a unique electrum stater of Mytilene inscribed ΜΥΤΙ are especially important additions to the national collection.—Reviews (by B. V. Head) of J. Evans's 'Coins of the Ancient Britons (Supplement)' and of Svoronos's Νομίσματα ἀνάλεκτα (reprinted from the *EpheMERIS*, 1890). This part also contains Indexes to the last ten volumes of the 'Numismatic Chronicle.'

W. W.

Revue Numismatique. Quatrième trimestre. 1890.

E. Babelon. 'Alabanda et Antioche, villes de Carie.' Distinguishes the coins of Antioch on the Maeander from those of Alabanda, a town which between the years B.C. 197 and 189 bore the name of

Antioch.—J. A. Blanchet. 'Remarques relatives aux signes gravés sur les Contorniates.'

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Berlin. Band xvii., Heft 3 and 4, 1890.

A. von Sallet. 'Die Erwerbungen des Königlichen Münzcabinets vom 1 April 1888 bis 1 April 1889.' The acquisitions include thirty-two Greek and fourteen Roman coins.—H. Dressel. 'Titikazos.' This place was till now supposed to be unknown except through bronze coins of Imperial times. Dressel points out that it is mentioned several times in Galen in connexion with its wine which had certain medicinal qualities. Its site is not stated, but it may be inferred from these passages that it was either in Chios or on the coast of Asia Minor between Pergamum and Smyrna. M. Waddington had conjectured that Titikazos was in Mysia (see Ramsay's *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, p. 456). W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. No. 43. October, 1890.

On the articular infinitive in Polybius. Part i. E. G. W. Hewlett. More frequent in Polybius than in any classical author except Demosthenes. It occurs in P. 1628 times and the average frequency is higher in the excerpts than in the first five books. In the use of the art. infin. P. does not go beyond the limits fixed in Attic prose. The attempt of E. Lammert to remove every instance of the final genitive of the art. infin. from P. unsuccessful. *The value of the Mediae* (b, d, g) in *Old Latin and Italic.* R. S. Conway. Seeks to show that the mediae were either voiceless or whispered in pro-ethnic Italic. May they not have been so also in pro-ethnic Indo-European? *The Codex Matritensis of Plutarch and Plut. Cic.* 29. A. Gudeman. For διὰ Τύλλου τινός (Cod. Mat. add. Ταραντίνου) G. conjectures διὰ Κατόλλου thus bringing the poet into direct connexion with Clodia as her lover. Cod. Mat. shown to be especially untrustworthy in proper names. In *Ciris* 471, 2 R. Ellis conjectures Ceos...Sunias for Venus...Sinuis. Among the books reviewed are Kawczynski's *Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes*, by F. M. Warren, 'the most important single work on versification which has appeared in recent times.' S. Sobolewski, *De prae-positionum usu Aristophaneco*, and I. Iltz, *De vi et usu prae-positionum ἐπί, μετά, παρά, περί, πρός, ὑπό apud Aristophanem*, reviewed by Prof. Gildersleeve. The former enforces 'the great lesson of the faithfulness of the comic poet to the prose standard of his time'; the latter, apart from convenient statistics, does not further our knowledge. A. Kiessling *Q. Horatius Flaccus* Part i., Odes and Epodes, 2nd edition, reviewed by E. H. Spieker. 'A decided improvement on what was in itself an excellent edition.' There are brief mentions of Stock's *pro Roscio* and Rutherford's *Greek Syntax*.

Hermathena. No. xvii. 1891.

The new fragments of the *Antiope* of Euripides are mentioned in another column.—Among other papers are *Sophoclea* by R. Y. Tyrrell: *O. C.* 547 κῆμ' ἀλαός γ' ἐφρόνεσα καὶ ὤλεσα, 702 τὸ μὲν τις οὐ νεαρὸς οὐδὲ γηράς (partic.) | σημάντωρ ἀλίψει χερὶ πέρας, 709 πῆδον (for

χθονός), 936 κοινῶ (for τῶ γῶ), 1036 ὦν (for ὦν), 1454 ἐπὶ ὦν μὲν (for MSS. ἐπὶ μὲν: στέφων μὲν Hartung, Jebb); *Ant.* 343 ἀγρεῖ (for ἀγει), 966 παρὰ δὲ Κουανεαῖν πελάθει διδύμας θ' ἄλδς | ἀκταῖς Βοσπορίασιν ὁ Θρηκῶν ἄξενος | Σαλμυδισσός οἱ πελάθων διδύμας ἄλδς | ἀκταῖς Βοσπορίασί θ' ὁ Θρηκῶν.—A. Palmer suggests in *Juvenal.* 1,151 vitiumst. eia! (for vitium stetit); 2,171 bacae (for braccæ); 2, 649 contoque (for scutoque); 9,133 area maior | spe superest (for altera maior spes); 14, 216 naturā aemula nequitia est (for naturae mala nequitia est): Tibull. 1, 6, 73 duccarque capillis | immerito propriis, proripiarque foras (for proprias...vias).—The same scholar gives a number of observations on the fragments of the *Latin Scenic Poets*.—F. H. M. Blaydes, *Notae in Theophrasti characteras*.—J. B. Bury, *Charles the Great and Irene*—suggests that I. deposed and blinded her son in 767 in order to replace him by a husband—Charles the Great. This was the object of the embassy of 798.

Theologische Quartalschrift. Herausgegeben von KOBER, FUNK, SCHANZ, KEPPLER, BÉLSER. 72 JAHRGANG. Tübingen, 1890.

AMONGST books reviewed (by Funk) we note: A. Miodonski, *Anonymus adversus aleatores*, maintains (against Harnack) that the treatise is a homily composed in Rome during the iii. century, possibly by Bishop Melchianes (*Miltiades*) natione Afer.—A. Hilgenfeld, *lib. de aleatoribus*, attributes the book to one of the Novatian bishops of the iv. century, possibly to Acesius 325, or his predecessor.—A. C. McGiffert, 'Ἀντιβολή Παπίσκου καὶ Φίλωνος' *Ἰουδαίων πρὸς μόναχόν τινα* edited with introduction and notes, a work of the v. century written in Egypt.—Holder, *Inventio sanctae crucis*, publishes the legend according to the oldest Latin MS. Cod. Paris. 2769, of the vi. or vii. century, together with a hymn on the holy cross composed in the vi. century, from the Reichenau MS. 244.—L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, gives a description and exposition of the catholic services, which were in use in the Western Church from the iv.—ix. centuries.

II. A. Ehrhard, *Zur christlichen Epigraphik.* An account is given of *De Rossi, Series codicum in quibus veteres inscriptiones Christianae praesertim urbis Romae sive solae sive ethnicae admixtae descriptae sunt ante*

saeculum xvi. 1888, and an explanation offered of the reasons which induced the Roman archaeologist to deviate from the plan, adopted in the earlier part of his great work, published thirty years before, *Corp. inscript. christ. Urbis Romae* 1857—61. Dr. Ehrhard suggests (p. 185 note) a collection of inscriptions, less expensive than the folios of the Corpus, of interest to other than students of divinity, and corresponding to *Dittenberger, sylloge inscr. graec. Lips.* 1883 and *Willmann, Eccepla inscript. lat. Berlin* 1873.—*Funk, Die Zeit der ersten Synode von Arles.* A defence is set up for Aug. 314, as the date of the synod, against O. Seeck, who argued that Constantine, who defeated Licinius at Cibellae on the 8 Oct. 314, could not have presided at Arles two months before. It is doubtful (F. points out) whether the emperor was really present; the letter which the synod sent to Pope Silvester makes no mention of the fact, as for instance the letter of the council of Nicaea does to the church of Alexandria (Soer. 1, 9). The books reviewed (by Funk) are: *S. Brandt, Dual. Zusätze und die Kaiseranreden bei Lactantius.* The passages *Instit.* ii., 8; vii., 5; *De opif. Dei* c. 19, showing traces of manichaean doctrine as well as the speeches addressed to Constantine, are proved to be interpolations, dating from the end of the iv. century.—*J. Dräseke, gesammelte patristische Untersuchungen,* published before in various periodicals.—*A. Jahn, Dionysiacae,* adduces instances of ling. affinities that exist between D. Areopagita and the Platonists, especially Proklus.—*P. Baumgarten, Die Einheit des Hermas-Buches,* defends the unity of H. against Hilgenfeld, supposes the work consisted of two independent books—the first book containing the Visions (Vis. i.—iv.), the second containing the Mandates and Similitudes—which were afterwards united.—*E. Hückstädt, Der Lehrbegriff des Hirten,* furnishes a systematic exposition of the doctrine of Hermas, based on Harnack's commentary.—*P. Battifol, Studia Patristica* Fasc. i., offers the first instalment of his studies on early Christian literature. The book before us publishes for the first time the Greek text of 'the marriage of Joseph,' a narrative of Jewish origin of the v. century, which was revised by a Christian writer.

III. *Belser, Über Johannes den Täufer.* An account is given of the life of John the Baptist in accordance with the various statements contained in the Gospels. Amongst books reviewed (by Funk) we note: (1) *J. Wilpert, Prinzipienfrage der christlichen Archaeologie,* impugns the position taken up by Hasenclever and Achelis in regard to symbolism of early Christian art.—(2) *J. Führer, Felicitasfrage,* proves the acts of the martyrdom of Felicitas and her seven sons, assigned to the year 162, to be of far later date, and the legend itself to have sprung up from a confusion of the Roman martyrs of the 10 July, with that witness of the faith who suffered on the 23 Nov.

IV. *P. Vetter, Der apokryphe dritte Korintherbrief.* The apocryphal correspondence between St. Paul and the Corinthians is stated to have been composed in Syria, perhaps at Edessa, during the reign of king Abgar, as a polemical treatise against the gnostic Bardesanes. A translation of the letters is given as well as of a commentary, purporting to have been written by Ephraem Syrus (and drawn up certainly not later than 400 A.D.), which appears to have hitherto escaped the notice of editors. C. MERK.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. Feb.—March, 1890.

THE LITERATURE OF SALLUST, 1880—1890, by F. Schlee. [*Comp. Classical Review* ii, 25 foll.]

I. Editions. C. Sallusti Crispi *bellum Catilinae, bellum Jugurthinum, etc.* A. Scheindler, 1883. The text generally follows Jordan. In the speeches and letters J. has undervalued Vat. 3864 (V) which S. rightly prefers when it agrees with some other MSS. of class C or testimonies of grammarians. *Bellum Catilinae und bellum Jugurthinum,* Ign. Prammer, 1886. The text founded on Dietsch's fourth edition. The editor undertakes to remove all 'portenta' and 'prodigia' from the text and to that extent removes Sallust himself (cf. Suet. gram. 15). *Catilina, Jugurtha, etc.,* H. Jordan, third edition, 1887. Since J.'s death P. Krüger has completed the work and incorporated the recently discovered Orléans-fragment. *Catilina, Jugurtha, etc.* A. Eussner, 1888. The present Teubner text. E. (whose recent death is to be lamented) mostly agrees with Jordan in the text but does not give so much weight to the old grammarians. All E.'s own conjectures are worthy of attention. *Bellum Catilinae, bellum Jugurthinum, etc.* G. Linker. Second edition by Ph. Klirmscha, 1888. A good school edition. *De conjuratione Catilinae et de bello Jugurthino libri etc.* R. Jacobs. Ninth edition by H. Wirz, 1886. In the notes much is shortened and much struck out, a good deal is altered and rearranged especially in the Catilina. *Bellum Catilinae und de bello Jugurthino.* J. H. Schmalz, second edition 1885/6. The text is essentially Jordan's. Like most later editors S. follows Par. 500 (P) more closely than J. does. The elucidations are chiefly devoted to the meanings of words and constructions. *De Catilinae conjuratione, de bello Jugurthino libri.* K. Kappes, 1885. Text mostly after Scheindler. Few notes on subject matter but many translations. *Conjuration de Catilina.* F. Antoine et R. Lallier, 1888. Text after Jordan. Contains in the introduction the most important results of Sallustian criticism.

II. Criticism and elucidation. L. Kuhlmann, *De Sallustii cod. Par. 500.* Progr. von Oldenburg, 1881. ib. *Quaestiones Sallustianae criticae.* Progr. von Oldenburg, 1887. The question of the codd. settled by Jordan who puts P at the head. K. an ardent admirer of P, but he unduly depreciates V. Ph. Klirmscha, *Sallustianische Miscellen.* Prog. Kremsier, 1882. Determines the relations of P to P' and shows from the similarity of the corruptions that the two MSS. are from a common source. R. Mollweide, *Über die Glossen zu Sallust.* Progr. Strassburg, 1888. M. publishes specimens of Sallust scholia from six Munich MSS. and one of Einsiedel. Most of the glosses in the commentaries are from Servius, Priscian, Isidorus and others. A. Weidner, *Adversaria Sallustiana.* Progr. Dortmund, 1886. W. Böhme, *Zu Sallustius.* N. Jahr. f. Phil. 137. J. P. Postgate, *Sallustiana.* Mnemos. xiii. Various conj. Weidner not generally happy as Böhme shows in some cases. Postgate's *cedere altis alios obtruncare* (Jug. 97. 5) not approved. J. Binsfeld, *Adversaria Critica.* Festschrift, Coblenz, 1882, various conj. to Cat. In 19. 1 *neque etiam for neque tamen*, unnecessarily as *neque tamen = sed ne quidem* as elsewhere. H. Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lat. Sprache.* Berlin, 1879. K. Kraut, *Ueber das vulgäre Element in der Sprache des Sallust.* Progr. Blaubeuren, 1881. What Jordan points out as traces of old-fashioned modes of speech Kraut considers as vulgar Latin. To the latter all S.'s peculiarities are vulgarisms. To the ancients S. was the imitator of Cato, the lover of old forms, who was terse and rather obscure in expression. C. Hübenal, *Quaestiones de usu infinitivi historici apud Sallustium et Tacitum.* Diss. Halle, 1881. The historical infin. more frequent in S. than in T. The act. much

commoner in all writers than the pass. After *postquam* and *ubi* the hist. inf. stands only for the imperf. F. Uber, *Quaestiones aliquot Sallustianae grammaticae et criticae*. Diss. Göttingen, 1882. F. Grossman, *Ueber den Gebrauch der Kasus bei Sallust*. Progr. Berlin, 1886. O. Christ, *De ablativo Sallustiano*. Diss. Jena, 1883. Wilckens, *Beiträge zu Syntar des Sallust*. Progr. Lahr, 1888. G. treats of all the cases without prepositions, C. the abl. and the prepp. which take the abl., W. the prepp. with the accus. F. Vogel, *Quaestionum Sallustianarum pars altera*. Acta semin. philol. Erlangensis ii. (1881). This continues from Part i. (1878) an interesting account of the imitators of Sallust, viz. Justin, Fronto, the authors of the Augustan history, etc. J. Sellge, *De studiis in Sallustio Crispo a Pompeio Trogo et Justino Epitomatore collocatis*. Diss. Breslau, 1882. Th. Opitz, *Sallustius und Aurelius Victor*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 127. Brünner, *Sallust und Dictys Cretensis*. Progr. Erfurt, 1883. J. Robolski, *Sallustius in conformanda oratione quo jure Thucydidis exemplum secutus esse existimetur*. Diss. Halle, 1881. A pity that R. does not see the fruitlessness of the inquiry. Most of the pretended imitations of Thuc. are pure Latin. R. Schild, *Quibus in rebus Sallustius Thucydidem respuerit aut respicisse credatur*. Progr. Nordhausen, 1888. More carefully done than Robolski's. A. Nitzschner, *De locis Sallustianis, qui apud scriptores et grammaticos veteres leguntur*. Diss. Göttingen, 1884. 'Careful and diligent.' L. Kuhlmann, *Quaestiones Sallustianae criticae*. Progr. Oldenburg, 1887. Defends the authority of cod. P against the grammarians cited in previous dissertation and mostly with justice. H. Wirz, *Die stoffliche und zeitliche Gliederung des bellum Jugurthinum der Sallust*. Festschrift Zürich, 1887. Chiefly occupied with the dates of the campaigns. H. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Ueber die Reden und Briefe des Sallust*. Leipzig, 1888. Careful and interesting. A comparison of S.'s method with that of other historians in reporting speeches.

III. Contributions from periodicals.—H. Jordan, *De Vaticanis Sallustii historiarum schedis*. Hermes xiv. M. Bonnet, *Die Handschriften von Montpellier H. 360 und Par. lat. 10195*. Hermes xiv. J. Š. von Veen, *Sallustianum*. Hermes xxiii. Conj. Cat. 12. 2 *pudorem impudicitiam*. Ad. Hofmeister, *Zur*

Handschriften Kunde des Sallust. Philol. xxxix. An account of a portion of a Sallust MSS. at Rostock. C. Hartung, *Zu Sallust Jug. 73. 2; 93. 8*. Philol. xli. L. Hellwig, *Zu Sallust* and G. Ungermann, *Zu Sallust*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 119. On Adherbal's speech (*Jug. 14*). C. Gneisse, *Zu Sallust*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 119. On *Jug. 94. 1*. L. Hellwig, *Zu Sallust*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 121. On *Jug. 3. 1* and 2. Th. Opitz, *Zu Sallust*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 131. Defends P. in various places. C. John, *Das Verhör der Catilinarier*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 131. A. Kunze, *Zu Sallust*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 137. On *Jug. 85. 47*. J. P. Postgate, *Sallustianum*. Mnemos. xii. On *Jug. 78. 2*. C. Meiser, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Sallusts Jugurtha und Catilina*. Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. 19. and 20. Several futile conj. J. Mähly, *Satura l.* Bl. f. d. bayer. GWS. 24. on Cat. 23, 3 and 36. 5. A. Kornitzer, *Zeitschr. f. d. öst. G.* 1887 on Cat. 52. 20.

Kuhn's Zeitschrift. Band xxxi. Heft 2:—

The classical articles are—Georg von Sabler: *cūcūlus* (distinct from Plautine *cūcūlus*) a compound of *pecu-*(*pecu-*) and *cūlus*—*ecten* and *κτεν-* to be connected by an ablaut of declension, *pēkten*, *pēktenós*—*χῆρ*, Lat. *ēr* connected with *ἐχίρος* and formed with suffix *-er-*, with long vowel kept in oblique cases, as in *θήρ*—ldg. *ner-* 'man' is usually assumed to have a prothetic *a* in *ānep* etc., but *ānep* is for *ḡner*, assimilated from *ḡner*, i.e. *ḡn-er* from root *man*. In the oblique cases the root necessarily appears as *mner-*, (*n*)*ner*—O. Slav. *veselā* 'joyful,' goes with Sk. *valsālā* 'tender,' Lat. *veterinus*—*herba* is *ghérzdā*, Gk. *κρίθῆ* is *κρῆθῆ*, according to Thurneysen's theory of sonant *z*.—*πάνυ*, Lat. *pennu*, from *pnnu*—*haereo* for *ghais-ēio*, a derivative from *ghaiso*, Gk. *χαῖος*—*vituperare* formed with prefix *vi-* and root *tup-* in *τύπτω*—*κῆλον*, *per-cellere*, *callum* all go back to a root *gals-* 'to strike'—*στέμνω* is from I.-E. *stengo*, cf. perhaps Lat. *stinguo*—*formus* is to be separated from *θερμός* and referred to a form *bhgyormo-* (cf. *Classical Review* iv. p. 485 a) with which go *ferveo* and *furere* (aorist-pres.).—Paul Kretschmer discusses the change of *ā* to *η* in Ionic chiefly with reference to the chronology. Rud. Henning: local names in *-as* in later Latin.—R. Meister: three Boeotian proper names.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art, from the German of Dr. Oskar Seyffert, revised and edited, with additions, by Professor Nettleship and Dr. Sandys. With numerous Illustrations. Sonnenschein and Co. 21s. [Nearly ready.]

Dr. Sandys has undertaken to prepare for publication by Messrs. Macmillan a critical and explanatory edition of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Allen (T. W.) Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries. Cr. 8vo. xii, 62 pp. Nutt. 3s. 6d.

Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. Edited by F. G. Kenyon. 2nd edition. 8vo. lii, 190 pp. British Museum. 7s. 6d.

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Cæsar. De Bello Gallico V. A translation by A. A. Irwin Nesbitt and W. F. Mason. 12mo. Clive. 1s.

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- [Contents: Hekabe — Die Schutzflehen — Herakles—Andromache—Elektra—Helena.]
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- Plauti* Rudens. Edited with critical and explanatory notes by E. A. Sonnenschein. 8vo. xxii, 211 pp. Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d.
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- Programm 50 zum Winckelmannsfeste der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin. 4to. iii, 172 pp. Plates and illustrations. Berlin, G. Reimer. 11 Mk.
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- Tozer* (H. F.) Geografia classica. Traduzioni e note di I. Gentile. Quinta edizione riveduta e corretta. 16mo. 168 pp. Milano, Ulrico Hoepli.
- Vries* (S. G.) Exercitationes palaeographicas in bibliotheca universitatis Lugduno-Bataviae instaurandas iterum indicit. [Inest commentationcula de C. Plinii Caecilii sec. epistularum fragmento rossiano notis tironianis descripto.] 8vo. 31 pp. Plate. Leiden, Brill. 2 Mk.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1891.

NOTES ON HORACE,

SAT. 1. 3. 7, 8; 1. 10. 64-67. *A. P.* 252-254; 319-322.

I PLACE these passages together because each of them admits of a simple and natural interpretation and all of them have been rendered difficult and perplexing by the ingenuity of commentators.

The first is the well-known passage—

modo summa

Voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quatuor
ima.

Orelli, following Gesner and followed, I am sorry to see, by Professor Palmer, insists that *summa vox* must be the sound corresponding with the *ὑπάτη χορδή* of the Greek lyre, that is, a bass or low-pitched voice, and similarly that *ima vox* must be the sound corresponding with the *νήτη χορδή*, that is, a treble or high-pitched voice. Professor Palmer says: 'The Greeks and Romans reversed our system. The old simple tetra-chord had four strings, *νήτη*, *παρὰνήτη*, *παρ-ὑπάτη*, *ὑπάτη*: of these the highest string, *ὑπάτη* *summa*, was the most bass; the lowest, *νήτη*, *ima*, was the most treble.' And with considerable ingenuity he proposes to alter *quae* into *qua* e to suit this view.

I do not know what authority Professor Palmer has for saying that 'highest,' 'summa,' 'ὑπάτη,' are interchangeable expressions, as applied to strings: I certainly have not been able to find any. If by 'highest' and 'summa' he means the highest in position, as the lyre is held by the player, the expression is to me unintelligible. For the lyre was held upright, or nearly so; and the bass string was no higher than the treble

string. Neither do I understand how the Greeks and Romans 'reversed our system,' for our harp-strings are also upright or nearly so when the harp is played, and I do not see how one string can be called higher or lower in position than another.

Even if it could be proved that *summa* was ever used as equivalent to *ὑπάτη*, it must be remembered that Horace is speaking here of a *summa vox*, not of a *summa chorda*, and the expression 'modo *summa voce*' is used before any mention has been made of strings at all, and is complete in itself.

But there is positive evidence that *summa vox* means a high-pitched voice, and *ima vox* a low-pitched voice. Quintilian says (11. 3. 41): 'Neque gravissimus autem in musica sonus nec acutissimus orationibus convenit. Nam et hic parum clarus nimiumque plenus nullum afferre animis motum potest, et ille praetenuis et immodicae claritatis, cum est ultra verum, tum neque pronuntiatione flecti neque diutius ferre intentionem potest. Nam vox, ut nervi, quo remissior hoc gravior et plenior; quo tensior hoc tenuis et acuta magis est. Sic ima vim non habet, *summa rumpi periclitatur*.' This passage is quite conclusive as to the meaning of *summa* and *ima* as applied to the voice.

We have also positive evidence as to the meaning of *ὑπάτη*. It does not mean 'highest,' but 'leading,' or 'most important.' The Latin word used by writers on music to translate it is not *summa* but *principalis*. Boetius says (*Inst. Mus.* 1. 20): 'Inque his (chordis) quae gravissima quidem erat, vocata est hypate, quasi major atque honorabilior,

unde Jovem etiam hypaton vocant. Consulem quoque eodem nuncupant nomine propter excellentiam dignitatis.' And Martianus Capella says (9. 941): 'quasi cujusdam rectoris nomen accepit.' It is almost unnecessary to add that if *summa* does not correspond with ὑπάτη, *ima* certainly does not correspond with νήτη, which is always rendered by 'ultima,' and it is so called quia in tetrachordo finem tenet.

I conclude that *summa* when applied to musical sounds, whether produced by the voice or by strings, can only mean high-pitched (including also the meaning 'loud'), and similarly *ima* can only mean low-pitched: and Horace's expression means simply, 'now in a shrill treble, now in a deep bass.' Chordis I take to be the dative, and resonat to mean 'answers,' or 'sings in accompaniment to' the lyre (just as in *Sat.* l. 4. 76 voci resonat means 'answers,' or 'rings in echo to' the voice), and the whole expression 'resonat quae chordis quatuor' means nothing more than that Horace is describing a musician's voice as used in singing, and not an ordinary voice as used in speaking.

The second passage is the one relating to Lucilius—

Fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
Comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
Quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
Quamque poetarum seniorum turba.

I understand the meaning of this passage to be:—'Granted that Lucilius was genial and witty, granted that even in style he was more polished than the writers who used the old rude Saturnian measure, which was unknown to the Greeks, or than the earlier poets, properly so called (that is, those who used Greek metres).' This explanation of the passage seems so obvious that I suppose its very simplicity has caused it to be overlooked. Rudis is a word very applicable to the Saturnian measure. Auctor I understand in a collective sense of the writers of Saturnian verse, as opposed to the poetae, who were ποιηταί, that is, framers of metrical verses on Greek models. If any one prefers to translate auctor, 'originator,' it would, I suppose, refer to Livius Andronicus. But if so, it would have been more natural for Horace to mention him by name. It seems to me impossible that Horace should have used the word carminis of satirical composition, but he does several times (e.g. *Ep.* l. 19. 27) use it simply of metre. We might parallel the passage by supposing Pope to give Skelton credit not only for excellence as a satirist, but also for smoother versification

than Langland, who wrote in the old English alliterative rhythm, or than Chaucer, who followed the Italian models.

The third passage is the one in which Horace describes the iambic trimeter.

unde etiam trimetris accrescere jussit
Nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
Primus ad extremum similis sibi.

The difficulty of this passage has been entirely created by making trimetris the predicate instead of iambeis. If iambeis is made the predicate of trimetris all difficulty vanishes. The question is what is the meaning of 'unde.' Those who make a puzzle of the passage consider that unde refers only to the two preceding words, pes citus. But I do not see why unde should not refer to the whole preceding sentence, and especially to the words vocatur iambus. I would understand the passage thus: 'Hence (that is, because this foot is called an iambus) the tragic trimeter, at the time when it consisted, as it did originally, of six iambs, was further defined as an iambic trimeter, and the name iambic still remains although the verse is no longer a pure iambic verse.' If any one objects that this is too simple, I would ask—Can anything be too simple for the previous line, syllaba longa brevi, &c.?

I do not go into the question of non ita pridem, which I do not think is at all important. Nor is it very important whether Horace is right or wrong in his statement that the tragic trimeter was originally a pure iambic trimeter. It is at any rate theoretically not improbable.

The fourth passage consists of the following lines:—

Interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
Fabula, nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
Valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
Quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.

Here a difficulty has been created by forcing an unnatural meaning upon the words morataque recte—a meaning quite at variance with the next words, nullius veneris sine pondere et arte. If recte morata is understood in its natural and ordinary sense of 'virtuous,' 'moral' (fabula being of course personified), there is no contradiction whatever and the statement is true. But can morata recte mean what the scholiast says: 'in qua mores singularum personarum optime exprimuntur'? I do not think so. Certainly the passages quoted in the lexicons do not establish it. The most important one is

from Quintilian (4. 2. 64). In this passage Quintilian lays down that *narratio* should be *aperta, brevis, credibilis*. He admits that Cicero, in addition to these qualities 'vult esse evidentem, *moratam, cum dignitate*.' And upon this he remarks, 'sed in oratione *morata debent esse omnia cum dignitate quae poterunt*.' It is not quite clear what are the words of Cicero which Quintilian summarises by the adjective *moratam*, but probably they are the following: 'si res et ad eorum qui agent naturam et ad vulgi morem et ad eorum qui audient opinionem accommodabitur' (Inv. I. 29). And if so I believe the word 'natural' will almost exactly represent what Quintilian means by *moratam*. If he had meant 'with the characters accurately drawn,' he could hardly have used the word in the next sentence (sed in oratione, &c.) in which he criticises Cicero; for this criticism can only mean:—But this is not only true of *narratio*; all parts of an orator's speech must be

morata cum dignitate, including *exordium, refutatio, &c.* (in which there is no room for character-painting at all).

Those who interpret *moratam* 'with the characters well drawn' would, I suppose, understand Quintilian to be referring to *de Orat.* 2. 328: *Sed et festivitatem habet narratio distincta personis et interpuncta sermonibus*. But the emphatic words in this sentence are *et festivitatem habet*, and if this had been in Quintilian's mind he would certainly have used *festivus*, not *moratus*. But whatever view we may take of Quintilian's words they do not affect the expression in Horace, which is not *morata*, but *recte morata*, and which can hardly have any other meaning here than that which it has in Plaut. *Aul.* 2. 2. 62.

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HORATIANA.

CARM. ii. 11. 21—24.

Quis *devium scortum* eliciet domo
Lyden? Eburna die age cum lyra
Maturet in comptum Lacænae
More comas religata nodum.

I approach this passage not so much with the hope of proposing a satisfactory emendation, as for the purpose of impeaching the ordinary text, which cannot in my opinion be sound. This is the only passage in the *Odes* where *scortum* occurs. I do not believe Horace wrote it here. Horace avoided all vulgar expressions in his *Odes*. He refused admission even to diminutives. Is it possible that in one of the most refined of all his *Odes* he introduced one of the lowest terms in the Latin language? The situation is this. Horace invites a friend whose youth like his own is passed, from whom as from himself *canities* is banishing *lascivos amores facilemque somnum*, to feast with him on the grass under the shade of a pine or plane by a running brook: and in thought he bids one slave temper the wine, another to go for a music girl, without whose dancing and singing no such feast would be complete. All runs smooth and graceful until we are confronted with the hateful *scortum*. And the expression is as prosaic as it is coarse. I am

sure there is not such a conjunction in the *Odes* of Horace as *devium scortum* Lyden, which reads more like an entry in the censor's books than a poetic description: Name, *Lyde*: Profession, *scortum*: Remarks, *devium*. And what may *devium* mean? According to Stephens it means: 'vulgare et nimis prostitutum.' According to Orelli it means the exact opposite: 'non vulgare nec nimis prostitutum, in recessu aliquo habitans.' It was but a step farther to render *devium* 'coy,' '*Coy scortum*' is good. Ritter, followed by Mr. Wickham, makes *devium* proleptic: 'lure hither to our retreat.' There are other methods proposed, but these three will suffice to show the difficulty of the passage independent of the primary fatal blemish, viz. the word *scortum* itself.

How does Horace describe Neæra whom he sends for in similar fashion to grace his banquet, iii. 14. 21? Not by naming her profession, which it was unnecessary to specify, for that it was that of a music girl every reader would understand, but by the addition of an epithet of praise, *argutæ* 'tuneful.' And that Lyde was here described by some epithet of praise is, in my opinion, most indubitable. The word *eliciet* denotes that Lyde was a singing girl of superior quality, who set high value on her accomplishments. A word that describes an accomplished

élégant and beautiful lady, and is not far from *scortum*, is *scitam*.

Quis devia *scitam* eliciet domo
Lyden?

‘Who will lure accomplished Lyde from her retired home?’ It may be objected to *scitam* that this adjective, a favourite with Plautus and Terence, smacks too much of the language of ordinary life to be admitted into the *Odes* of Horace: but in the sense of ‘witty,’ ‘clever,’ applied to sayings, it is not uncommon in Cicero: and Ovid has, *Fast.* 5. 54, *curvae scita Thalia lyrae*, where, as here, it is especially applied to an accomplished performer on the lyre.

A (Parisinus) omits *scortum* altogether *ma.pr.* If this indicates that the word was absent from the archetype, it opens the door to all sorts of conjecture to fill the gap: and the question would be, what word would most likely have fallen out: *flavam* perhaps: but inasmuch as all other MSS. contain the word *scortum* it seems that its omission in A was a mere accident. Most likely there was in some early MS. a marginal gloss, *scortum*, written by some *ineptus*, which expelled the true reading.

CARM. iii. 8. 25—28.

Negligens, ne qua populus laboret,
Parce privatus nimium cavere, et
Dona praesentis cape laetus horae et
Linque severa.

Madvig was so perplexed by the construction by which *negligens* and *parce* must both go with *cavere*, or else *negligens* and *cavere* must both go with *ne laboret* (and *negligere* *ne* is not a good construction), that he actually proposed to join *negligens* with *populus*, ‘the negligent crowd.’ But *parte* for *parce*, an emendation which I find anticipated by Bonfinius, and well known in the last century, though, it seems, totally forgotten in this, is, I think, the true reading. Cf. Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vii. 67: *si qua in parte nostri laborare, aut gravius premi videbantur.* *Sat.* i. 2. 38: *ut omni parte laborent.* *Parte* and *parce* are, in cursives, practically the same word. The construction is ‘*Negligens cavere, ne qua parte populus laboret.*’

CARM. iii. 24. 1—8.

Intactis opulentior
Thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
Caementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare Apulicum

Si figit adamantinos

Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
Clavos, non animum metu

Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.

I have printed above in the fourth verse the reading adopted by Orelli, *Apulicum*, which may be called the vulgate. *Apulicum* has however less support from MSS. than either of two other readings, and there are two other grave objections to it. The first is the shortening of the first syllable which is only defended by iii. 4, 10, *Nutricis extra limen Apuliae*, a reading equally doubtful with this: the best MSS. giving *limina Pulliae*, and the previous line flatly contradicting *Apuliae*: hence the best critics have given various conjectures for *Apuliae*: as *Davniae*, Ritter: *villulae*, Madvig: *pergulae* Housman. Secondly, the sense is against *Apulicum*: there were no towns on the Adriatic sea where it was fashionable to build villas half or wholly in the sea.

The other two readings which contend with *Apulicum* are *Ponticum* and *publicum*. Of these it may be said that *Ponticum* has generally the support of Keller’s first class of MSS. It is the reading of A (Parisinus) and B (Bernensis), perhaps the two most valuable extant manuscripts of Horace. *Ponticum* is accordingly read by Ritter. It being absolute nonsense we need not go farther for its refutation. It is as if a poet of our day remarked to a friend living at, say, Folkestone, ‘though you occupy the whole English Channel and the Gulf of Mexico with your masonry!’

Publicum has also high support: it is the reading of the Blandinius Vetustissimus, and other respectable MSS. Accordingly *publicum* has been read by Lachmann: but as the Tuscan sea is as much public property as any other sea, and cannot be contrasted with any *publicum mare*, Lachmann changed *Tyrrhenum* to *terrenum*, a most unfortunate change. For not only is *terrenum omne* for *omnem terram* a most suspicious expression, not only is the hyperbole needlessly exaggerated by the addition of land to sea, but the one word that is essential is altered. Compare ii. 18. 17—22: ‘Tu secunda marmora Locas sub ipsum funus et sepulcri Immemor struis domos Marisque Bavis obstrepentis urges Summove litora Parum locuples continente ripa.’

The sea that roared against the shore of Baiae was the Tuscan sea, the *mare Tyrrhenum*, and in that sea *only* was it the fashionable mania to build villas. *Tyrrhenum* must not be changed, nor should any other

sea—*Ponticum*, *Apulicum* or *Punicum*—be joined with it. In fact none of the MS. readings is satisfactory, and when MSS. testify to several diverging readings, all objectionable, then it is fair to suppose that they have all sprung from a common source which has been lost. Now here, as there is no sea which can with propriety be coupled with the Tuscan sea, we must look out for something that can with propriety be coupled to *caementis*. And for building houses in water it strikes me that nothing is more necessary than *sublicae* ‘piles.’ These piles would, in fact, be necessary to construct coffer dams before the stone could be let down into its place: they would be necessary too for constructing bridges to connect the edifice with the main land, if the house were wholly built in the sea. And I suppose Horace wrote

—caementis licet occupes
Tyrrhenum omne tuis et mare *sublicis*.

I conjecture further that over *sublicis* was
pontium
written a gloss *pontium* thus, *sublicis*: and that the two best supported readings *Ponticum* and *publicum* were engendered, the former from the gloss *pontium*, the latter from the word *sublicis*: both copyists seeking for an epithet for *mare*, and not seeing that the meaning was simply ‘though you occupy the whole Tuscan sea with your masonry and your piles.’ *Apulicum*, the reading of the least reputable MSS. is, I suppose, a deliberate correction of *publicum*.

CARM. iv. 13. 17—22.

Quo fugit Venus heu, quove color? decens
Quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,

Quae spirabat amores,

Quae me surpuerat mihi,

Felix post Cinaram notaque et artium
Gratarum facies?

The construction of the last clause is, I believe, (leaving out *et*) ‘notaque artium gratarum,’ ‘famed for many pleasing arts,’ as *Carm.* i. 20. 5, ‘notus in fratres animi paterni’ and *Prop.* 4. 7. 74, ‘historiae pectora nota suae.’ What then is to be done with *et*? The difficulty will seem to many to have been solved by Mr. Housman, who (*Journal of Philology*, No. 34, p. 317) proposes *nota quot artium*, an emendation which I had myself arrived at. Thinking over the matter however, I believe the corruption lies deeper. For I cannot understand how ‘arts’ can be attributed to a *face* as a merit. Pro-

pertius, when he speaks of *multis decus artibus* belonging to Cynthia, is not referring to her face: he is referring to her varied accomplishments and winning ways: her poetry, her singing, her reading, and so forth. But what arts of a laudable sort can belong to a *face*? Smiling perhaps. But smiling is not an *art*. If it be, it is only one art. What are the others? Cruquius’s commentator answers thus, ‘gratarum artium facies illa dicitur quae oculis, nutu superciliorum, cervicis volubilitate, totius denique corporis motu placet.’ These save one are graces not arts, and do not, save two, belong to the face. I propose to read: *notaque dotium gratarum facies*. Forcellini says ‘permutantur in codd. *dos et ars*.’ Ovid uses *dos formae*, *dotes formae*, *dos corporis*: he has *dos oris Met.* 5. 562, but in a different sense, of the ‘gift’ of singing.

CARM. SAECULARE, 25—28.

Vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,

Quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum

Terminus servet, bona iam peractis

Iungite fata.

I find it impossible to get any satisfactory construction out of these words. Bentley was equally perplexed, and wrote a long note on the passage conjecturing *quod simul dictum est stabilis per aevum Terminus servet*, going much too far from the MSS. Peerlkamp and Ritter take *quod* not as following *cecinnisse* in sense, but as following ‘bona—Iungite fata,’ followed by *servet* as an optative, expressing a wish: ‘a thing which has been promised once for all, and which may the landmark of things secure.’ This construction is possible but awkward. To dislocate *quod* from *cecinnisse* is violent: to pray that the immovable decree of Fate may not be changed is superfluous.

I take *quod* in its natural sense as a relative referring to the chant of the Fates. But something is wanting in v. 26, *que* coupled *stabilis rerum terminus* to something. That something must have stood where *est* stands now. The only word that will fit in there is the Latin word for brass: ‘Ye Parcae, true in uttering that which, once uttered, brass and the eternal marking-stone of time shall guard.’

Quod, semel dictum, *aes* stabilisque rerum
Terminus servet.

It is scarcely too much to say that *aes* would at some time, in some MSS., infallibly be altered to *est* following *dictum* and pre-

ceding *st.* That it was altered before the time of Servius, is not wonderful. That Horace is fond of the mention of brass as an image of perpetuity, it is scarcely necessary to say: cf. iii. 30. 1, *monumentum aere perennius* and the *aena manus* of Fate herself, i. 35. 19. The subjunctive is the same as in i. 32. 3.

The following conjectures may be worth recording though scarcely worth contending for:—i. 25. 17, *lenta quod pubes.*

i. 32. 15, *mala cuique solve.*

ii. 13. 14, *Bospori—poenas.*

iii. 6. 29, *coram non bene conscio.*

Epod. xvii. 55, *albo tundit—salo.*

A. PALMER.

THE QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

I SHOULD like to thank Mr. Abbott for his contribution to the consideration of the question about the quotations from the Old Testament in the Fourth Gospel, and also to point out exactly the position in which his criticism appears to me to leave the matter.

The object of my note in the *Classical Review* for December was to give expression to a doubt which I had long entertained as to the validity of the common argument that the writer of the Fourth Gospel must have been a born Jew who translated the Hebrew for himself, because some of his quotations agreed more closely with the Hebrew text than did the LXX. version. To this argument I objected that it assumed that there was no other source from which the writer could have drawn his quotations except from the LXX. or from his own translation of the Hebrew. It seems to me that there are many possibilities, all of which must be disposed of before we are shut up to the conclusion that he was a Jew and made his own translation. It is possible, if not likely, that he may have had some knowledge of Hebrew, even though he was not a Jew, and Mr. Abbott shows us that very little Hebrew would have been necessary to know that ἐξεκέντησαν was the correct translation in Zech. xii. 10; he may have learned the translation from some Hebrew scholar without knowing Hebrew himself; it may have been current as the correct rendering in the school to which he belonged, or in the circle in which he moved; it may have been a marginal reading in a MS.; or there may have been a different translation, or another recension of the LXX. which contained it. With our present knowledge of the time it would be difficult to disprove any of these possibilities, impossible to disprove them all.

This general objection I supported by another argument—namely, that there was some positive reason to believe from the very passage quoted as decisive by Bishop

Lightfoot that there was an earlier version from which the word ἐξεκέντησαν might have been taken. It is to this second point only that Mr. Abbott's criticism applies. My three reasons for thinking that there was such an earlier version were: (a) that the reading of the Gospel was also found in the Apocalypse, Justin Martyr, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and in some MSS. of the LXX.; (b) that Dr. Hatch gave some additional reasons for believing in such an earlier version; and (c) that Dr. Salmon on the same kind of evidence had come independently to the conclusion that there had been an earlier version of 'Daniel' of which no historical record had been preserved.

(a) Against my first reason Mr. Abbott urges that of course Symmachus and Theodotion followed Aquila, and that the readings in some of the MSS. of the LXX. came from the same source. I at once admit that this is not only possible but probable. I regret that my knowledge of the subject is not sufficient to allow me to say more. But I think that Mr. Abbott goes too far when he draws the conclusion that 'as far as this passage (Zech. xii. 10) is concerned there is no indication of the existence of another recension of the LXX. earlier than Aquila.' Of course it is true that Aquila and those who followed him do not prove the existence of anything before Aquila. But my point was that the correspondence between the readings in Aquila and those who came after him with the readings in the Gospel, the Apocalypse, and Justin Martyr, suggests that there may have been some earlier common source from which all got the word ἐξεκέντησαν. As Mr. Abbott reduces Aquila and those who came after him to Aquila alone, so questions may also be raised as to the relation between the readings in the Apocalypse, the Gospel, and Justin Martyr. But however those questions be decided, there still remains the coincidence between the Christian Gospel and the Jewish translation to be accounted

for. When Mr. Abbott accounts for the appearance of ἐξεκέντησαν in the Gospel by saying that it was the obvious translation of the Hebrew, he supplies an argument to the other side; for it may be said, If this was so, is it likely that Greek students of the Holy Scriptures at the time when the Gospel was written would have had no means of knowing it unless they were Hebrew scholars and could re-translate the Hebrew for themselves? Is it not much more reasonable to suppose that many of the corrections which were shortly afterwards embodied in Aquila's translation were common property beforehand, just as in the case of the recent Revision of the English Bible many of the alterations introduced by the Revisers were well known beforehand to students of theological literature, and were even contained in preparatory translations?

(b) When I appealed to Dr. Hatch as giving additional reasons for believing in an earlier version, I had in my mind the whole of his fourth and fifth chapters. Unfortunately I referred only to p. 213, because the very passage in question happened to be mentioned there. But this passage in Zechariah is only one out of many upon which Dr. Hatch founds his general conclusion that the coincidences in the early variations from the text of the LXX. were not accidental, but that they point back to earlier recensions or received readings, of which no other record is known to have reached us. No doubt some of Dr. Hatch's instances taken by themselves are very slight and do not appear to prove much, but the general effect of the whole is more convincing. This general result will not be invalidated even though he may have made some slips in matters of detail.

(c) The independent discovery by Dr. Salmon and Professor Gwynn of an earlier version of 'Daniel,' which Mr. Abbott does

not mention, is a strong confirmation of the worth of Dr. Hatch's method, and is an answer to the objection, which may be made, that if these earlier versions had ever existed, they could not have been so completely forgotten. One passage which Dr. Salmon has written bears on this last point, as well as on what I have said above as to the probability of such early versions having been made: 'Is it intrinsically probable that for centuries every Jew competent to ascertain the fact kept to himself his knowledge of the unfaithfulness of the current version; and that none had the charity to make a better version for the use of his Greek-speaking brethren? On the other hand, is it very improbable that such a version, if made, should now only live for us in its successors, as Tyndale's translation lives for us in the Authorised English version?' (p. 606). Perhaps I may mention here that the idea of some earlier Greek source from which the word ἐξεκέντησαν had come occurred to my mind long before the publication of Dr. Hatch's book. It occurred to me when I first read Dr. Sanday's Essay on the Fourth Gospel (1872), soon after its publication, and was suggested by the references in Parkhurst's Lexicon to the places where the word occurs.

The origin of the quotations from the Old Testament which are made by the early Christian writers is a new subject, the further study of which may yet yield important results. All that I am contending for is that in the present state of our knowledge of the matter it is not safe to argue that a writer must have been a Jew who translated the Hebrew for himself because some of his quotations appear to represent the Hebrew more accurately than the present LXX. text does.

JOHN A. CROSS.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

Z = ABCF MV.

23 eandem corr. ex eundem C || 24 est tantus, est et us m. 2 part. in ras. (*tantur? I) B || obscuritatis M¹ || 25 nominata luna sit (luna del. 2) B || 26 nostras C || iunonam vel -aem B¹ || 28 nominatur C¹ numeretur V³⁴ || § 69, 29 diem] idem C¹ || quod ii] B, sed ii 2 sup. ras. unius litt. ; quod C¹ quod hi C² K quodi V¹ || 30 non unquam C || 31 mens aspacio (?) confeci-

unt B¹ || 32 istoria B¹ C || 33 eadem dianae effe- II § 68.
sianae (ae in ras. 3, effesiam ut vid. I) A ead.
dianae (-ne B¹ V¹) effesiae (efes. C) B¹ C V ead.
dianam effesiam B² F diana eadem effesiae M¹
dianam eandem effesiae M² || templo B³ F M ||
deagrauissae A demigrauisse B (sed mi in ras.
scr. et g corr. 2) FM deammigrauisse, mi vel
mmi m. 2, V (templa deflagrauisse spscr. V³⁴)
|| 1 cum] quod B¹ || partu, p m. 2 corr. in ABV

- § 69. (artu ? A^1B^1) || olimpadis B^1 olimpiades C (olimpiadis AB^2FMV) || 2 afuisse $A^1BC^1F^1V^1$ abfuisse C^2 afuisset $A^2M^2V^2$ abfuisset A^3V^4 affuisset M^1 || qua B^1 || 3 ex eo A^1 || § 70, 4 uidensne C^1 || 5 ficticios V^4 || 6 falsas genuit M || errorisque A^1V errorisque B^1 || turbulentos, *post. u corr.* 3, A turbulentos M || 7 nobis, i *spscr.*, A || 8 et ornatus M || no*ti F || 9 producta M || 10 accipimus Z || 11 curuerunt B^1 caluerunt C || 12 duos A^3V^4 deo C || alii] ali V^1 || 13 etiam cum, *om.* ut, C || titima*nis, ma 2, A titimannis V^1 tianis B^1 || ut cum (*post. l.*) et cum C ut cum *del.* *et spscr.* id est V^3 || 14 credentur A^1 || 15 plena sunt] plenas B^1 || futilitatis] $A^2B^1C^2V^2$ futil. A^1 futil. B^2FV^1K inutilit. C^1 utilitatis M || § 71, 15 iis AC (*de V nihil notavi*) || 16 pretis B^1 (spraet. A) || perterres A^1 perterres M^1 || 17 pro alia C || poterant AB^2F || 18 sunt Z || *pr. eos*] eos, *o corr.* 2, A (eius ? A^1) || hoc eos] quos deos Z , sed hos deos *corr.* V^2 || 19 est optumus] AB^2CFMV *om.* B^1 || 21 incorrupta mente C || 22 maiorem C^1 || religionem B^1 || § 72, 23 immol. ut] immolabantur (?) V^1 (immol. *ut vid.* A^1) || 24 superstitionis B^1F^1 (-ciosi A) || 26 diligenter retractarent *om.* A^1 || sundicti A^1 || relegiosa B^1 relegiosi B^2M (*sed antea fuit relogiosi* B^2M) || 1 ex relegendo] ex legendo A ex relegando C || elegantes (elig. V^1 ut eligentes V^2) ex elegendo (elig. AMV legendo C) ZK || tamquam (quam A^1 tanqu. C) legendo delegendis $ABCFMK$ *om.* V^1 (*cf. ad v. 2*) tanquam a deligendo deligentes V^2 || 2 ex intellegendo *om.* V^1 (*cf. ad v. 1*) *suppl.* 2; ut ex intell. K || 3 eademque in AB^2FMK eadem quem in C^1 || et religioso *om.* V^1 *suppl.* V^3^4 || 4 uitu A uitii, *sed extr. i in ras.* 2, B || nomen, men *in ras.* 2, B || laudandis C^1 || mihi] in hoc (hoc *per comp.*) C^1 || uidetur V^3 || satis * et C || § 73, 6 est om. A^1 || 7 magne C || uestris] uobis M^1 || suellei minus, i minus *in ras.* 2, B || 10 amatis, *pr. a spscr.* 1, A amitis B^1 || incognito $A^1B^1V^1$ || 11 dictu A^1 dictus B^1 || factidicam AV^1 || pronoean $ACFMV$ pronoean*, an 2, B || ast*oicis (r) A as astoicis C^1 || indu*ci A || 12 ea errore C || existimes B^1 existimas B^2F existimabas C || ab his BFM || 14 id] uel C || praecise* B || § 74, 14 athen., t *in ras.* 2, B || 15 regi] rei M^1 || desit *in ras.* C^2 || ariopagi—dicimus *om.* B^1 || ariopagi] A^3 arpagi A^1B^2CFMV || cum, c *in ras.* 2, A || prouidentiam BFM^1 || 16 mundundum V^1 || arbitrio FM^2 || de eorum V^1 || 17 existumato $ABFV$ || 18 solem C^2 || in inridendis (irrid. V) Z (in *err. typ. om.*) || consummere BF || 19 me ercule AC me hercule B^2FV me hercules M merculas B^1 || docet F^1 || 20 haec (nec 2) uero in te C || uno...limato Z || 22 peperit] aperit B^1 || 23 artes BF^1 || literis *spscr.* 1 ? C (liter. M) || acumine* ullo AV (o *eras.* ?) acumine ullo, mine *in ras.* et ullo *spscr.* 2, B || actoritate AV actuita (?) B^1 || § 75, 25 inocio constitas B^1 || et in omni M^1 || 26 tres A^3C || 27 ducitur *corr.* 1 *ex* dicitur B || 28 concessa B^1 || 29 docent B^1 || 1 pulcherume A pulchrum C^1V^1 pulcherrime B^2C^2FMK pulcherrimae ē B^1 || quo] quod $A^1B^1M^1V^1$ || 2 eam esse generatam ZK || dicitur $ACMV$ || § 76, 4 deos esse M || 5 et *in ras.* B^2 || 6 concedant, ant *in ras.* 2, B concedunt M || iis *in ras.* B^2 is AV^1 his CM || 9 est esse melius V^2^3 || *ui praeditum (q ? *eras.* ; tum *in ras. corr.* 2) B || deos Z || 10 inanimata V^3 || necessitas A || pulcherrima, er *in ras.* 2, B || § 77, 12 eam C^1 (aea B^1) || ei] ea B^1 || 13 qui caelum C || 14 mundundum V^1 || inulli B^1 || natura obaediens C || 15 deos B^1 || omne C^1 || 16 si concedimus, *post. c in ras.* 2, B || prouidentes, es *in ras.* 2, B || 17 maxumarum, *pr. m in ras. ampl.* 3, A maximarum CM || maximae CM (maxume B^1V^1) || 18 ea modo C heae modo M (ea emodo V^1) || qua] qui AF || 19 generant B^1M^1 || alienaturae A^1 || 21 maiestatem, *post. m eras.*, C || § 78, 23 modo sint Z || profecto sunt *corr. ex* prof. sint F || animantes esse C || solum animantes Z || 24 rationes B^1C^1 || competes $A^1B^1V^1$ || 25 coniunctos, *post. n spscr.*, A || *unum B (*comp. per eras.* ?) || rem publicam] per p. (*per comp.*) A rem p. B (*sed rem in ras.* 2) et F **r. p. V || 26 regentes B^2FM || § 79, 26 sequitur, itur *in ras.* 2, B || is A his MYK || quae] quam B^1 qua F^1 (que AK) || 27 utrobique A^1 || eademque lex, mque lex *in ras. novem litt.* 2, B || 28 prauique, e *in ras. ampl.* 2, B paruique M^1 || 29 causa C^1 || 30 malorum A^1C (?) V^1 || institutos B^1 instructis M^1 || publicae AB^1CFV || 31 paenes BF || deos esse, s esse *in ras.* 2, B || 33 ab his superis B (*sed postr. s in ras.* 2) FM || superis defluere, s de *in ras.* 1 *vel.* 2, V || 36 uti in] ut in B^1V^1 et *ut vid.* A^1 (*corr.* A^3) || maximus B^1 maximis B^2CF || obtumis A obtimis BF optimis C || § 80, 36 autem] V^2 *add.* esse, *postea correct.* in est || maius] magis B^1 || 1 eum *om.* B^1 || 2 docueri*mus, m *corr.* 2, A || 5 in *om.* A || 6 regi *om.* B^1 || § 81, 9 pulcherrime*, *post. e in ras.* 2, B pulcherrima F^1 pulcherime M^1 (pulcherrimae V^1) || 10 falius A^1 || 12 necessarios, o *corr.* 2, A || 13 procredientem B^1 || declarantemque BF || cuiusque rei, que rei *in ras.* 2, B || 15 emitando A^1V^1 || 16 inci** | derit, *alt. i ex e corr.*, B incuderit C^1 incident F || comprehendentemque, *alt. n spscr.* 2, A comprahendentemque (—quae B^1) BF compraeh. C comprehend. V^1 comprehend. V^2 || 17 nantumque B^1 nactumque B^2F MYV^2 || iam quae ali *in ras.* A^3 quali C || 18 quicque A^1 (?) $B^2FM^1V^1$ quaeque A^3 quinque B^1 || 19 possent $A^1BCF^1V^1$ || 20 et ex sese—appellent *om.* F (in B versus dividuntur: pos | sent et ex sese...appel | lent ut...) || *similia (e ?) C || § 82, 21 epicurus *corr.* 2 *ex* aeipi

culus (?) *B* || 22 et inane quaeque et inane iis *A* ||
his *BM* (*de F nihil not.*) || 23 administrare quae
*B*¹ || *ut (aut?) *B* || clae¹*BM* *A*¹*V*¹aclebam *B*¹
clebam *V*²glebam *B*²*CFMV*³*K* || 24 ac frac-
mentum *B*¹ || coercendi *B*¹ (coherendi *ACFV*¹*K*)
|| 25 nulla natura temeritas, *sed* natura *del.*,
C || § 83, 27 a *om.* *C* || 28 continetur arte (-tae
*V*¹) naturae *Z* cont. arte natura *K* || **quippe
B || 29 pariat, at *corr.* 2, *A* || et sese *B*¹ || 30 et
in ras. *B*² || uicissim a] uicesima *B*¹ uicisim a
*B*²*F*¹ || a *in ras.* *C*² || superis, p *corr.* et er *in*
ras. 2, *B* || eiusdemqui *A* (-quae *M*¹) || 31 et aer]
ettaer *A*¹ ettaher *A*² aether *Maer*, *om.* et, *in*
ras. *V*³⁻⁴ || ut aether *B*¹ (etthaer *A*) || supra *V*¹
|| 31 Ita *om.* *C* || 33 earis (e *incert.*) *B*¹ || 34 i-
psaeque ipsae (*alt.* ipsae *eras.*) *A* (ipse quae
*BF*¹) || uidet nobiscum audit nobiscum *om.* *V*¹
in ng. totam sent. ipseque—sonat *adscr.* *V*⁴
|| 35 eorum *om.* *V*¹ horum *V*³⁻⁴ || mouebitur *B*¹
|| 36 himus *A*¹*V*¹ minus *B*¹ || qua mouemur
*AB*¹*CV*¹ || § 84, 37 infimus, mus *corr.* 2, *C* ||
et *om.* *B*¹ || 1 unamque, un *corr.* ex *nn.* *A* || 2
uicisitud. *B* || contineata *B*¹ || 3 *oritur *A* || ex
aere aether] ex aetherexre (?) *B*¹ || uicissim
retrorsum *C*¹ || 4 uicissime *B*¹ || athere *A*¹ || 5
is *AV* his *MK* hiis *BF*¹ || sursum deorsum
ultra citra *M*² || comeantibus *C* || 6 coniuncto
*C*¹ || § 85, 6 aut] autem *B*¹(?) *M*¹ || necessesit *A*
et ut *uid.* *C*¹ || 7 uidimus *V*¹ || aut, u *spscr.* 1?,
A || diuturna *AB*²*FM* || s ad] aut *C* || longin-
cum *B*¹ || 11 arboris, s *in ras.* *ampl.* 2, *B* || 13
ipsa vel ipsam *C*¹ || regatur aut] regatura et
*V*¹ || 14 regio *B*¹ || § 86, 15 semina, a *corr.* 2 ex
um ?, *C* || potest] post *C*¹ || non *om.* *B*¹
|| 16 autem, u *spscr.*, *A* || 18 (que *ACV*¹) || ec-
ferant] *V*¹ et ferant *AC* haec ferant *B*¹ haec
ferat *B*²*FM* eo ferant *V*² || aliquid (*corr.* ex
-quit *A*) largitate fundit *sqg.* (§ 156, 8) *Z*; cf.
ad § 15, 20. *Abhinc usque ad* § 92, 24 deficit
etiam V.

Z = *ABCFM*.

19 ex his efferantur *Z* || 22 omnia qui *F*² (-quae
*F*¹) || sicut membra *om.* *B*¹ || 23 administrari
natura *M* || 25 ex his *Z* || § 87, 26 aliquid *A*¹ ||
27 facit *AB*¹*CM* || 28 non *om.* *AB*¹*C* || quid si *A*
|| 29 constituae *C* (constitute *A*¹) || ad usum—
esse neque *om.* *A*¹ || 30 uidemus *om.* *FK* || for-
tuita neene *C*² || 31 coquo herere *C*¹ (quo coher.
*A*¹*B*¹*M*¹) || 32 nature *A*¹ *corr.* 3 || quae*arte (p?)
B (que arte *A*¹) || 33 nec] ne *A*¹ || ne] nec
*B*²*FMK* || 34 expers, ers *in ras.* 2, *B* || 35 artem]
partem *M*¹ || procul cursum] procursum *C* ||
cursum, cur *in ras.* 3, *A* sursum *B*¹ || 1 so-
larium] *add.* uel horologium *A*³ || uel de-
scriptum aut ex *Z* || intelligere *C*¹ (intelligere
*AC*²) || 3 expertes *C* || putarem *ABF*¹ || § 88, 3
quid (?) si *A*¹ || 4 si in] sim *C*¹*F*, *sed in*
hoc corr. 1 || cythiam *B*¹ schithiam *M* || brit-
tanniam *A*¹ brittanium *BF* britaniam *C* || 5
efficit *B*¹ || possidonium *A*²*BF* possed. *M*¹ || 6

et luna, *om.* in, *B*¹*M* || errantibus *bis scr.* *B*¹ || II § 82:
7 caelo] sole *B*¹ || s quin] quid *C*¹ || hii *M* || 9
quo oriuntur, *om.* et, *alt.* o *in ras.*, *C* || 11 in
imitandis] in *om.* *A*¹ in inimicandis *M*¹ ||
sphersae *M*¹ (sphaere *ABCF*) || natura *M*¹ ||
§ 89, 13 atque *Z* || actium *Z* || 14 uidisset ante
M || 15 et monte *A*¹ || conspexit, e *ex a corr.*
ut uid., *B* || 16 tanto *C* || 17 fremebunda *B*²*FM*
|| so*nitū (m?) *A* || strepitu *Z* || 18 undas euol-
uit *ACM* || uertices*ui *B* || 19 reflat] profluit
Z || 20 nimb*um *B* || uoluiet, er 2 *in ras.* *trium*
litt., *B* uoluiet *C*¹ || 21 mentis, *sed corr.* 1 ?, *B*
|| 24 terrestras *A*¹ terrestres *A*²*BCFM* || pon-
tus*strages, *extr.* s 2, *B* || 25 auforte *BF* || tri-
con *B*¹ || fuscineuertens *B*¹ supra ne *scr.* a *B*²
fuscinauertens *FM* || 26 subter | terra dices
*B*¹ || undantes ueniant freto *Z* || 27 saxeam ad]
saxeam at *AC* saxae amat *B*¹ saxeum ad *M*¹ ||
29 suis isauditoque *B*¹ || 30 sicut inciti atque
AB (*sed sicut in ras.* *B*²) *CF*²*M* sicut inciatque
*F*¹ || (31 delfini *Z*) || 34 consimile *Z* || § 90, 35
uacuum, *alt.* u *spscr.*, *C* || 2 si] nisi *F* || 3 post-
ea*****cum *B* || uidissent, n *spscr.*, *C* || 4 omnia
queratis *ABF*² omnia queratis *C*¹*F*¹*M*¹ || 6
architectus (?) *C*¹ || 7 numeris *A*¹ || § 91, 10 hanc
*C*¹ || animabili *ABCM* amabili *F* || est est aer
*C*¹ || quidem illud *F* || 11 a nostritum *A*¹ || 12
hun *A*¹ || 13 mutuemur* *B* metuemur *C*¹ || haec
*C*¹ || queque *B*¹ || 14 et sicut *C*² || pacubius *B*¹
|| 15 gai *A*¹ grai *A*²*BCFM* || 17 g quasi *C*² ||
grauus *B*¹ grauis *C*¹ graus *C*² || 19 granigena
*B*¹*C*¹ || isto *Z* || oratio] ornatu *B*¹ || § 92, 20 innu-
merabilis *M*¹ || 21 conlustras *A*¹ || 22 atque, t
corr. 2, *A* || 23 tanti, i *corr.* ex e, *A*, nti *corr.* 2,
B || ignis *C*¹ || 24 | terris rebusque incipit *V*
(*fol. I*).

Z = *ABCFMV*.

25 loca *CF* || confraglare *B*¹ || terra *A*¹ || § 93,
27 ergo *V*² || 30 quur *A*¹ || 31 inenumberabiles
*AB*²*CFMV* || uigingi *B*¹ || 32 coniciantur *V*³⁻⁴
|| ex his *ACMV* || terra *M* || 33 annalles *F* ||
enni *AB*¹*CV*¹ || possunt *A*¹ possit *F* || § 94, 36
poetota *BM* poetotaeta *F* poeta *C* poetiteta
A poetoteta *V* || 37 mundum esse, *extr.* m et
esse *in ras.* 2, *B* || innuber. *B*¹ || potius, ius
in ras. 3, *A* || 39 non cursus *V*¹ || 39-40 quur
quater *A* || 40 multa *BF* || 1 effutiunt *AB*²*FV*
effitiunt *B*¹ || mihi] nichil *C*¹ (michi *C*²*V*²) || 2
proximus, i *in ras.* *ampl.* 2, *B* || § 95, 3 pre-
dare *F*¹ (prel. *BF*²) || aristotiles *B*²*C* aristo-
tetiles *F* || 4 terram *C* || sempe *B*¹ || 5 his *Z* ||
abundant hi *AV* habundant*ii, t et post. i
corr. 2, *B* et, *corr.* 1 ex habundantia, *F* habun-
dat (-ant 3) hi *C* habundant hi *M* || 7 nomen
*B*¹ || 9 sedilibus *C* || 10 terra *C* || nubium—co-
gnouissent *om.* *C* || 11 cum] tum *V*² || 12 quod,
his *C*¹ quod dis *V*¹ || 13 opaccasset *CM* || 14 tum]
cum *ABFMV*¹ || totum caelum *M* || 15 tum
crescentis *spscr.* *C*¹, *sed rursus deleta sunt* ||
17 opera tanta *M* || § 96, 19 eruptionem (?) *A*¹ ||

§ 96. ethnaeorum *A* aeterna eorum *B*¹ aethnaeorum *B*²*V* aethneorum *C**F* aethneorum *M* || 22 uideretur *A* || 23 luce *C*¹ || 24 quotid. *A*² || adsuescant *A*¹ (assuescunt *CV*) || 25 perinde *V*² || § 97, 25 motus caeli *M* || 29 *nullam *A* || inesse] esse *M* || eaque que *V*² || 30 generantur *B*¹ || 31 shaeram *B*¹ (spher. *FMV*) || 32 sint opera *F* || 33 impetu *B*¹ || admirabi *B*¹ || celeritate—uertique *in ras.* ampl. 2 vel 1 *A* (caeler. *B*¹*CF*¹*M*) || 1 uideamus *Z* || cum] tum *V*² || 2 rerum, u corr. 2, *B* || eanon, pr. n corr. ex r 2 ?, *B* || 3 fiant, a corr. 2, *V* || rationem, m del. 1, *B* || § 98, 4 a subtilitate *C*¹ (supt. *V*¹) || quod admodo *C* || 5 prudentia *BFK* || 6 Ac *in ras.* *A*³ || cernatur] natu *B*¹ || 7 globora *A* || ipsa om. *B*¹ || sese, alt. se *spscr.* 1, *B* || 8 a floribus *A*¹ || *herbis *F* || frugibus om. *B*¹ || 9 ueritate *C*¹ (uariat. *A*) || distinguitur *C* || adde hunc *C*¹*V*¹ corr. *C*²*V*² adhuc *V*³ || fontum *ABFMV*¹*K* || 10 uidissimos *A*¹ || 11 asperitas *A*¹ || 12 montium altitudines om. *M*¹ || imensitatesque *B*¹ (immensitatesque *B*²*CFV*) || camparum *C*¹ || § 99, 14 cieuram *F*¹ || uolucrum *ABFMV* || 17 stirpium *C*¹ || 18 quorumque corr. ut vid. ex eorumque *AV* || 19 et urb.] eturribus *A*³ || oculis corr. ex -us *A* corr. ex uc. *B* || possimus *ACFMV*¹*K* et, corr. 1 ex possumus, *B* || 20 contuens *V*² || de *spscr.* 1 ? *V* || ratio *B*¹ || § 100, 20 At uero] a uero *B*¹ || 21 uarietas* *B* || 22 littorum *M* || quod *B*¹*V*¹ quotquot *FK* || 23 mersarum *A*¹ submersorum *M* || fluctantium *C* || 24 saxasanatiuis *AB*¹*V*¹ saxosanatiuis *B*²*FK* || 25 eludit *ZK*, sed elidit *C*² || natura *MK* || § 101, 26 exin, in *spscr.* 1, *V* exim *B*¹*K* || aer om. *A*¹*CV*¹ add. *A*³*V*⁴ || hisque *M* || 27 concremus *A*¹ || homoremque *V*¹ (hum. *MV*²*K*) || 28 efluens *AB*¹ || 29 Idem] idemque *M*¹ || uarietas *C*¹ || 30 alitum] altum *B*¹ || spiritus *ZK*, sed post. s in *Veras.* || 31 ad domic. *C* || 32 cohercens *ACM*²*V*¹ coherens *M*¹ || quidem *A*¹*B*¹ || et aether *B*¹ (eth. *C*) || hora *C*¹*V* || § 102, 34 ex *A*¹ || 35 terram *B*¹ || hisque *M* (isque *A*¹) || 2 ad extr. *C* || 3 contrhit terram *A*¹ contrahitur terra *C* || § 103, 5 ostendum *A*¹*V*¹ || iisdem *B*²*FV*² || 6 cum sole tum degrediens om. *V*¹ add. *V*²; *C*¹ iisdem verbis primum omis- sis scr. et eam lucem quam a sole | tum de- grediens et eam lucem qu. a s. acc. sqq., corr. *C*² (solae utroque loco *A*) || digrediens *B*²*FMV*³*K* || 8 habeat, a del. 1 ?, *B* || 9 terre* *C* || 10 deficit *AV*¹ || iisdemque *B*²*F* hisdemque *M* || 11 eae] ea *B*¹ et *FK* || stelle* *C* || terrae *V*¹ || 12 motus] modus *A*¹ || 13 sae *B*¹ (sepe *AM*) || § 104, 13 potest] post *C* || 14 inerrentium *B*¹ || maximilitudo *A*¹ || 15 distinctio, tinc add. et io corr. 2, *A* || notarum corr. 1 ? ex -orum *B*

|| figurarum om. *C*¹ || 17 arti (?) eis *A*¹ arates || *B*¹ arati eis *A*²*B*²*CFMV* || ad te *B*¹ || 18 ex his *BFM* ex is *V*¹ || 20 labentur *M* || caleri *B*¹ caeleri *FM* || § 105, 22 nullus *A*¹ || 23 uideri *BF* || 24 duplici *C* || nertex *B*¹ || 26 arctoae *Z*, sed arctoae *V*² || duae *in ras.* *B*² || 27 ex iis *ACFV* || graio]scunusura *B*¹ || 28 altera ex alter corr. 1 ? *B* || haelice *BF* helicae *V* || 30 soliti, t corr. ex c ?, *V* || § 106, 33 Hac] ac *BF*¹ || (foenices *AMV* fen. *BF* faen. *C*) || 34 reful- git *A*¹ || 35 a nocte] nocte *F*²*M* || 36 in hac *in ras.* *B*² || 39 rapidos *BF* fulmen *V*¹ || 1 subter *ACMV* || supraque *Z* || reuoluens sese confi- ciensque om. *A*¹ || § 107, 3 totus *C*¹ || sit] est *Z* || suspicienda *V*² || 4 ardor, a corr. 2, *C* || 5 uno *C*¹ || 7 trucidibusque, et *in ras.* 3, *A* || fra- grant (?) *B*¹ || 9 opstipum] ast ipsum *B*²*FM* || atereti *Z*, sed *in B* corr. 1 ex ateriti || 10 figure *V*¹ || § 108, 11 relicum *B*¹ || 12 paululum *M* || subitoque recondit *Z* || 13 partim (parte *M*) admiscetur in una *Z* || 14 autem *in ras.* *B*² || 15 deffesa *C* || uelut *in ras.* *B*² || (merentis *Z*) || 18 engonasiam *ACMV* engnosiam *BF* || uo- gitant *B*¹ uocant *C*¹ || 19 fulgora coronata *C* fulgocorona *F*¹ || 20 autem om. *M* || anguiten- nentis *A*²*B*²*FM* || § 109, 21 ofuchum *C* (ofuch. *ABFMV*) || grai *M* || 23 atque eius] eius et *B*²*FM* || toto *A*² || 24 uirum om. *A*¹ || sserpens (t ?) *B* serpens, praeter pr. s *in ras.* 2, *V* || 26 uirguet *B*¹ (urget *ACMV*) || nepe *A*¹*V*¹ corr. *A*³*V*³ nepar, r radendo *in i* corr., *B* nepii *C* || 27 septemtriones *CM* || 28 aretofylax *AC* aretofil. *BFV* artofil. *M* || uulgo, uu *in ras.* 2, *B* || quidigitur *B*¹ || bootes, alt. o *spscr.*, *C* || 29 te- mone *ABC*¹*FMV* || adiunctam, tam *spscr.* 2, *A* aduinctam *B*¹ || aretum cum praeced. t *in ras.* *B*² aratum *F*¹ || § 110, 30 Dein quae] deinde *FM* || 31 sub terrae cordia *A*¹*V*¹ (precordia *A*³) || 33 cui] cuius *AB*¹*CV* || 34 uigo** *C* || 1 de- scriptionibus *BMV*¹ || 3 inuissis *ACV*¹ || aretis *B*¹ aretis *C*¹ arotis *C*² || 4 subiectos *B*¹ || media est *Z* || 6 au] riga, *ras.* supr. u (= autem ?), *B* aurigam *C*¹ || 7 subleua *Z*, sed *in Bras.* supra l || obductur *C*¹ obducta *C*² || feretur] tenetur *V*³ || 8 elice *A*¹*BF* helice *A*³*CMV* || trulenta *F* || 9 laeum *A*¹*B*¹*V*¹ laeuium *C* || clarae (?) *A* claro *CV* || 11 inllustri *C* (ill. *V*) || 13 cui sub *C* || 14 conexus *Z*, sed connexus corr. *V*² || § 111, 15 consp. est stellis frequ. *M* || 16 fuerunt *C* || 17 adpluendo *B*¹ || hyin *ABFMV* hiene *C* || enim bis scr. *A*¹ || plure *C* || nosti *A*¹ || imperita *BF*¹ (imperiti *F*²) || succulas *V* || sucibus *C* suibus *M* || 18 septemtr. *CM* || 19 a tergo] terga *AB*²*CFMV* terca *B*¹ || 20 ipsum *Z* || cynosura *ACV* cynosyre *C* cynosyrae *F* || 21 huic *M*¹ || | teccedit denuo incipit *P*.

P. SCHWENKE.

(Continuabitur.)

JEBB'S PHILOCTETES.

It is not necessary to dwell on the main characteristics to be looked for in Professor Jebb's work. Every scholar knows by this time what to expect in a new volume : and in this, the fourth volume of the series, he will not be disappointed. We find the same mastery of all information needful for understanding or useful for illustration ; the same literary skill in the discussions and translations, the same precision and lucidity in the notes ; above all the same combination of fine and just literary judgment, ingenuity and subtlety of emendation, and delicate insight into Greek linguistic usage, which we know not where to find outside this great commentary.

The most interesting feature of the preface is the full account the editor gives, with many valuable suggestions, of the comparison left to us by Dio Chrysostom of the three great dramatists' work on this theme. Dio's account is tantalisingly imperfect : if he had only realised that his *causerie* would survive, and two out of the three plays be lost, how differently would he have written ! But imperfect though it be, such a comparison carries, in its degree, the same sort of interest and instruction that we derive from comparing the three extant plays on the story of Orestes, the *Electras* of Euripides and Sophocles, and the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus.

In dealing with the text Professor Jebb's various qualifications have perhaps their fullest scope. The traditional readings are never either abandoned or maintained without full trial ; and we think the editor's power is shown quite as much where he maintains the MS. text or selects a suggestion of a previous emender, as where he makes a correction of his own. There is always a full discussion of the grounds, rarely without some new and subtle points. Still it is to the editor's own emendations that attention will naturally be first directed. The most convincing of these, we think, occurs on line 728, where the MSS. read (speaking of Herakles)

. . ἴν' ὁ χάλκασπις ἀνὴρ θεοῖς
πλάθει πᾶσιν (πᾶσι L.) θείῳ πυνὶ παμ-
φάγῃς . . .

Here πᾶσιν is both metrically wrong (*antistr.* ὄπου) and superfluous in meaning ; and Professor Jebb brilliantly conjectures πατρός. We might certainly, as he says,

expect a reference to Zeus, to whom Oeta was sacred : and πατρός, he might have added, being a word often abbreviated is easily corrupted.

Another suggestion, which may be called certain, is (line 1125) ἐγγελά for γελά μου, at once curing the defects of metre and grammar, and supplying an explanation of the corruption.

A much bolder change is his correction of the line 782, which appears in L. as follows :

ἀλλὰ δέδοικ' ὦ παῖ μὴ μ' ἀτελής εὐχή·

and is open to the following objections—(1) that it is dochmiac, whereas it ought to be iambic ; (2) that there is no verb ; (3) that με has nothing to govern it. Professor Jebb offers the following suggestion :

ἀλλ' ὄκνος ὦ παῖ μὴ ἀτέλεστ' εὐχῇ μ' ἔχει.

which will strike most people perhaps as improbable at first sight : but we can safely say that the editor's defence of his emendation will be found to be a singularly acute and subtle piece of reasoning.

His correction of the incredible φυγά μ' οὐκέτ' ἀπ' αὐλίων πελάτ' (1142) has been long known to readers of the *Journal of Philology*, where he proposed, in 1869, μηκέτ' ἀπ' αὐλίων φυγά πηδᾶτ'. The last word is extremely ingenious, and it carried the other changes almost by necessary consequence.

In 1092, where the MSS. give :

εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω
πτωκάδες ὀξύτονον διὰ πνεύματος ἔλωσί μ'

it has long been recognized that εἴθε is corrupt, and that ἔλωσί μ' should be ἔλωσιν. Professor Jebb's πέλειαι δ' ἄνω is ingenious, but his objections to αἰθέρος are not valid against Nauck's brilliant γοναὶ δ' αἰθέρος ; for with this reading we have a substantive to agree with πτωκάδες, and we do not retain ἄνω. One may be allowed to prefer Nauck's emendation ; it is more imaginative, it does not confine the πτωκάδες to doves, and it is really nearer to the MSS.

As a specimen of the manner in which, when the editor does adopt a conjecture of a previous scholar, he sometimes may almost be said to make it his own by a thorough and convincing discussion, we may point to line 188, where the βαρεία δ' ἀθυρόστομος of L. had always been a difficulty, till S. Mekler, in his revision of Dindorf's Sophocles, made

the splendid correction, ὁρεῖα δ' ἄθυρόστομος, curing the metrical error and the unsatisfactory sense, and giving exactly the right epithet to Echo. Professor Jebb has for the first time brought out the full merits of this correction.

In the matter of spelling, we must brace our minds, we suppose, to admit into our texts the forms proved by contemporary inscriptions. It is much harder to write *προσμεῖξαι* (106) and *οἰκτίρω* (169) than to change (for example) one's grammatical theories or one's political views: but we suppose it has to be done. Professor Jebb makes a new advance each time: in this volume, besides the above, we have *σώζω* (134), *θνήσκω* (1443), *τείσω* (959), and last, but not easiest, *ποεῖν* (120, and appendix). After all it is only what our fathers underwent in Latin on a much larger scale: and even now some fossils object to *Vergilius*.

As regards the interpretation, it is impossible in our limits to do any justice to the editor's work, more especially as a critic has necessarily to dwell more on points of difference than of agreement. It is all the more needful to say, what the present critic at any rate feels strongly, that for one place where he is able to suggest any improvement on Professor Jebb's view, there are scores where the editor has brought out for the first time some new bearing, or *nuance* of meaning, in a word or expression, which is a real addition to the understanding of the text. I may perhaps quote, as an instance chosen almost at random, the excellent note on *τάνδ' αἴγλαν* (831), which is interpreted to mean the 'dream light' that rests on the sleeper's face, now that the pang has passed. We are reminded of the advantage of having a poet interpreted by an editor with poetic sensibilities, when we find that one commentator takes it to mean 'darkness' by *oxymoron*, and another argues at length for its signifying 'a bandage'!

In passing to the grammatical notes, which in Sophocles are especially needful, as the poet is one of those artists in diction who is always straining the grammar, Professor Jebb shows three qualities, all most valuable: he very seldom misses a passage which requires a note; he always decides the point, carefully striking a balance if it is disputed; and his exposition is usually admirably clear. Good examples may be found of this exposition both where no doubt is possible, as line 443, ὅς οὐκ ἂν εἴλετ' εἰσάπαξ λέγειν ὅπου Μηδεὶς ἐψή, and where there are various views taken, as in 493, παλαιὸν ἐξ ὅτου δέδοικα μὴ μοι βεβήκη. In this latter instance the

editor seems finally to dispose of *παλαι' ἂν*: but I do not see why the Laurentian *βεβήκοι* should not be retained, since the principal verb, *δέδοικα*, though primary, *contains and includes a past*: on the very principle, in fact, admirably expounded and illustrated by Professor Jebb on line 199, πρὶν ὅδ' ἐξήκοι.

On 761 he explains the common (yet grammatically singular) expression *βοῦλει λάβωμαι*; by treating *βοῦλει* as parenthetical. It is no doubt true that *both* are principal verbs; but it would be preferable to avoid the word *parenthetical*, which suggests a check or pause in the sentence that clearly is not there, and to regard it in Riddell's phrase (*Digest of Idioms*, § 204) as a *binary structure*; somewhat like *τίς πόθεν ἦλθες*, for example, where no one would speak of the second question as parenthetical.

Another grammatical point where one may differ more seriously from the editor arises on line 281, where occurs the unusual construction *ὁρῶντα. . . οὐδέν' ἔντοπον, οὐχ ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν*. The *meaning* is undoubted, 'seeing no one there, none to aid.' The grammatical *analysis* is harder and more disputable, and here I do not feel Professor Jebb's note to be satisfactory. The note begins by treating the sentence as an oblique deliberative: but if this be right, as it probably is, it should be pointed out that the construction is so stretched that *the interrogative character is lost*. The fact I believe to be that the deliberative construction is subtly modified, and three stages may be traced as follows:—first stage, *οὐκ ἦδεν ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν*, 'I did not know who was to aid'—truly interrogative and deliberative: second stage, *οὐκ εἶχον ὅστις ἀρκέσειεν*, where the *interrogative* character is sliding into the *relative*: third stage, *οὐδ' ἐν' εἶχον ὅστις κ.τ.λ.* where the *relative* character of *ὅστις* is established. The last usage is what we have here: it is so like the Latin final *qui* with subjunctive that few readers or commentators stop to notice the difference; but it certainly is *not* that, else we could say *ἔπειμα ὅστις ἀγγέλλοι*, which we cannot do: it is always *ἀγγελεῖ*. Professor Jebb should have said clearly 'This is an extension of *deliberative* construction, used after negative sentences, which becomes at last *practically equivalent to the final* (relative with future): and he should have told us the limits within which it is used. He refers to the *final* construction in the end of the note, though without naming it and without distinguishing it from the deliberative: and this would be most misleading to the beginner. I will only add that the illustration he gives from *Aristo-*

phanes (*Fr.* 96) should be classed rather as *assimilated* opt.; that the three examples at the end are *normal deliberatives*, which it is superfluous to quote; and, last but not least, that the very same construction which is causing us such trouble occurs again in the play (695) with its *relative* character fully developed (ὅ for ὅτω), again after a negative clause, and yet is quite unnoticed by the editor.

I had hoped to discuss one or two more points of grammar; but space does not permit, and I must be content with a mere handful of references and suggestions. Line 797: is not ἦκει in its common Attic sense 'come back'? 935: μή cannot be due to the meaning 'if': ὥς (= 'as if') is not conditional. Surely μή is due to 'strong assurance' see

1329. 985: the doctrine of 'divided attribute' should be stated. 1006: a slight confusion here about 'generic' μή: it is the *man* who is 'of the kind to think nothing sound: it would still be μηδὲν if ὄντες were away. 303: ξενώσεται: it should be said that Attic *prefers* this fut. pass. in *pure* verbs. 350 αἰρήσομαι: why not say simply, '*orat. obliq.*'? But enough. These are mostly minor points: and even if such criticisms were all admitted, where much is no doubt disputable, they would in no wise affect the feelings of gratitude and admiration for Professor Jebb's work on Sophocles, which every succeeding volume only serves to deepen.

A. S.

GWATKIN'S CTESIPHONTEA OF AESCHINES.

Aeschines in Ctesiphontea. Edited with Notes and Indices by T. GWATKIN, M.A. and EVELYN S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A. (Macmillan's Classical Series). London, 1889. Pr. lii., 282. 5s.

IN the preparation of this serviceable edition of the *Ctesiphontea* of Aeschines Mr. Gwatkin is responsible for the text and for the notes on §§ 1-160; Mr. Shuckburgh for the notes on §§ 161-260 and for the revision of the earlier notes, for the Introduction, Appendices and Indices, as also for 'a certain number of changes in the text' introduced 'in view of more recent criticism.' The stereotyped plates, made for the edition of this speech published with Drake's excellent *De Corona* of Demosthenes as long ago as 1860, are used for this book, with a few changes; the fact, however, that in these plates in their original form the text of the Zurich edition of 1841 was 'adhered to without any variation' is nowhere made known and the alterations of Mr. Gwatkin and Mr. Shuckburgh at no point interfere with integrity of the lines of the stereotyped plates. These changes are exceedingly few in number. In §§ 1-78, barring corrections of orthography and the like—as γίγνεται etc. for γίνεταί, ἀγαπᾶν etc. for ἀγαπᾶν, κρείττους for κρείττους, προάγων for προαγών (§ 67); but σώζεται (§ 6), διαρῇ (§ 56—at § 166, however, προκαθίσσει), τι for τί (§ 37) εἰθύναι (§ 12—at § 17, however, we have εἴθυνα) are allowed to stand—and the occasional insertion of brackets (at §§ 41,

57, 61, 74)—there are only the following: § 2 ἐξῆν, § 3 περιποιούμενοι, § 8 γεγραφότα, § 16 κακοῦργον καὶ σοφιστήν, § 36 τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, § 39 'νομοθέταις', § 41 γέγραφεν. The text, then, is that of BS., with corrected orthography and such other emendations, very few in number, as could be introduced into the stereotyped plates without injury to them. It is unfortunate that an ingenious and independent editor should be thus hampered by book-making considerations. In Appendix C. (Notes on the Text) Mr. Shuckburgh endeavours to make amends for these artificial restrictions. But this part of the book is far from satisfactory. It begins with a misleading misprint: the three codices embraced in group A are not Bekker's g k l, but e k l. This appendix consists mainly of indications of Weidner's readings (1872, 1878), and of information as to the readings of groups A (e k l) and B (a g m n), where these are divergent. Almost none of Weidner's suggestions, however, are adopted and they are regarded as 'often violent and unnecessary.' Still Mr. Shuckburgh thinks that Weidner's emendations are of 'considerable value, and deserve to be considered in each case.' At the same time he does not give us anywhere an account of Weidner's main theses, which alone render his (or even Mr. Shuckburgh's) procedure intelligible. Attention should at least have been called to the assumption that all codices not in group A or B are copies of MSS. in or cognate to those of these groups, and are not traceable to independent archetypes.

The promise to record deviations from BS. is not faithfully kept (*e.g.* at §§ 3, 8, 16, 48 out of §§ 1-78, not including all the bracketed passages). There are also numerous critical notes scattered throughout the exegetical commentary. Two original emendations have caught my eye, not introduced however into the text: at § 7, for the *εἰς τὴνδε τὴν ἡμέραν* of 'some MSS.' (ceh kn p-Schultz, other MSS. omit *εἰς*), *εἶναι* is suggested. But for *εἰς*, κ.τ.λ. cf. Dem. *Cor.* 151, and the frequent expression *εἰς αἴριον*, which however neither Demosthenes nor Aeschines seems to have used. But it is probably better to follow the other MSS. in the omission, or rather in the non-insertion of *εἰς*, as the *lectio difficilior*. The other emendation at § 166, *στέρνα* for *στενά*, is interesting (Mr. S. compares Cicero *Phil.* II. 86 'Num expectas dum te stimulis fodiamus?'), but it can hardly win its way into our texts.

The introduction gives a clear and readable account of the life and ancestry of Aeschines, and of so much of Greek history as is needed to make the life intelligible, and the two other speeches of Aeschines are briefly adverted to. The outline of the *Ctesiphontea* here given is substantially an abridgment of Blass's. The long Chronological Table on pp. xlviii.-lii. is unsatisfactory. Indeed Mr. Shuckburgh's grasp of chronological matters is uncertain and betrays him into grave inconsistencies. Some of the misinformation, however, of this Table is corrected (though, so far as one can see, the editor is unconscious of the fact) in the notes. Thus on p. 119 in the note on § 63, the date for Aesch. in *Tim.* is given 346 B.C.; in the Table, however, we have 345 B.C.: in the same note Aesch. *F.L.* is put into 343 B.C., in the Table, at 342 B.C. On p. 154, note on § 140, the seizure of Elateia is put 'into the winter of 335 B.C.'; in the Table, at June, 338 B.C. On p. 140, note on § 114, the date of Demosthenes's election as *pylagoras* is given as 343 B.C. (following Schäfer), and the Delian suit before the Amphictyonic Council was urged the same year; but in the Table the Delian affair is dated 345 B.C. Finally on p. 174, note on § 165, the defeat of Agis is given 330 B.C.; in the Table 331 B.C. This Table requires revision at many points, the most noteworthy being the following: 'B.C. 382. Birth of Demosthenes.' The uncertainty as to this date is in large measure removed by the recovery of fragments of Hypereides in *Dem.* (at col. xix. Blass), where Demosthenes is spoken of as over sixty years of age; as this speech was

delivered in 324 B.C. (Harpalus affair), the date of Demosthenes's birth would fall B.C. 385/4. This inference is confirmed (1) by Ps.-Plutarch, *Vit. Dec. Oratt.* 845 D. (from Caecilius?), where the archon in the year of Demosthenes's birth is given as Dexitheus (385/4 B.C.), the fact receiving independent corroboration from the statement that Demosthenes was thirty-seven in the Archonship of Callimachus (349/8 B.C.); (2) by the language of Dem. *adv. Onet.* i. 15 (867), on which compare Blass, *Chronol. Demosth.* pp. 2, 15, 16. To be sure Dion. Halic. *Ep. ad. Ann.* i. 4, p. 724 gives Demosthenes's birth year as 381/0 B.C. But, as Blass has shown, this date probably, as the dates of several of the speeches demonstrably, is reached only by conjecture and subjective combination on his part. 'B.C. 355. Demosthenes begins speaking.' But at least *adv. Aphob.* and *adv. Onet.* were spoken before this time.—'B.C. 346. Peace arranged (March).' Can 18, 19—24 Elaphebolion (Dem. *F.L.* 57: Aesch. *in. Ctes.* 68, 69, 73) have fallen within March of this year? Ol. 108. 1 (B.C. 348/7) is agreed to have begun July 17. If this year were a leap year of 384 days (Unger) B.C. 347/6 would have begun Aug. 5, and 24 Elaph. must have fallen in mid April B.C. 346. If, on the other hand, (Boeckh, Schäfer) not Ol. 108. 1, but Ol. 108. 2 were the leap year, B.C. 347/6 must have begun July 6; since however the intercalated month was inserted between Poseideon and Gamelion, *i.e.* before Elaphebolion, it would throw 24 Elaph. practically just where it would have been had the year begun Aug. 5—into mid April. The equivalent for the subsequent dates (Dem. *F.L.* 57—60) should be corrected accordingly.

No mention is made whatever of the lodgement on the part of Demosthenes (and Timarchus) of their charges against Aeschines in reference to his conduct in the Second Embassy: this must have taken place within the short time after the offence was committed, the statutory limitation being thirty days, *i.e.* in summer 346 B.C. Under B.C. 345, 342, and 341 wrong dates are given and an incorrect sequence of events. The proper sequence is: Aeschines's prosecution of Timarchus; [the affair of Antiphon]; the rejection, by the Areopagus, of Aeschines as delegate in the Delian matter, because of his connexion with Antiphon; the speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines on the Embassy. Now Antiphon was an Athenian who had been deprived of his rights as a citizen (Dem. *Cor.* 132), in all probability one of the considerable number thus treated, on the motion

of Demophilus, in the archonship of Archias (Androtion and Philochorus *ap. Harpoc. s.v. διαψήφισις*), *i.e.* B.C. 346/5; hence this treasonable conduct cannot have preceded the Peace of Philocrates, and it is extremely improbable that either orator would ascribe to Philip—in the person of Antiphon—a willingness τὰ νεώρῳ ἐμπρήσειν within a year, or even within two years, after the striking of the peace. It seems probable, therefore, that the arrest and execution of Antiphon followed the prosecution of Timarchus by a considerable interval of time. (Indeed Aesch. in *Tim.* 77 refers to the διαψήφισις as something very recent—νυνί.) It was doubtless meant by Demosthenes as a counter-stroke against the Macedonizers who had won the day in the matter of Timarchus. However all this may have been, it is at least certain that the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes on the Embassy were delivered—whether in the form we now have them or not is a question not to be raised here—in the summer of B.C. 343 (Schäfer, ii.² p. 373): now in Dem. *F.L.* 209 the rejection of Aeschines is spoken of as recently effected (πρώην), in spite of Aeschines's bitter and noisy protestations; on the other hand, in Aesch. in *Tim.* the Areopagus is represented as a venerable institution, not likely to make a mistake, in language which it is inconceivable that Aeschines could have used had he been smarting from the sting of a very recent adverse judgment.—The affair of the spy Anaxinus of Oreos can hardly have occurred as early as 341 B.C.; it must have taken place, if not after the declaration of war against Philip (summer 340 B.C.), at least only a short time before it; unquestionably after Oreos had been freed from the yoke of the Macedonizing Philistides.—'B.C. 338 June. Philip being chosen General of the Amphictyons marches south and seizes and fortifies Elateia. August. Battle of Chaeroneia...337. Proposal of Ctesiphon.' The main support of those who hold that Philip took Elateia in the spring or summer of 338 B.C., and not in the preceding autumn, is found in the documents in Dem. *Cor.* 154, 181, now however—*i.e.* by almost everybody since 1839—admitted to be spurious. The proper sequence of events in B.C. 339—336, inferred almost wholly from the explicit language of Demosthenes and Aeschines, is substantially this: B.C. 339. Spring; Aeschines stirs up Amphictyonic war against the Amphihiassians. Midsummer; special meeting of the Council with election of Cottyphus (so at least Aesch. in *Ctes.* 124,

128), unsuccessful campaign. Late summer or autumn; regular meeting of the Amphictyonic Council, when Philip was chosen general (Dem. *Cor.* 151 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος...ἤγαγε στρατιάν...ὡς δ'...οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόν' ἦγον): later, seizure of Elateia and punishment of Amphihiassians; formation of Theban alliance. B.C. 338. Late winter and spring, various military operations. Summer, (7 Metageitnion), battle of Chaeroneia. B.C. 337, toward close of Chaerondas's archonship, Demosthenes elected τεῖχοποιός for subsequent civic year (summer to summer, 337/6). B.C. 336, winter or early spring: Ctesiphon's προβούλεμα, introduced certainly only after Demosthenes has completed a considerable portion of his year of service, and probably shortly before the Greater Dionysia. Aeschines's notice of the γραφὴ παρανόμων which immediately followed was served upon Ctesiphon while Philip was still living (Aesch. in *Ctes.* 219), and Philip was assassinated in the summer of B.C. 336.—'B.C. 331 Arbela (October). About the same time Agis is defeated. B.C. 330. The trial of Ctesiphon on Aeschines's impeachment [is not this an unhappy word?] comes on shortly before the Pythian games (in *Ctes.* 254); that is in January or February.' The fall of Agis preceded by only a short time the trial of Ctesiphon (when Alexander was in Parthia—*i.e.* midsummer B.C. 330—he received news of it), which took place in the late summer B.C. 330, not six months earlier. The more important reasons for adopting this time of the year are: (1) The archon in the year of the trial was Aristophon, *i.e.* B.C. 330/29 (summer to summer): cf. Plut. *Dem.* 4; [Theophr.] *Char.* 7; Dion. Halic. *Ep. ad Amm.* i. 12, p. 746, 5. (2) The Pythian games fell in the third year of each Olympiad (Pans. x. 7. 3; Diod. xvi. 60, *i.e.* the Pythian games fell in the archonship of Archias, col. 108. 3). As the Olympiads began in summer the Pythian games could have fallen within the year only after midsummer B.C. 346/3, 330/29, 326/5 etc. (Ol. 108. 3, 112. 3, 113. 3). Further these games fell in the Delphian month Bucatius (Boeckh, *CIG.* 1688, line 45; Köhler, *CIA.* ii. p. 319); and Bucatius was equivalent—not, as Boeckh (*o. c.*) maintained, to Attic Munychion, but—to Attic Metageitnion (Kirchhoff, *Monatsber. Berl. Akad.* 1864, pp. 129 ff.), *i.e.* to late summer or early autumn. (Of course no one dreams now-a-days that the Pythian festival fell in the winter-spring month of Bysius).—'B.C. 320. Death of Alexander' is of course a misprint for 323.—The date 'B.C. 314.

Aeschines dies at Samos' is extremely doubtful.

The notes are mainly exegetical; a sparing use is made of the testimony of the Scholia, but the parallel references are, perhaps, sufficiently full. The information upon political and legal antiquities might have been given with greater proportion and precision, as also that on historical matters. We miss a thorough treatment of Aeschines's language, and fuller citations of therejoinders made by Demosthenes to the various assertions of Aeschines (for, of course, this speech will always be read in connexion with that of Demosthenes); the rhetorical aspects of the speech might also have been more fully treated. In all these respects Professor Richardson's recent edition, much more than an English version of Weidner, is distinctly in advance of this book. A cursory examination of a part of the notes suggests the following remarks. At § 2 the correct doctrine as to the *προέδροι* is given, but sharper attention should have been drawn to the fact that one *proedrus* was chosen from each of the non-*prytanising* tribes, and that the old office of *ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων* continued, with diminished functions, even after that of *ἐπιστάτης ὁ ἐκ τῶν προέδρων* had been established. To the literature might be added Professor W. W. Goodwin, *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 1885, pp. 165 ff.—§ 27. The dates of Chaerondas should have been given.—§ 34. The late Professor J. M. Crow's able study of the *Pnyx*, including a survey and notes by Mr. J. T. Clarke, might well be added to the list of articles cited (*Papers of the Am. School at Athens*, vol. iv. (1888) pp. 205–277).—§ 55. *ὑπάρχουσιν* does not necessarily carry with it the idea of advantage.—§ 56. A note is needed on *μήτε...τε*.—§ 65. In the list of references insert §§ 61, 65.—§ 76. *προσκεφάλαια* cannot here mean 'cushions to rest the head against'.—§ 108. 'Ἀθηνᾶ *προναία*. The statement that 'the MSS. have *προνοία*, as in Pausanias, but the error has been corrected by inscriptions' is inadequate. The form *προναία* (Ion. *προνητή*) is older than Aeschines, as the editors' references show (Aeschylus, *Eum.* 21, Herod. i. 92, viii. 27): it was also used by Callimachus, *Fragm.* 320, and Diod. Sic. xi. 14, and, as we are reminded, in Delphian inscriptions (e.g. Dittenberger, *Syll.* i. 169). But the form *πρόνοια* is also old, as in [Dem.] in *Aristog.* i. 33 (780), where the play on *ἀπρόνοια* makes an emendation impossible. It would appear, then, that the popular etymology had early transformed the form *προναία* to *πρόνοια*. Still, it hardly seems probable—unless,

against the judgment of most ancient and modern critics,¹ we accept in *Aristog.* i. as genuine—that this transformation had taken place in Aeschines's time; so that the emendation (first made by B. S. 4) must be adopted, especially as Harpocration (*s. v.* *προναία*) seems to have had this reading before him.—§ 118. The knot or braid forming the *κρωβύλος* with its *τέπτιξ* pin, whether we adopt Conze's, Helbig's, Birt's, or Schreiber's view on the subject, was at all events not fastened on the crown of the head, but was rather of the nature of a queue. Cf. Baumeister, *Denkm.* i. p. 616, and Purser in Smith's *Dict. Ant.* i. pp. 496 f.—§ 120. *ἐνῆρκται τὰ κανᾶ*, 'the baskets emptied for the commencement of the sacrifice.' Rather should be said, with Weidner, 'the baskets filled for the sacrifices,' with sacred barley (*οὐλοχύται*). Cf. Schol. Vat. Laur. F.: *ἐπιτίθεται τὰ οὐλα κ.τ.λ.*—§ 123, and Appendix C., on *ἐπὶ δίεςτες ἡβῶσι*. The important *fonds*, Bekker, *Anecd. (Lex. Seguer.)*, p. 255. 15 (*τὸ ἐπὶ δίεςτες ἡβῶσι τὸ γενέσθαι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἵνα ἡβῇ ἢ τὸ ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν γενέσθαι*) should have been cited. Mr. Shuckburgh's ingenious suggestions can hardly be regarded as settling this difficult question.—§ 132. More should have been made of the Congress at Corinth (B.C. 338 autumn, not 337), in which Droysen and his school sees the fullest justification of the policy of Philip and stultification of that of Demosthenes and other members of the Anti-Macedonian party.—§ 150. Pheidias's Athena Lemnia was certainly not 'the chryselephantine statue in the Parthenon'.—§ 154. Not a special 'seat,' called *ἐφηβικός*, was assigned in the Dionysiac theatre to the *ephebi*, but rather a minor subdivision, a *τόπος* (Pollux, *l.c.*)—§ 187. The cult-statue, not the Metroum itself, was the work of Pheidias (*μητρός θεῶν ἱερὸν ἣν Φειδίας εἰργάσατο*, Paus. i. 3. 5; Arrian *Peripl.* 9) and even this cannot have been by Pheidias, if Pliny (*H.N.* xxxvi. 17) be correct in ascribing it to Agoracritus.—§ 187. It is not probable that Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 16, 7) and Pliny (*H.N.* xxxiv. 70) are right in ascribing to Alexander the restoration to Athens of Antenor's group-statues of the Tyrannicides: Paus. (i. 8. 5) and Val. Max. (ii. 10. ext. 1) ascribe it to a Seleucus (Antiochus), which—as being the *lectio difficilior*—leaving wholly out of the question the sources

¹ Blass in his text edition (1888) does not bracket *Δημοσθένους* in the title of in *Aristog.* i.—of course an oversight—though he does so in that of in *Aristog.* ii.: in *Att. Bered.* iii. pp. 360 ff., however, he rejects both.

of Pausanias, is more likely to be the correct statement. Compare also Paus. i. 16, 3, where Seleucus—πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείης—is credited with restoring to Branchidae from Ecbatana the bronze statue of Apollo by Canachus. § 225. Where does Aeschines say or insinuate that Demosthenes had at Athens ‘entertained Anaxinus’ and was ‘believed to have been intriguing with the Macedonian Court by his agency’? This inference can hardly be safely drawn from the εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι μέλλον of Aeschines; and the ξένον αὐτοῦ γεγονότα of Ps.-Plut. *Vit. Dec. Oratt.* 848 A (which, however, has apparently no other source than this passage) refers rather to hospitality from Anaxinus at Oreus—probably as Athenian proxenus—at an earlier date, when the first Embassy (Dem. *F.L.* 163), or when the second Embassy (Dem. *F.L.* 155; Aesch. *F.L.* 89) went through Oreus. An εἰσαγγελία of this sort would have been an anti-Macedonian stroke of policy not to be expected of Aeschines at

this time. § 245. The speech *in Polycl.* is hardly Demosthenic. P. 266, note on § 212. Had Toup anything to do with the insertion of πρόσωπον?

The following confusing misprints, not already mentioned, are noted: p. vi. C. Weidner for A. Weidner. Notes: § 32, accusative; § 143, Lysides for Lysicles; § 159, Boehneck; § 171, καταγνώσκω; § 233, Blake for Bake; § 240, read Dinarch. i. §§ 18—20; § 242, read [Dem.] Halon. § 32. P. 271, *dele* καλκιδεύς.

Mr. Shuckburgh's books being so deservedly popular in Great Britain and the United States, I felt that the reviewer's duty would be better discharged by pointing out for correction whatever seemed to be wrong or misleading, than by a mere catalogue of excellences which are generally acknowledged.

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BYWATER'S EDITION OF THE *NICOMACHEAN ETHICS*.

Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit I. BYWATER. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano. MDCCCXC.

THE Delegates of the Clarendon Press may be congratulated, as every one will agree, on their publication of a text of the *Nicomachean Ethics* carefully revised by Mr. Bywater. He is not only a scholar among philosophers but a scholar among scholars, and probably no one in England could have done this particular piece of work so well: certainly no one could have done it better. He has brought to the task not only a long familiarity with the *Ethics*, but a wide and accurate knowledge of Aristotle's ideas and language, great care, great acuteness, great sobriety of judgment, all the equipment of perfect scholarship, and an unusually microscopic eye. Many therefore are the small changes, though not many the considerable ones, that those familiar with the older and much less critical texts will find in the new; and, though the editor fully recognises his obligation to the much improved text and the critical notes of Susemihl, he has been able in many places to make an advance even on him. The advance however is mainly in those things which in no disparaging sense may be called

minutiae, and the real importance of such changes may easily be overlooked by the careless reader. A slight change of stopping, the alteration of one letter in a particle, the insertion or omission of some small word, often makes an important difference to the sense and gives a passage quite a new aspect. There is nothing brilliant or startling about such improvements and they often fail to meet with the recognition they deserve, for only scholars who are something more than scholars in the narrowest sense are likely to make them. They need a reasoning mind, which great acquaintance with Greek and Latin does not always carry with it. Many scholars can discuss the grammar of a sentence for one who can understand its real relation to what went before and what is to come after.

It will be understood therefore that Mr. Bywater treats the text in a very cautious and circumspect manner. He has introduced, I think, very few emendations of his own or of anybody else, except in the minute matters indicated above. A careful examining and weighing of MS. evidence and of the early commentators has been his critical method, and in this matter, as far as our present materials go, he has probably left little for the industry or acuteness of

others to do. His text is not only the best now, but likely, unless anything unforeseen happens, to remain so for a considerable time.

Without enlarging further on the admirable manner in which the editor has done what he undertook to do, namely to present us with a carefully revised text of the *Ethics*, I will venture in the exercise of a critic's privilege to call his attention to one or two things, about which doubt may be entertained, in those parts of his text which I have examined. In iii. 1, 17 he reads καὶ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πίσας ἀποκτείνειν ἄν' καὶ θίξει βουλόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ ἀκροχειριζόμενοι, πατάξειεν ἄν, where πίσας and θίξει take the place of the ordinary παίσας and δαίξειαι. Although there is evidence in favour of both changes and the second perhaps gives a better sense, something may be said on the other side. πιπίσκω is so rare a word that it seems rather rash to adopt it here, and, as to θίξειαι, have we any authority for such an aorist (instead of θυγείν) in classical Greek? In iii. 11, 1 πᾶς γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ὁ ἐνδεὴς ἑήρας ἢ ὑγρᾶς τροφῆς τὸ δὲ τοιαῦδε ἢ τοιαῦσδε οὐκ ἐστὶ πᾶς, οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν, can any justification for τὸ and πᾶς together be pleaded? And would not οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν be a feeble and obscure repetition of the same idea? Surely what Aristotle wrote was τὸ δὲ τοιαῦσδε ἢ τοιαῦσδε (i.e. ἐπιθυμείν) οὐκ ἐστὶ παντὸς οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀεί. Ramsauer has suggested παντός, as Mr. Bywater notes, but οὐδὲ τῶν αὐτῶν needs improving too. In the same book (iii. 8, 15) the MSS. have ἀπὸ ζέως γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ (or ἢ καὶ) ὅτι ἦττον ἐκ παρασκευῆς in the argument that unforeseen dangers test courage better than foreseen ones. Mr. Bywater emends the words (which certainly seem to need emendation) by reading ἦν, ὅτι; but what is the force of the imperfect? Aristotle has not said anything to this precise effect before. He has said in 6, 10 that courage is shown especially on sudden dangers, but not that such courage is especially ἀπὸ ζέως. In ii. 7, 4 ἐναντίως δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ὑπερβάλλουσι καὶ ἐλλείπουσιν is Mr. Bywater's new reading for the common ἐαυταῖς. I suspect Aristotle wrote ἐαυτοῖς or αὐτοῖς. In v. 2, 10 is τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς προσταττόμενα, though found in K^b, really as good as τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πραττόμενα? In the previous chapter we have ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιείας οὐ πράττεται τὰ ἐναντία, and the suitability of προσταττεῖν to ἀρετή may be doubted. In v. 4, 14 Rassow's αὐτὰ τὰ δι' αὐτῶν in the sense of 'just what, or just as much as, they had by their own labour' is not wholly satisfactory. In ii. 4, 3 πρὸς δὲ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς (ἔχων) τὸ μὲν εἶδέναι οὐδὲν ἢ

μικρὸν ἰσχύει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα οὐ μικρὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν δύναται, ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις πράττειν τὰ δίκαια καὶ σφόδρα περιγίνεται I am rather surprised Mr. Bywater should suggest in a note that we ought perhaps to read εἴπερ for ἅπερ. As far as I can see, εἴπερ would give a very inferior meaning. The origin of τὰ ἄλλα would surely not determine their δύναμις. But ἅπερ is very significant: these are the important things and they are the very things that are created by habit, on which Aristotle is insisting.

The last point which I have noticed with doubt is perhaps the most remarkable in the new text. In the definition of virtue in ii. 6, 15 the editor prints ὀρισμένη λόγῳ καὶ ὃ ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὀρίσειεν instead of the familiar ὥς ἄν. This he does on the authority of Aspasius, who commenting on Aristotle's words says καὶ ἐπεξηγέται ποίῳ λόγῳ τῷ φρονίμου καὶ ὃ ἂν ὁ φρόνιμος ὀρίσειεν. Even if Aspasius' own text is above suspicion here, are we absolutely bound to defer to it? There are many small things in which Mr. Bywater does not accept his authority as conclusive, and in respect of palaeography this is small enough. All the MSS. are against him. If ὃ is masculine and means ὃ λόγῳ, the καὶ is somewhat strange; if ὃ is neuter, it is strange itself. Remembering the formulae ὥς ὁ λόγος &c. of the *Ethics* and ὥς ὁ νόμος &c. of the *Rhetoric*, we may feel that there is a great deal to be said for ὥς here. But perhaps I only cling to it because it is familiar to me.

It may be well to mention the reading that Mr. Bywater adopts in a few passages of well-known difficulty. He solves the difficulty of iv. 7, 15 οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ φανερά προσποιούμενοι βανκοπανοῦργοι λέγονται by adopting Vahlen's omission of προσποιούμενοι, which leaves τὰ μικρὰ καὶ φανερά to be governed by an ἀπαρνούμενοι from the preceding sentence. v. 5, 12 εἰς σχῆμα δ' ἀναλογίας οὐ δεῖ ἄγειν ὅταν ἀλλάξωνται (εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμφοτέρως ἔξει τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τὸ ἕτερον ἄκρον), ἀλλ' ὅταν ἔχῃ τὰ αὐτῶν. οὕτως κ.τ.λ. he prints in this way with Mr. Jackson and Susemihl. (Is he really satisfied with giving ἔχων τὰ αὐτῶν a different sense from that which it has twice in the preceding chapter and several times in other Aristotelian writings, and with calling people ἴσοι καὶ κοινωνοί who are not yet in intercourse and not yet equalized?) In vii. 3, 13 he of course joins καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ καθόλου κ.τ.λ. with the verb that follows. That puzzling person ὁ τὰ Ὀλύμπια νενικηκώς (vii. 4, 2) becomes ὁ-νικῶν in obedience to the Laurentian MS., and this disposes

of some hardly tenable theories about him. viii. 13, 9 receives a new punctuation which connects καὶ ὁμολογήσαι with the ἀναποδοτέον of four lines before, and a note suggests that καὶ ὁ ὁμολόγησεν should be read, though it is not adopted into the text. (But even thus the remainder of the sentence still needs change, ἡξίωσεν ἄν expressing wrong time as the words stand. This Mr. Williams probably saw. Ought we perhaps to read ἀδυνατοῦντι and understand or insert δοῖναι?) The very difficult passage in ix. 4, 4 appears with ἐκεῖνο τὸ γενόμενον bracketed (after Vermehren) as probably spurious, and with ἀλλ' ὃν ὅ τι ποτ' ἐστὶν referring to οὐδεὶς and not to ὁ θεός.

Mr. Bywater is so conservative an editor that he has usually not even indicated in his critical notes the passages in which some rearrangement of the order of sentences has been suggested. Many of the suggestions are however so plausible that I think the reader is entitled at any rate to hear of them and to be put in a position to judge for himself. Mr. Bywater has not entirely abstained from mentioning them, for he notes that in vi. 11, 6 some words 'alieno locoposita videntur,' and a note on vii. 9, 15 suggests a

transposition. Mr. Jackson's suggestions of extensive 'dislocations' in Book v. receive, I think, no mention. Entire sentences or passages have been called in question by various scholars, or notable theories of their relation to the rest of the text put forward, but all such matters are passed over in this edition. In this respect Sussehl's text will still be found more useful than that before us, and we may perhaps wish that Mr. Bywater had stretched his conception of a critical editor's function a little further.

This notice may conclude with an expression of special gratitude and one of regret. The gratitude is for the index. Every important Greek word or expression is carefully indexed and, what is more, the references are carefully arranged according to the nature of the passages referred to. Such an index will be a real assistance in the study of the *Ethics*, though it ought perhaps to be expressly stated in the book that it does not profess to be complete. The regret is for the fact that the editor has not added to his text the commentary which he is so particularly well qualified to write.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ARISTOTLE ON THE CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.

Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens, edited by F. G. KENYON, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1891. 7s. 6d.

THE last two months of 1890 were rife with unpleasant surprises for men of business and with surprises, pleasant or unpleasant, for politicians; the turn of scholars came in the first month of 1891, and the surprise which was reserved for them was of a wholly pleasant nature. It came in the shape of an announcement of the approaching publication of the volume which now lies before us. Its appearance enables us to understand better than ever before how exciting and enjoyable a life scholars must have led in the days of the revival of learning, when one *editio princeps* after another issued from the press in rapid succession. It is true that among the *editiones principes* published in those days

there were works which that before us cannot pretend to rival either in literary value or in indisputableness of origin, but then they were works already known in manuscript, whereas the work before us was not known even in manuscript till it was published. It may be said with truth of the present volume that scholars of every type will find in it something to interest them and to call into play whatever aptitudes they may possess. Students of palaeography, students of questions of authenticity, conjectural critics, students of Aristotle and Aristotelian Greek, students of the Greek orators and of Greek inscriptions, students of Greek history and Greek antiquities, students of Greek orthography, will all find abundant occupation here. Our best thanks are due to the British Museum for the interesting volume before us, and they are heartily given, however much we may think that the text which they have published is susceptible of improvement.

The task imposed on the authorities of the British Museum was one of extreme diffi-

culty. A single glance at the published facsimile of the MS. will show how arduous the business of deciphering it must have been, especially in certain parts. Then came the task of filling up lacunae. Next came the question to what extent recourse should be had to emendation. We are not told how long a time the authorities and their editor reserved to themselves for dealing with these varied problems. It may well be that in their natural, and in many respects laudable, eagerness to publish a text they did not reserve to themselves a sufficient allowance of time. To print a wholly satisfactory transcript of the text of a unique MS., the writing of which is frequently dim or rubbed, and in which lacunae are of common occurrence and corruption may often be suspected, is a task of no ordinary difficulty, and to do it rapidly is almost impossible. Mr. Kenyon's text has evoked a perfect tempest of emendation, and there can be little doubt that many excellent suggestions have been made with a view to its improvement, though, so far as they were made without a knowledge of the MS. or the facsimile, their authors would not claim that they were final. Mr. Kenyon says with truth that 'in the present edition the matter of most importance is the text,' and his text would probably have profited if he had kept us waiting a little longer than he did. We should also have been glad of more information as to the state of the MS. than is given us in the foot-notes. No doubt this information is obtainable from the facsimile, but not all Mr. Kenyon's readers will be provided with the facsimile, and even those who are will be glad to be told, in immediate connexion with the printed text, exactly in what passages or words or letters the writing of the MS. is dim or rubbed or in holes, and for how many letters there is space in each of the lacunae. It would be an improvement if the foot-notes bearing on textual questions were separated from the rest and placed above them on the page, and if reference to the text were facilitated by a numbering of the lines in each page or chapter. An index of Greek words and phrases used in the treatise would also be a welcome addition. But we cordially recognise how much Mr. Kenyon has done in his notes to throw light on the historical teaching of the treatise, and also how welcome a contribution he has made to the task of collecting passages which seem to reproduce or to echo passages in it. His notes might have contained with advantage more frequent comments than they do on

the style and language of the treatise, and sometimes we miss a reference to Aristotle's Politics, where a reference of the kind would evidently be useful, but they are for the most part notes which we are glad to have, and they are all the more creditable to him, because they must have been produced under circumstances of considerable pressure. As to the Introduction, the account of the papyrus and of the MS. contained in it is indispensable and most welcome, but perhaps the part of it which is devoted to a restatement of the historical results of the treatise would have been more useful if it had been written in a somewhat less '*ad populum*' style. It is doubtful whether the writer of the treatise, or at any rate whether Aristotle, would have agreed with Mr. Kenyon when he says (p. xl.) that 'in the purely constitutional history of Athens Pericles is not a figure of any great importance.' By introducing pay for service in the dicasteries Pericles filled them with poor men, and thus secured to the demos exactly the point of vantage which it needed to become absolute master of the State and the Empire (cp. Pol. 2. 12, 3, 1274a, 3 *sqq.*).

We are not told how or when the papyrus came into the possession of the authorities of the British Museum, nor when or by whom the discovery of the nature of its contents was made. We can readily understand that it is not always advisable to disclose the channel through which papyri find their way into the British Museum, and though we should certainly have been glad if more could have been told us, it may well be that all has been said on the subject which it is expedient to say.

As Mr. Kenyon remarks, 'the last word' on the subject of the new treatise 'cannot be spoken for a long time,' and our attitude to it must be influenced by this fact. We are still far from the time when final conclusions can be arrived at with regard to it; we are not yet quite certain of its genuineness; we must be content for the present to examine and inquire. When 'Aristotle's Constitution of Athens,' or a large part of it, appears 'revisiting the glimpses of the moon,' we must receive it with the same mixture of inquisitiveness and respect with which the Ghost is received in Hamlet. We must put to it the questions which we are told in its pages were put to the incoming Archon at Athens, *τίς σοι πατήρ καὶ πόθεν τῶν δῆμων, καὶ τίς μήτηρ;*

Of the genuineness of the papyrus, on the under-side (or *verso*) of which the manuscript is written, and of the writing on the *recto*,

the experts of the British Museum appear to entertain no doubt. Neither do they seem to feel any doubt on the still more important question whether the writing on the *verso* is genuine. It is open only to experts to contest their opinion, and whether any experts will be found to contest it remains to be seen. It is needless to say that, if it should be contested with success, those of us who are not experts will have to be guided by the opinion of those who are. We do not learn from Mr. Kenyon whether it is common for papyri to bear writing on both sides, or rather for a MS. of considerable length to be written on papyri the *recto* side of which has already been covered with writing. Nor are we told whether it is common for contractions to be used in papyri as extensively as they are used in the MS. of this work. One instance at any rate is known to us of a Greek MS. written on a papyrus already bearing writing on the other side. We refer to the MS. of the Funeral Oration of Hyperides. Blass (*Hyperidis Orationes Quatuor*, pp. xix., xxiii.) pronounces this MS. to be, though old, of little authority; let us hope that the MS. of the Constitution of Athens, which lays claim to a similar antiquity, may be at least as old, and also better. The man who planned the newly-discovered MS. would seem to have been a thrifty person. He used waste papyrus, and, thanks to a free employment of contractions, not a great deal of that. Who can tell whether any of the copyists employed on it were Greeks by extraction? The circumstance that 'some of the most remarkable forms of letters and abbreviations' which occur in the accounts reappear in the MS. (p. xiv.) is a noticeable one, especially as the MS. is thought to have been written as much as twenty years or more after the accounts.

Questions, however, relating to the papyrus and the MS. on its under-side will best be left to experts, and we pass on to the subject of the contents of the MS. The first question which arises in our minds on a perusal of the work is suggested by the startling character of a portion of its contents. We involuntarily ask, Can this treatise have existed in antiquity, and no hint have ever reached us from ancient authorities of some of the novel disclosures contained in it—no hint, for instance, of the fact that Draco gave Athens not only laws but a new constitution? How is it, again, that Plutarch is wholly silent in his life of Themistocles as to the device by which Themistocles helped Ephialtes to curtail the authority of the Areopagus? Plutarch's especial aim in

writing his biographies was to throw light on the character of his heroes, and he selects for narration those incidents which do this most effectually (Alex. c. 1): how is it that this incident is allowed wholly to escape him, for surely no incident could throw more light on the character of Themistocles than this? It is true that the writer of the Argument to the Areopagitic Oration of Isocrates does credit Aristotle's Constitution of Athens with the statement that Themistocles co-operated with Ephialtes in curtailing the jurisdiction of the Areopagus, and thus does in some degree prepare us for the remarkable story contained in the volume before us, but still we cannot help feeling surprised that the striking details of the story did not ensure its repetition by ancient authorities. Nor can it be said that this difficulty occurs to us only in reading the first of the two somewhat dissimilar parts into which the treatise falls, for the memorable narrative of the escape of Lysimachus, *ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου* (p. 117), belongs to the second part, and it remains to be seen whether any allusions to this story are discoverable in ancient literature. No voice, however, has yet been raised to question or deny the antiquity of the work. Without attempting to forestall the verdict of palaeographers, which must be decisive in this matter, and subject to which all that is said in the present article must be taken to be said, we may remark that the work is one which a modern forger, however learned and adroit he might be, would find it difficult to concoct without exposing himself to the risk of detection at every turn. Nor would a treatise forged in modern times to represent Aristotle's Constitution of Athens probably be quite like that before us. It would approach Aristotle's extant works in style more nearly than this treatise does, and fewer words would be used in it which are unknown in them.

Other evidences in favour of the antiquity of the treatise are to be found in the repetition of passages from it in ancient literature. We must not indeed lay too much stress on the fact that almost all the passages which are testified to have occurred in the Constitution of Athens ascribed to Aristotle, and a large proportion of the passages which have been thought to belong to it, occur in the treatise before us. A modern forger would certainly take care to incorporate in his forgery as many of these passages as possible, and a clever forger might succeed in doing this without being detected. For the same reason we must not make too much of the fact that the first chapter of the work

on Constitutions ascribed (wrongly in all probability) to Heraclides Ponticus (see Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* 2. 208 *sqq.* and *Fragm.* 611 in the edition of the Fragments of Aristotle published by Rose in 1886) consists of statements made in the treatise before us, the only exception being the contents of the first three sections of the chapter (Rose, § 1), which refer to a part of the history of Athens dealt with in the missing commencement of the treatise. It has long been believed that 'Heraclides Ponticus on Constitutions' is based on the lost 'Constitutions' ascribed to Aristotle, of which the Constitution of Athens formed a part, and a forger would certainly bear this in mind in concocting his forgery. But we find in works which have not been asserted to stand in this close relation to the 'Constitutions' ascribed to Aristotle passages which much resemble, and perhaps repeat, passages in the new treatise. If we could be sure that the statements of Androtion quoted by Mr. Kenyon on pp. 58 and 81 were derived from the treatise, the question of its antiquity and of the date at which it was written would be effectually settled. But it is possible, as Mr. Kenyon points out, that the treatise may here borrow from Androtion and not Androtion from the treatise, and it is also possible that Androtion and the writer of the treatise may have used a common source. We come next to Theophrastus. Was the treatise known to him? We are certainly reminded of p. 43, 11 *sqq.* in reading Plutarch's account (Solon c. 31) of what Theophrastus said respecting Pisistratus' law against idleness, but we cannot be sure that he had the treatise before him. A nearer approach is made to the language of the treatise (p. 75 *sq.*) in Cic. *De Offic.* 2. 18. 64, Theophrastus quidem scribit, Cimonem Athenis etiam in suos curiales Laciadas hospitalem fuisse: ita enim instituisse et villicis imperavisse ut omnia praeberentur, quicumque Laciades in villam suam devertisset. It is certainly possible that Theophrastus here repeats what he had read in the treatise. Philochorus also, who died in B.C. 261, may have known the treatise. It is not merely that the fragments which we possess of his *Atthis* show that he often goes over ground already travelled in it (compare p. 9, 3 *sqq.* with Philoch. *Fragm.* 58; p. 15, last line but two, with *Fragm.* 57; p. 17, 3 *sqq.* with *Fragm.* 65; p. 81, 4 *sqq.* with *Fragm.* 122, referred to by Mr. Kenyon; p. 92 top with *Fragm.* 118; p. 122, last line but four, with *Fragm.* 152; p. 124 top with *Fragm.* 67, 68; p. 130 foot with

Fragm. 101); the language of one fragment (*Fragm.* 79b, *sub fin.*, μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ κατελύθη τὸ ἔθος (of ostracizing), ἀρξάμενον νομοθετήσαντος Κλεισθένους, ὅτε τοὺς τυράννους κατέλυσεν, ὅπως συνεβάλῃ καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτ...) certainly reminds us of the language of the treatise (p. 59, 1-3 and p. 61, 1-3). Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 8, 16; see Mr. Sandys in *Class. Rev.*, last number, p. 120) and Aristides (see Prof. J. E. B. Mayor in *Class. Rev.* *ibid.*) may also have been acquainted with the treatise. As time goes on many other passages indicating a knowledge of its contents may be discovered in unexpected quarters.

The question, however, may be raised—Granting the antiquity of the treatise, is it as old as it purports to be? Does it belong to the time to which it purports to belong? It undoubtedly purports to belong to the time of Aristotle. The facts to which Mr. C. Torr has called attention in the last number of the *Classical Review* (p. 119) appear to prove this of the later part of the treatise, and a fact may be added which appears to prove it of the earlier part. In the enumeration of changes in the Athenian constitution which we find on p. 104 *sqq.* no mention is made of the sweeping change in it introduced by Antipater in the year of Aristotle's death (B.C. 322), by which all citizens of Athens who did not possess property worth more than 2,000 drachmae—and there were more than 12,000 of them who possessed less than this amount (Diod. 18, 18)—were deprived of their political rights. The treatise evidently purports to belong to a time prior to the intervention of Antipater in B.C. 322, and it was revised and added to, if it was not written, after B.C. 329, for, as Mr. Kenyon points out (p. 137), there is a reference in it (*ibid.*) to the archonship of Cephisophon, and Cephisophon was archon in that year. This does not prove that it purports to have been written by Aristotle, but only that it purports to have been written during the latter part of his life. It may have been written, not by Aristotle, but by a contemporary of his—possibly by a pupil acting under his direction and supervision—but it certainly purports to be written not later than the year of his death. Does the treatise then read as if it belonged to this epoch? Till we have settled this question, it is difficult to decide to what extent we should carry emendation of the text, for much might be tolerated in a work considerably later than the time of Aristotle which we might find it hard to tolerate in a work of Aristotle's day. We may reply that nothing has so far been pointed out in it

historically inconsistent with the date to which it professes to belong. A question, however, arises as to its vocabulary. Not a few words are used in it which we do not expect to meet with in a work of Aristotle's day. Attention has already been called to this fact by Prof. J. B. Mayor in the last number of the *Classical Review*. Some of these are words whose existence was not hitherto known to us (see Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's list, p. 123). Others are words which appear to be found only in writers of a later date than Aristotle. Not a few instances of such words have been given on p. 123. Are the following words met with in writers contemporary with Aristotle—*ἐλεγεία* (p. 14: *ἐλεγείον* is the form found in the recognised writings of Aristotle), *νομοφυλακεῖν* (p. 24), *πρότυλον* in the singular (p. 42), *προσπορεύθιντες* (p. 51), *παροργίζειν* in the active (p. 91), *ἐπικύρωσις* (p. 106)? We also find words used in a sense in which we do not find them used elsewhere (e.g. *προσεκεκόσμητο*, p. 36), or at any rate in writings of Aristotle's day (e.g. *ὑποποιησάμενον* p. 16, and *συνενεμήθησαν* p. 104). It is no doubt true that some of the more remarkable words appear to be quoted from laws or other public documents, and that others are technical words likely to find a place in a technical composition like the second part of the treatise, and not to occur elsewhere, but then there are other words whose appearance in the text cannot be thus accounted for. Nor is the difficulty removed if we call to mind that in the *Politics* of Aristotle, for instance, words occur which do not occur elsewhere (e.g. *ἤπουθεν* δὴ 2, 5, 25, 1264 b, 9), or occur only in writings of a far later date (e.g. *συμπλείονες* 3, 15, 16, 1286 b, 36), for words of this kind do not occur in the *Politics* as frequently as they do in the new treatise. It remains to be seen whether further investigation will reveal anything in the treatise historically inconsistent with the date to which it professes to belong, for if it should not do so and the difficulties of vocabulary stand alone, we might be inclined to account for them by supposing either that the inculcated words are not really as late as they seem to be, or that some later hand has been at work on the treatise and that its present form is not its original form. For to suppose that the work first took shape at a time much later than that to which it professes to belong and that its author succeeded so well in his effort to throw himself back to the time of Aristotle as to avoid all anachronisms, would be to suppose what is highly improbable. This holds good especially, but not

exclusively, of the second part of the treatise. In any case the occurrence of rare words in the treatise affords no proof that it is not the Constitution of Athens which formed a part of the 'Constitutions' ascribed to Aristotle, for in one of the few extant fragments quoted *verbatim* from the 'Constitutions' (Rose², Aristot. Fragm. 558) the rare middle *δυσονοίοντο* occurs.

If we ask whether the treatise is from the pen of Aristotle, we find ourselves on highly debatable ground. The whole question of style comes up for consideration. There is no doubt that the style of the treatise differs much from the style of the recognised works of Aristotle. It is a clear and precise, though a rather bald style, a style which has not the pregnancy which we associate with the style of Aristotle, and is also comparatively free from the ambiguities and irregularities which beset it. It is better in some parts of the treatise than in others. The dry way in which the sarcastic counsel of Damonides of Oea, the Ahitophel of his time, is repeated is not unlike Aristotle (p. 76, *συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου . . . ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἤττατο, δίδόναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν*); none, however, of those simple and homely sayings, carelessly dropped but memorable for all time, which occur occasionally in the writings of Aristotle, greet us in the pages of the new treatise. But the mere fact that its style differs much from the style which we associate with Aristotle does not prove that it is not from his pen. The work before us is a narrative and descriptive work addressed apparently (if we may judge by the extent to which hiatus is avoided in it) to the world at large, not to the pupils for whom the recognised works of Aristotle were probably designed, and it is not likely that it would be written in the same style in which they are written. Some trifling irregularities of style, indeed, which we notice in the writings of Aristotle do reappear in the treatise. An anacoluthic passage occurs at the commencement of c. 15; words are now and then omitted after a fashion not unlike that of Aristotle (e.g. p. 84, 3); we have *μήτε* without any *μήτε* to follow it and taken up by *ἀλλὰ* (p. 43, 13 sq.), just as in the *Politics* (5, 8, 12, 1308b, 11)¹ and in the *Rhetoric* (1, 4, 1359b, 6); the expression *τοιούτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὔσης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ* (p. 13) reminds us of the use of *ἐν* in *De Gen. An.* 1, 1, 715a, 1, *ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μορίων εἴρηται τῶν ἐν τοῖς*

¹ The references to the *Politics* in this article are made for the sake of simplicity to the books in their old order.

ζέους, and the use of *τούτοις* in the sense of *τοῖς ἀποδοκιμασθεῖσιν* (p. 118, 6), of *καταχαρίζεσθαι* (p. 123, last line but two), and of *παρεγκλίνουσα* (p. 105, 3) is quite Aristotelian. A phrase like *δίκαιος πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν* (p. 69, 7) of course at once carries us back to the *Politics* (cp. *Pol.* 5, 9, 1, 1309a, 36, *τρίτον δ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν ἐκάστη πολιτείᾳ τὴν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν*). We note, again, in the treatise, as in the *Politics*, an occasional conciseness of style verging on harshness. Thus we have (p. 147 top), *τὰς προβολὰς ἀπάσα[s] εἰσάγουσιν οὗ[τοι] καὶ γραφὰς παρανόμων καὶ νόμον μὴ ἐπιτήδειον θείναι*, where Pollux (8, 88) substitutes for the last words *καὶ εἴ τις μὴ ἐπιτήδειον νόμον γράψει*. Still there are points connected with the vocabulary and phraseology of the treatise which make against the view that it is from Aristotle's pen. It is not merely that peculiar words occur in it which do not occur in Aristotle's writings; a graver fact is that common words occur in it which do not seem to occur in them. Eucken says of *παραντίκα* (Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Aristoteles: Beobachtungen ueber die Praepositionen, p. 62), that 'it occurs, if he is not mistaken, only in spurious writings, and especially in the *De Plantis* and in the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*' (see the *Index Aristotelicus s.v.*). It occurs, however, in the treatise (p. 79). *Δια[μπε]ρές* (p. 43) may be wrong or corrupt, but if it is not, a word is here used in the treatise which finds no place in the recognised writings of Aristotle except in quotations from the poets, so far at least as the evidence of the *Index Aristotelicus* goes. It has already been pointed out by others (*Classical Review*, p. 123) that phrases occur in the treatise which find no complete parallel in Aristotle's writings, and that *οὐχ οἶον—ἀλλὰ καί*, which occurs on p. 103, is not used by Aristotle. According to Eucken (*De Aristotelis dicendi ratione: De Particularum Usu*, p. 49), *δή* is nowhere found in the writings of Aristotle after a superlative; it occurs, however, after a superlative in p. 103, 14 of the treatise, *ἄμα*

δοκοῦσιν κάλλιστα δὴ καὶ πολιτικώτατα ἀπάντων ... χρήσασθαι ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς. It may be added that the resources of the writer of the treatise in the matter of connecting particles seem to be far more limited than those of Aristotle. In this respect the style of the treatise is quite unlike Aristotle's style, and indeed unlike the style of most genuine Greek compositions. The occurrence of *asyndeton* at the commencement of sentences (p. 98, 7: p. 103, 13) strikes us as strange, but this may be due to defects in the MS. But indeed, even if the style of the treatise resembled that of Aristotle far more nearly than it does, it would still be unsafe to rest on that ground alone a confident assertion that the treatise is from his pen. Not a few characteristics of Aristotle's style passed to pupils of his.

Let us apply another test. No writings are more familiar to Aristotle, or more frequently present to his mind in the *Politics*, than those of Plato and Isocrates. Does the author of the treatise show a similar acquaintance with the writings of these two men? For, if he does, he may well be—we cannot say that he must be—Aristotle. The answer is, that he shows a considerable acquaintance with the writings of Isocrates, and that there is at any rate one passage—further search may disclose many more—in which a reference may be suspected to a dialogue of Plato. We read of Pericles (p. 76), *κατεσκεύασε μισθοφορὰν τοῖς δικασταῖς: ἀφ' ὧν αἰτιῶνται τινες χεῖρω* (should *χείρους* be read?) *γενέσθαι, κληρονομένων ἐπιμελὲς αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τῶν τυχόντων ἢ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Aristotle often refers to Plato in the *Politics* as *τινες* (e.g. in 7, 7, 5, 1327b, 38 *sqq.*), and it is possible that Gorgias 515 E is here in the writer's mind. The evidences of his acquaintance with the orations of Isocrates are, however, far more numerous and less open to doubt. He uses Isocrates, and he also now and then tacitly differs from him. That he uses Isocrates, will be evident, if we set the following passages side by side:—

Isocr. Areop. § 67, *οἱ μὲν γὰρ (i.e. the Thirty) ψηφίσματι παραλαβόντες τὴν πόλιν πεντακοσίους μὲν καὶ χιλίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν*. (See also Aeschin. c. Ctes. c. 235.)

Isocr. De Pace §§ 86—88, and especially *τὰς δὲ κατὰ δέκα καὶ πέντε καὶ πλείους τοιῶν ἀπολλυμένων (τριήρεις) καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χιλίους καὶ διαχιλίους ἀποθνήσκοντας τίς ἂν ἐξαριθμῇσειεν;*

Const. Ath. p. 95, *καὶ χρόνον διαπεσόντος βραχέος οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀγηρήκεσαν ἢ χιλίους πεντακοσίους*.

Const. Ath. p. 73, *αἰεὶ συνέβαινε τῶν ἐξιόντων ἀνὰ διαχιλίους ἢ τρισχιλίους ἀπόλλυσθαι*, and the whole passage.

Compare also the language of the treatise (p. 9) about the Areopagus with Isocr. Areop. § 37; the description of the position of Athens given in p. 65, 12 *sqq.* with Isocr. Panath. § 152, De Pace § 76, and Areop. §§ 51, 80, 82; the connexion which the treatise seeks to establish between moments of elation and self-confidence at Athens (τὸ θαρρεῖν, pp. 58, 67, 75) and constitutional changes for the worse with Isocr. Areop. § 3 *sqq.*, Panath. § 133; p. 106 ἐν ᾗ κ.τ.λ. with Isocr. De Pace § 79 *sq.*; p. 79 ἀπὸ δὲ Κλεοφῶντος κ.τ.λ. with Isocr. Panath. § 132 *sq.* When the treatise in effect ascribes the fall of the earlier democracy to Aristides and his foundation of the maritime empire of Athens, it follows in the track of Isocr. De Pace § 64. Tacit deviations from the teaching of Isocrates may also be traced. In Areop. § 16 Isocrates speaks as if the constitutions of Solon and Cleisthenes were identical; this error is tacitly corrected on p. 81. In Panath. § 143 Isocrates maintains that the best σύμβουλος will also prove the best general; the writer of the treatise, on the contrary, holds (p. 66) that virtue is more necessary to the σύμβουλος than to the general, and in this he quite agrees with Pol. 5, 9, 2, 1309a, 39 *sqq.*, a passage which obviously refers, like the passage in the treatise just cited, to the rival claims of Aristides and Themistocles. So again in p. 21 τὰς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐποίησε (Σόλων) κληρωτὰς ἐκ προκρίτων, οὓς ἐκάστη προκρίνει τῶν φυλῶν, the writer adopts with a slight amendment the description given by Isocrates of the constitution of Athens before the time of Pisis-tratus in Panath. § 145 περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καθίστασαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοὺς προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν καὶ δημοτῶν (compare Pol. 5, 5, 11, 1305a, 32 *sqq.*, where the plan by which the tribes appoint the magistrates is praised by Aristotle).

This frequent agreement with Isocrates and occasional departure from his views is precisely what we expect to find in a treatise from the pen of Aristotle. But in one respect there is a marked dissimilarity between the new treatise and the Politics. The treatise is outspoken about the Athenian democracy, whereas in the Politics the Athenian democracy is hardly ever censured by name. It is only in the last chapter of the Second Book, a chapter the authenticity of which is very doubtful, that all reserve is thrown off on this subject. In the treatise, on the contrary, the Athenian demagogues are severely handled (p. 79), and regret is openly expressed that in the appointment of a certain official selection by lot has taken the place

of election (p. 134). It is not clear why, if Aristotle is the author of the treatise, he should be so much more outspoken in it than he is in the Politics. One might have expected him to be less outspoken in a work designed for general perusal than in one intended primarily for his pupils. Then again, language is used in the treatise about the Athenian demos, which strikes us as something new, coming from Aristotle. The reference, for instance, to ἡ εἰωθὴνία τοῦ δήμου πράξης (p. 59) reminds us of phrases in the speeches of Demosthenes (e.g. adv. Timocr. c. 51) rather than of anything in the Politics. A salient feature of the treatise, again, is its chronological precision. We are seldom left in doubt as to the interval of time which elapsed between one event and another; we are often told in whose archonship events occurred. In this it does not resemble the Politics; it resembles far more the writings of the Atthidographi. C. Müller says of them (Fragm. Hist. Gr. I. lxxxvi.) 'observandum etiam est Atthidum scriptores accuratiores fuisse in constituendis temporibus quam historicos superiores.' The narrative of the end of Aristogiton (p. 48 *sq.*) betrays the same liking for sensational stories as we trace, for instance, in Phylarchus. It is worthy of notice that not a single reference to any work of Aristotle's occurs in the new treatise; yet we might have expected it to refer, not indeed to works designed for the use of his pupils, but to other published works of Aristotle.

On the whole, there seem to be many chances against the view that the treatise is from Aristotle's pen. The facts which make in favour of that view are perhaps susceptible of another explanation, if guessing were in place. It is conceivable that matter dating from the time of Aristotle, and perhaps put into shape by him, has been worked up and recast by some other and probably later hand. But it is too early as yet to hazard hypotheses on this subject; our aim has rather been to examine and inquire. The ground is not as yet half explored. If further investigation should strengthen the case for ascribing the treatise to Aristotle, we shall all heartily welcome the result.

Some may be disposed to ask whether it is absolutely certain that the two parts of the treatise are by the same hand. On one point at any rate they are not completely in harmony. The rule of the Thirty at Athens is called a τυραννίς in the first part of the treatise (p. 106) and an oligarchy in the second (p. 129). Here the second part

takes the correct view, for Aristotle himself regards the rule of the Thirty as an oligarchy (Pol. 5, 6, 5, 1305b, 22 *sqq.*). Both parts, however, are alike in this, that they are fond of explaining proverbial sayings, nicknames, and the like (see the first part *passim* and the second, p. 117, ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου), and that they betray a dislike to extreme democracy. If either part was used in the preparation of the Politics, one would say that the second part is more likely to have been made use of than the first. It is possible that the description of the various kinds of trial for homicide contained in the second part (p. 144, 5 *sqq.*) was known to Aristotle when he wrote Pol. 4, 16, 3, 1300b, 24 *sqq.*, and that the information contained in the second part as to the magistracies of Athens was known to him when he wrote the eighth chapter of the sixth book of the Politics. In the first part, on the contrary, we are sometimes inclined to ask whether the Politics is not already in existence and known to the writer. Has not the writer of p. 106, 8 *sqq.* Pol. 4, 4, 25–31, 1292a, 4–37 before him? Compare also p. 26, 3 *sqq.* with Pol. 2, 12, 3, 1274a, 3 *sqq.*

How far is the treatise in agreement with the Politics on questions of historical fact? We note occasional discrepancies. Some of these, indeed, need not trouble us much, for the parts of the Politics with which the treatise in these cases conflicts are of doubtful authenticity. For instance, when the treatise makes Draco the author of a constitution, it comes into conflict with a doubtfully authentic passage, Pol. 2, 12, 13, 1274b, 15 *sqq.*, and the same is the case when, in making Pisistratus reign nineteen years, it comes into conflict with Pol. 5, 12, 5, 1315b, 31 *sq.*, where he is said to have reigned seventeen years, and also when, in making Themistocles co-operate with Ephialtes for the curtailment of the authority of the Areopagus, it says what is not said in Pol. 2, 12, 4, 1274a, 7 *sq.* But if it is implied in Pol. 6, 4, 19, 1319b, 23 *sqq.* that Cleisthenes increased the number of the phratries—and this Busolt seems now to admit (Staats-Altertümer, § 159, note 11: contrast Gr. Gesch. 1, 394, 5)—some want of harmony appears to exist between this statement, which occurs in a quite authentic passage of the Politics, and the statement of the treatise (p. 56), τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύναις εἶαεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. And can this statement as to priest-hoods be easily reconciled with the fact (Pol. 6, 4, 19) that Cleisthenes converted a number of private worships into a few public

ones? The constitution of Solon, again, is referred to in Pol. 3, 11, 8, 1281b, 32 *sqq.*, but not a hint is given us there or elsewhere in the Politics that under it the magistracies were filled by persons taken by lot from a larger number selected by the tribes. A close comparison of the two works may well reveal other discrepancies. On some matters, however, there is no lack of harmony. The view taken in the treatise of Pisistratus and Theramenes is exactly the view which we should expect it to take, though Aristotle nowhere says in the Politics what the author of the treatise says (p. 80), that it is characteristic of a good citizen to be capable of serving the State under all varieties of constitution in which law rules. The account given in the treatise of the ostracism and its object is also to a considerable extent in harmony with that which is given in the Politics. And if the policy of Aristides (pp. 67, 105) is placed in a less favourable light than we should expect, inasmuch as he is said to have converted a citizen-body largely consisting of peasants into an urban citizen-body subsisting on pay and exercising a despotic authority over the subject states, and thus to have contributed to the establishment of an extreme democracy, we remember that we are taught in the Politics (4, 6, 5, 1292b, 41 *sqq.*) to connect the establishment of a τελευταία δημοκρατία with a great increase in the size of the city and with the provision of pay, and also that Theophrastus' opinion of Aristides was not an altogether favourable one (Plut. Aristid. c. 25). The statement about Chios, Lesbos, and Samos (p. 67), may be reconcilable with Pol. 3, 13, 19, 1284a, 39 *sqq.*, if we take it to refer to an earlier time than that to which this passage of the Politics refers.

If we pass on to the question of the value of the treatise as an historical authority, we note in the first place that it is not in its earlier or historical section a contemporary authority for the facts which it relates. In this respect it differs from the histories of Thucydides and Xenophon, which deal for the most part with contemporary events. It rests on the testimony of earlier authorities, on the testimony of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, and on that of other authorities which it is not easy to identify. Occasionally it mentions that the authorities used by it differ among themselves (*e.g.* pp. 6, 41, 46, 48). More than once (pp. 16, 48) the version of an event given by the popular party (οἱ δημοτικοί) is contrasted with the version of the opposite side. It sometimes appears to make use of inscriptions (*e.g.* on

p. 100, and perhaps pp. 82—88 and p. 93), and especially of inscriptions recording decrees, though whether the writer had the inscription itself before him or found it reproduced in the pages of some earlier historian, it is difficult to say. If we could believe that the account which he gives us in c. 4 of the constitution of Draco is based on an inscription, his testimony would gain greatly in authority. But it is not easy to suppose that Draco's constitution was described in an inscription open to public inspection at Athens, when we find that other writers are absolutely silent about it. When the treatise comes to give an account of Solon's legislation, it makes far more conspicuous use of his poems than of his laws. It would seem from 'Heraclides Ponticus on Constitutions,' c. 1 (cp. *Const. Ath.* p. 104 *sq.*), to have given a full account of the earliest history of Athens under Ion and Theseus, and it would be interesting to know from what sources it derived this account. We often wonder whence it obtains the means of assigning a precise date to so many important events. Now and then, as we have seen, it appears to accept a fact from Isocrates, who is not a first-rate historical authority. Sometimes, as Mr. Kenyon points out, the version which it gives us of historical facts seems to be less probable than that given by others (see pp. 47, 98). Its view that Themistocles was still resident at Athens at the time when Ephialtes humbled the Areopagus is hardly likely to be correct. Inscriptions, however, both those already known and those which remain to be discovered, will furnish the best test of the value of the treatise as an historical authority.

The second or descriptive part of the work seems to be not only fragmentary and imperfect at its close, but also to be incomplete. Three important elective magistracies are mentioned on p. 110, those of the *ταμίης στρατιωτικῶν*, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικόν, and ὁ τῶν κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητής, and though we learn something in the treatise of the functions of the two former magistracies, no systematic account is given us of the functions of any of the three. Perhaps an account of this kind was given at the close of c. 60 and has dropped out in a lacuna, for c. 61 begins *χειροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἀπάσας*, where *καὶ* seems to imply that an account of other elective offices, not concerned with war but with the *ἐγκύκλιος διοικήσεως* (cp. p. 110, 5—11, and for the contrast of πόλεμος and διοίκησις Isocr. *Panath.* § 128), has been given in what precedes, whereas in

the text as it stands what precedes is a notice of the *ἀθλοθέται*, who were not elected but were taken by lot. We also miss an account of the great financial magistracy of ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, and that may likewise have been given in the supposed lacuna. It should be noticed that the second part of the treatise deals successively with the deliberative authority, the magistracies, and the dicasteries, which is exactly the order followed in *Pol.* 4. 14—16.

If we ask whether the treatise appears to be the same as that which was known in antiquity as 'Aristotle's Constitution of Athens,' there seems to be much ground for an affirmative answer. It should be noticed, however, that passages are occasionally quoted by the lexicographers from 'Aristotle's Constitution of Athens,' which do not agree with passages on the same subject found in the treatise—instances of this are given by Mr. Kenyon on pp. 133 and 147—and that passages which we expect to find in the treatise are missing from it (see Mr. Kenyon's notes on pp. 79, 144, 155). One probable lacuna has just been pointed out, and may there not be others? Is it quite certain, for instance, that the account of Draco's constitution given in p. 9 *sqq.* is complete? We are told in the recapitulation (p. 105) that the laws were first put in writing by Draco, but nothing is said about this in p. 9 *sqq.* It is possible that the treatise has also suffered in other ways; it may have been altered and abridged, and it may have been here and there interpolated.

A few remarks on points of detail may be added before we conclude.

P. 21, note. It is probably by an oversight that Mr. Kenyon here ascribes the *Oration contra Neaeram* to Demosthenes, and the so-called *Second Book of the Oeconomics* (p. 125) to Aristotle. The intermixture of verses of Solon with the verses of Theognis is not due to Theognis, as might be inferred from p. 29, note. Much alien matter has been added to the poem of Theognis, but by later hands than his.

P. 48, 17 *sqq.* As to the last moments of Aristogiton, compare Polyæn. *Strateg.* 1. 22. Here Aristogiton closes the scene with an insult to Hippias, as in the treatise, though not with the same insult as is there recorded.

P. 53, last line. *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔνειμε πάντας εἰς δέκα φυλάς ἀντὶ τῶν τεττάρων*. Should we not read *συνέειμε* in place of *οὖν ἔνειμε*? Cp. p. 104, *τότε γὰρ πρῶτον εἰς τὰς τέτταρας συνενεμήθησαν φυλάς*.

P. 65, 4. *οὐδενὶ δόγματι λαβοῦσα τὴν ἡγε-*

μονίαν. This is said of the Areopagus to contrast it with the Thirty (cp. p. 93, 9 sqq. and Isocr. Areop. § 67) and also with the Four Hundred (p. 80 sqq.).

P. 71, 7. τοὺς ἀφαιρεθείας τῆς βουλῆς. Not 'the persons despatched by the Areopagus,' but 'the members of the Council of the Areopagus selected and set apart for the purpose': cp. Aristot. Hist. An. 6, 22, 576b, 23 ὥρα δ' οὐκ ἀφαιρείται οὐδεμία τεταγμένη τοῦ ὀχέεσθαι καὶ ὀχεύειν.

P. 85, last line. πρῶτον μὲν ἱερῶν κ.τ.λ. Cp. p. 113 top, and Aeschin. c. Timarch. c. 23.

P. 93, last line but one. ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων, 'from persons selected out of the thousand,' if the text is correct. The 'thousand' were probably the Knights: cp. Philochorus, Fragm. 100, Hesych. ἱππῆς, ἱππεῖς.

ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἱππῆς ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ χίλιοι.

Σύστημα πολεμικῶν ἀνδρῶν χιλίων ἵππους τρεφόντων, and see Gilbert, Gr. Staatsalt. 1, 305.

P. 95, 12. ὑπεξαίρουμένοι τε τὸν φόβον. Does not τὸν φόβον here mean 'the object of terror'? See Liddell and Scott for this use of the word.

P. 111, 6. The use of μὲν οὖν here seems quite regular: see the Index Aristotelicus, p. 540b, 42, where Poet. 22, 1458a, 23 sqq. is referred to among other passages.

P. 135, 3. πολιτείας, not 'public measures in general,' but, as Prof. L. Campbell has already pointed out, 'citizenships' or 'grants of citizenship': cp. Dittenberger, Syll. Inscr. Gr. No. 134, ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτῶι τῇμ πολιτείαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτεῖαι [αἱ ἀν]αγεγραμμέναι εἰσὶν, and No. 315, καὶ ἀναγράψαι ὅπον καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτεῖαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσὶ.

W. L. NEWMAN.

THE δαιτηταί.

ἔστιν δὲ καὶ εἰσαγγέλλειν εἰς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἂν τις ἀδικηθῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιτητοῦ, κἄν τις καταγνώσθαι ἀτιμοῦσθαι κελεύουσιν οἱ νόμοι. ἔφεσις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τούτοις.—Ch. 53 (last line but six).

To read δικαστὰς for the MS. δαιτητὰς introduces a serious difficulty. Before whom is the ἔφεσις or appeal to be brought? It would naturally be tried by a δικαστήριον: so that there is an appeal, on the same issue, from δικασταὶ to δικασταί!

'δαιτητὰς' is a remarkable confirmation of the view taken by Bergk of a difficult passage in Demosthenes' speech against Midias (89 f. p. 542). Strato of Phalerum acting as a δαιτητής had given a verdict against Midias. Midias waited for the last day on which the Arbitrators sat, a day on which attendance was casual (ὁ μὲν ἦλθε τῶν δαιτητῶν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἦλθε), and 'induced the president to allow an altogether illegal vote,' by which Strato was expelled and disfranchised. Bergk was the first to see what this implies—that the δαιτηταί formed a college, and that complaints against an individual δαιτητής could be brought before the δαιτηταί collectively. (Zeitschr. f. Alterthumswiss. 1849. See Meier and Schömann, Attische Process p. 333-334). Demosthenes speaks

of Strato's disfranchisement in terms which suggest that it was final. But this may be a rhetorical exaggeration: or perhaps Strato had appealed to a δικαστήριον and lost his case. (It has been suggested that τοῦτ' ἐχαρίσασθε αὐτῷ in § 91 implies this, but the inference is uncertain.)

Bergk proposed to emend the passage in Harpocration which Mr. Kenyon quotes:—(s.v. εἰσαγγελία: ἄλλη δ' εἰσαγγελία ἐστὶ κατὰ τῶν δαιτητῶν· εἰ γάρ τις ὑπὸ δαιτητοῦ ἀδικηθείη, ἐξῆν τοῦτον εἰσαγγέλλειν πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς, καὶ ἄλους ἡτιμοῦτο). Mr. Kenyon's own procedure shows that an editor would be tempted to alter δαιτητὰς into δικαστὰς. But it is also possible that Harpocration has condensed and confused the process, mentioning only the tribunal by which the ἀτιμία was finally ratified.

This procedure is to be distinguished from a mere appeal against the decision of an Arbitrator. A case tried by a (public) Arbitrator could always be referred to the higher tribunal of a δικαστήριον. But if the Arbitrator was suspected of having given a fraudulent or dishonest verdict, he could be arraigned before his colleagues and disfranchised, in which case he might appeal to a δικαστήριον.

W. R. HARDIE.

'THE DEPOSITION OF PERICLES.'

I WISH to suggest, in the light of the new evidence, a different solution of the trial of Pericles to those hitherto attempted. Grote thought that, if Pericles was really deposed at all, it was before the elections of 430; so that Pericles was again strategus from July 430 to July 429, and presumably up to the time of his death. The view generally adopted is that of Gilbert. Accepting the view that the strategi were always elected on the 22nd Munychion, he supposed that Pericles failed to obtain re-election in Munychion 430, and consequently was not in office from Hecatombaeon 430 to Hecatombaeon 429. But, assuming that the MS. number ξ is right, we find from Aristotle¹ that the election of the strategi was held in the first prytany after the sixth in which the omens were favourable. This makes it possible that the elections of 430 should have been held in any month between Gamelion and Scirophorion. At the beginning of the war, the elections to the office of strategus were little more than a formality. The supporters of Pericles were in power, and it was of course necessary to elect men of military experience as far as possible; so that in the elections held early in 430 Pericles and his colleagues in office were re-elected. All this is quite clear from Thucydides. In the spring of 430 Pericles left Athens and plundered the coasts of Peloponnese. An attempt on Epidaurus failed. When he arrived back in Athens, in the summer, he found himself attacked on all sides. The people had been making overtures to Sparta in his absence. It is not at all probable that his chief opponent Cleon had anything to do with these attempts at peace. The fleet at once proceeded to Potidaea under Hagnon and Cleopompus, the intention being to attempt the capture of the town by assault. This plan completely failed: the loss through the plague was very heavy, and Hagnon returned, reaching Athens about July. Then, at the next *ἐπιχειρονομία*, soon after the time when Pericles and his colleagues had entered on office for the year 430—429, Cleon attacked him, having no doubt taken the opportunity of securing the support of the peace party. The result was that Pericles was suspended (*ἀποχειρονομηθεὶς*). Then he was tried on a charge of embezzlement and condemned. It

is not difficult to see why Cleon selected such a charge in preference to a *γραφὴ προδοσίας*. In the first place, he knew much more about finance than about strategy, and though he might bluster in the ecclesia at Pericles' cowardice, it was another matter to bring a charge of that nature against him before the heliasts. Also it would have been difficult to get the support of the peace party in such a charge; since Cleon would be bound to take the line that Pericles had been playing into the hands of Sparta instead of prosecuting the war with vigour.

At the beginning of 429 Potidaea surrendered, to the great relief of Athens. The siege had cost two thousand talents, a sum probably corresponding to nearly fifteen million sterling. Even in this estimate it appears that the cost of the unfortunate expedition under Hagnon is not included. A force of two thousand hoplites and two hundred cavalry was at once sent to the neighbourhood, with the object of restoring the power of Athens in Chalcidice. It was very important to prevent Sparta from establishing her influence in the north-east, and the expedition, which was under the command of a strategus named Xenophon who had been present at the siege, was regarded as being of considerable consequence. But the affair was a miserable failure. The commander-in-chief and the other two strategi who were with him all fell in a battle near Spartolus, and the troops returned without doing anything to retrieve the disaster. The Athenians must have regretted that Pericles was not in office; and it is likely that he had entirely retired from politics for a time, owing to terrible family troubles.

At the elections held this year, he was once more appointed strategus. In any case, the combination of different factions, which had been the result of peculiar circumstances, could not have lasted long, and the course of events since his deposition had not been encouraging. It may be doubted whether Pericles had to wait till the Panathenaic Festival to take up his duties. As three strategi had fallen in Chalcidice, it is possible that the ecclesia requested him to resume office at once, as we know that the ecclesia did sometimes appoint extraordinary strategi in time of war. The extraordinary powers over his colleagues were again conferred on him: but, soon after he entered on office,

¹ C. 44. I use the name to avoid an awkward circumlocution; not because I think that Aristotle wrote the treatise.

he fell ill with the epidemic. This, as Hans Delbrück points out, is perhaps the real reason why Thucydides anticipates Pericles' death.

A few months before the trial of Pericles Hermippus had ridiculed him for his faint-heartedness. It is probable that the elections for 430, such as they were, took place before the Great Dionysia, and also before the Peloponnesians invaded Attica. Whether the play was produced at the Lenaea or at the Great Dionysia, it is clear that the charge of embezzlement must be connected with Pericles' not very successful expedition in the early summer of 430. It is at least certain that when Hermippus' play appeared Cleon had only come forward as an opponent of the policy of wearing Sparta out.

Beloch's notion that there was an officer called *πρύτανις τῶν στρατηγῶν* receives no countenance from Aristotle. Indeed, it is clear that in ordinary circumstances the strategoi had equal power. Still, it is only likely that in the war more cases of a *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* should have occurred

than in normal times; so that Gilbert may be right in his belief that Pericles was *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* in 431. But no argument as regards general practice can be drawn from occurrences during a state of war. If he was *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* in 431, he held that position till the Panathenaea 430. It is likely that the superior authority, when it was conferred, was given by a vote passed in the first ecclesia held after the new generals entered on office. The necessity of creating such an officer cannot have been foreseen so long before the new year as the time of the elections. Probably Pericles was not made *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ* in Hecatombaeon 430, owing to the opposition now roused against him. This would explain why he had no power to hinder the meeting of the ecclesia after the Panathenaea of 430; for had he been *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*, he might have managed to prevent the *ἐπιχειροτονία* taking place. It also involves the conclusion that the famous self-defence was delivered before the Panathenaea of 430.

E. C. MARCHANT.

THE CONSTITUTION OF DRACO. Ἀθ. Πολ. ch. iv.

THIS chapter contains the account of a change in the constitution of Athens made by Draco. As Mr. Kenyon points out, we have no other record of any such change, and a well known passage in the *Politics* (ii. 9, 9, 1274b, 15) expressly tells us that Draco did nothing of the sort. It is therefore impossible that both these statements can be due to Aristotle. The latter part of the second book has long been suspected by critics, but before we accept the new account it will be well to examine it rather closely to see if it bears internal marks of genuineness.

This is the more necessary because there is considerable evidence to support the statement of the *Politics*—that what Draco did was not to make a constitution but to publish a code of laws in an existing constitution.

(1) No other writer knows anything of a constitution attributed to Draco; not even an author who, as Plutarch did, drew his information largely and quoted verbally both from the *πολιτεία* and also apparently from the authorities used by Aristotle in compiling the *πολιτεία*. For Plutarch when speaking

of the *θεσμοί* of Draco knows of nothing but a code of law.

Speaking of Solon he says:

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς Δράκοντος νόμους ἀνέειλε πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν ἅπαντας διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιτιμίων (ch. xvii.). After finishing this topic he proceeds in chap. xviii. to give an account of the constitutional changes made by Solon. He did not then include constitutional arrangements among the *θεσμοί* of Draco.

(2) Other passages in the *πολιτεία* itself support the view taken by Plutarch and the *Politics*.

(a) In chap. vii. speaking of Solon, the writer, who is indeed here followed almost verbally by Plutarch, speaks of the *θεσμοί* of Draco in connection with the new code of laws made by Solon, and makes no reference to him in speaking of the constitutional innovations of the latter.

(b) In chap. xli. he recapitulates the main points of the history which he has just narrated, and refers to Draco in the following words:

μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἢ ἐπὶ Δράκοντος, ἐν ᾗ καὶ νόμους ἀνέγραψαν πρῶτον.

The characteristic feature of the legislation of Draco is, we are here told, the publication of the law. This agrees with the account of chap. vii., of Plutarch, and of the *Politics*. It is inconsistent with chap. iv.: because there not a single word is said about the publication of the laws; and instead we have described a very remarkable constitution; one in some ways, as I shall show, more remarkable than that of Solon.

There is then sufficient reason for subjecting the statement of chap. iv. to a careful enquiry.

The passage is introduced in the following words:

μετὰ δε ταῦτα, χρόνον τινὸς οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπ' Ἀρισταίχμου ἄρχοντος Δράκων τοὺς θεσμούς ἐθηκεν· ἡ δε τάξις αὕτη τόνδε τὸν τρόπον εἶχε.

Now here ἡ τάξις is meant to refer to θεσμοί.

It is very doubtful whether the words used will admit this interpretation. Aristotle regularly distinguishes between νόμοι and ἡ τάξις τῆς πολιτείας. Cf. *Pol.* vi. 1, 5, 1289a, 15 πολιτεία μὲν γάρ ἐστι τάξις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀρχάς—νόμοι δε κεχωρισμένοι τῶν δηλούντων τῇν πολιτείαν, καθ' οὓς δέι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἄρχειν κ.τ.λ. Cf. also 1286a, 3.

This distinction is maintained in this work, cf. chap. vii. and ix. (the rule however is not invariable, cf. ch. xxxiv.).

This seems to be more true of the word θεσμοί. θεσμοί is a very rare word in prose: and where it occurs in Attic prose it seems always to refer directly to the θεσμοί of Draco except in a few passages where it is used metaphorically. Plato *Phaedrus* 248 C uses the expression θεσμοί τῆς Ἀδραστείας, and in Pseudo-Arist. *περὶ κοσμοῦ* 6, 401a, 10 we read of θεσμοί τοῦ θεοῦ. There seems to be no other case of its use in Aristotle or Plato (except in the *Epistles*), and none in the Orators except in reference to Draco, cf. also Herod. iii. 31. The word and also the kindred θέσμις are both used more than once in this work. In the passage of Solon quoted p. 31:

θεσμούς θ' ὁμοίους τῷ κακῷ τε καὶ αἰσθῶ,
εὐθείαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἀρμόσας δίκην,
ἐγραψα.

it obviously refers simply to the ordinances of a code of law. In chap. xvi. if Mr. Kenyon's emendation is correct ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς θε[ε]μοῖς φι[λ]άνθρωπος ἦν: the use is the same (but I expect θεσμοῖς is the word here). In chap. xxxv. he says οἱ τριάκοντα—καθεῖλον—καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφισβητήσεις εἶχον. Here the context shows that the word has reference only to the Solonian code, and not to the constitution.

Chap. vii. I have already referred to: the word here is used as synonymous with νόμος and contrasted with πολιτείαν ἔταξεν.

We are then I think justified at looking at the sentence as it stands with great suspicion.

Let us now turn to the provisions of the constitution.

I think I can show that

(1) At least one of these could not possibly have been devised in Draco's time. Nearly all of them are very difficult to reconcile with what we know of the state of Athens at the time: and some of them are inconsistent with other statements in this book.

(2) None of the provisions, some of them very remarkable ones, are ever quoted by any of the writers who used the work.

(3) The whole constitution is just like those described later in the book in connection with the aristocratic revolutions in 411.

I. The property qualification for the Archonship is 10 minae. At this time property was, as we know, reckoned not in money but in corn.

10 minae is equal to a 1000 drachmas. The qualification of a *ζεγγίτης* was to possess land capable of producing 200 *μέδμνοι*: a *μέδμνος* of corn was worth at this time about a drachma (Plut. *Solon* 23, quoting a law of Solon). Land of this extent must have been worth not less than 2000 drachmas. According to this men were eligible to the archonship who were excluded by Solon from all office.

II. Men are eligible to the office of *στρατηγός* and *ἵππαρχος* who possess 100 minae, and have children over ten years of age by a wedded wife.

As to this—

(a) We have no other record of *στρατηγοί* at this time: in chap. vii. where a considerable list of officials is given they are not mentioned.

(b) The clause that they must have children is also quite new.

(c) If there were *στρατηγοί* they held only an inferior position, and the very high property qualification is unaccountable.

III. In the next sentence the mention of *πρυτάνεις* causes much difficulty. Who were they? Were they the same as the *ἄρχοντες*? If so, why is this not explained in chap. iii.?

IV. The council of 401 is quite new. More, over in chap. viii. Aristotle speaking of Solon says: *βουλὴν δὲ ἐποίησε τετρακοσίους, ἑκατὸν ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς*. This does not mean, as Mr. Kenyon suggests, that he altered the

number of members from 401 to 400, but 'he set up a council of 400.' The new council of 400 is contrasted with the old council of the Areopagus. So Plutarch also took it, chap. xix. : *συστησάμενος δε τὴν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλὴν... δευτέραν προσκατένειμε βουλὴν.*

V. *κληροῦσθαι δὲ καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας, καὶ δις τὸν αὐτὸν μὴ ἄρχειν πρὸ τοῦ πάντας περιελθεῖν.* The rotation of all in office was a well-known device of later times: but how was it applicable to a large body of citizens, most of whom lived at a considerable distance from Athens? It was in fact the mark of a developed democracy (*Ar. Polit.* vi. 10, 3, 1298a, 10).

VI. The next clause shows that the writer imagines that this *βουλὴ* had the probouleutic duties of the later *βουλὴ*. Is not this an anachronism?

The fact is that the whole of this constitution is a complete anachronism. It shows in every line the influence of the political principles which prevailed among the moderate aristocratic party at Athens from the end of the 5th century. The only constitutions that we know which really are like it are those proposed in the year 411 by the party of Theramenes.

The following resemblances are particularly striking:

(1) *ἀπεδέδοτο ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλα παρεχομένοις.* Cf. *Thuc.* viii. 97: *Ar. πολ. τ. Αθ.* 33: *Xen. Hell.* ii. 3.

(2) The small property qualification for the archons.

From chap. 29 we learn that in the constitution there described the archons and Prytanes alone were to receive pay: they had two obols a day. This implies that no high property qualification was required. The high qualification for the generals would be perfectly natural at this later period, but not in 621.

(3) The *βουλευτής* to be fined for non-attendance.

The only instance of such a law at Athens is given in this work in chap. 30 where the constitution of the 400 is described.

(4) The mention of *πρυτάνεις*—*στρατηγοί*—*ἑπάρχου* belongs to a later period; as does the rotation in office, and the relations of the *βουλὴ* to the *ἐκκλησία*.

The examination thus completely confirms the suspicions caused by the absence of external support. It also, I think, shows the origin of the insertion.

The constitution described betrays the

thought of a particular party; the reformers of this school used to advocate their policy by maintaining that it really would restore Athens to the condition in which it was before the democratic changes began. Many as we know looked on Solon as the originator of the changes which they deplored (*Ar. Polit.* ii. 9). They would then recommend a constitution of this kind by saying it was like that which prevailed in Athens before the time of Solon. This has misled some transcriber or editor. After the words *τοῖς θεσμοῖς ἔθηκεν*, influenced by the expression at the beginning of chap. iii. he desiderated some account of the constitution in the time of Draco (it is possible that the expression of the *Politics* xii. 1274 *πολιτεία ὑπαρχόνση τοὺς νόμους ἔθηκεν* represents some words which have fallen out of the text) and inserted this passage out of some other book.

If the whole passage be omitted and *θεσμοί* regain its natural meaning of 'a code of law,' then the clauses at the end of the chapter will acquire much more point.

Draco published his code of law, but the Areopagus maintained its position and had to guard the [new] laws. And any person who had been maltreated could go to the Areopagus and show them which of the [new] laws had been broken.'

JAMES W. HEADLAM.

Ch. 22, p. 60. *ἐκνέμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας . . . τοῖς μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα πρώτον.* It is scarcely possible to get a satisfactory sense out of *τοῖς*. *τοὺς* has been proposed: *τότε* is as probable an emendation, and *τότε πρώτον* would give a better antithesis to the next clause (*οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν αἰρετοί*).

Ch. 23, p. 66. *ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀπόστασιν τὴν τῶν Ἰόνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν Ἀριστείδης ἦν ὁ προτρέψας.* The sense of this passage, as it stands, is in complete conflict not only with the statements in other authors, but with the general argument of the writer. Aristides really urged the Athenians to make an alliance with the Ionians, and to draw apart from the Lacedaemonians. Is it not possible that the transcriber has transposed *ἀπόστασιν* and *συμμαχίαν* (perhaps because they occurred at the end of two successive lines in his original)? It is true that Athens did not at once formally break with the general Greek alliance, but the term *ἀπόστασις* might fairly be applied to the division between the Greek states caused by the formation of the separate confederacy.

Ch. 28, p. 78. *καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεδίδου,*

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατέλυσε Καλλικράτης κ.τ.λ. Cleophon is credited with the first introduction of the diobely; Callierates with increasing it to three obols. Surely κατέλυσε is inappropriate. A man who increased a payment from two obols to three could not be said to abolish the earlier payment. I propose κατήξησε; the compound does not occur elsewhere, but it would naturally have the sense of 'corruptly' or 'wastefully increasing'; cf. *Politics*, ii. 1271a, 3 καταδωροδοκούμενοι καὶ καταχαρίζόμενοι. The passage raises other points of interest. Mr. Wyse suspects διεδίδου and proposes διεδίδοτο. But if Cleophon held a financial office (as is probable from *Lys.* xix. 48) the active voice would be appropriate. Dr. Beloch has argued with much ingenuity that Cleophon was for some years a member of the board of πορισταί (*Rhein. Mus.* xxxix. pp. 249 ff.). The use of the word διεδίδου and still more the use of the verb πορίζειν in this passage confirm his argument. Lastly it is not quite certain that the δωβελία is to be identified with the Theoric distribution. Dr. Beloch (*ib.* pp. 239 ff.) argues that the two obols referred to in *Ar. Ran.* 140 and the δωβελία so frequently mentioned in inscriptions really denote the dicast's fee, and that it was re-introduced in 410 at the rate of two obols. This theory is confirmed by the reference to Callierates quoted by Mr. Kenyon. At the same time the use of the word πρῶτος seems to point to the introduction of a new institution, and not to the restoration of an old one.

L. WHIBLEY.

C. 25.—As regards the story of Themistocles and the Areopagus, if it is true, there arise more difficulties as to chronology than those mentioned in Mr. Kenyon's note. Thucydides says (i. 137) that Themistocles was brought by a storm to Naxos on his flight to Asia at the time of the siege of that island by the Athenians. No one dates this siege later than 465 (Pierson); Schäfer puts it in 466, Krüger even in 473. And yet, according to this story, Themistocles was in Athens in 462. It is not possible to suppose that Themistocles had been intriguing with Ephialtes against the Areopagus for some years previously, and that some time elapsed between his ostracism and the fall of the Areopagus; for the two events are immediately connected in this version.

GEORGE F. HILL.

c. 52. ἂν μὲν ὁμολογῶσι, θανάτῳ ζημιώσοντας, ἂν δ' ἀμφισβητῶσιν, εἰσάγοντας εἰς τὸ δικάστηριον. In the editor's note this is interpreted so as to agree with the statements in the lexicographers, who understand ὁμολογῶσι of the confession of the accused. A writer in the *Saturday Review* for March 21 points out that the true rendering of the passage is, 'There are also appointed by lot officers called *The Eleven*, whose functions are to take charge of prisoners, and in the case of those arrested for thieving, robbery, or brigandage, to inflict, if they are unanimous, the penalty of death, or if they disagree, to bring them before the ordinary court.'

WICKHAM'S HORACE, VOL. II.

The Works of Horace. Vol. II. *The Satires, Epistles, and De Arte Poetica* by E. C. WICKHAM, M.A., Master of Wellington College, and formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1891.

THE first volume of Mr. Wickham's Horace, which appeared in 1874, bore evident traces of being a labour of love. It did not profess to make substantial additions to our knowledge of Horace or of Latin, but it was appreciative and elegant, and contained in the way of translation some examples of highly ingenious and delicate phrase-making. Faculties of this nature sink into quite a

subordinate place when an editor comes to deal with the *Satires* and *Epistles*, which are full of difficulties for the interpreter and present still (in spite of much that has been urged to the contrary) some passages where the art of textual criticism must be brought to bear on the words of the poet. It is not surprising that an admirer of the *Odes* should be even somewhat repelled by the *Satires* and *Epistles*, and that he should feel that qualities of mind valuable in handling the one are of little use in dealing with the other. It would have been hard indeed for Mr. Wickham to make his second volume as acceptable to the world of teachers and of learners as his first was. The first volume

entered on a comparatively unoccupied field as regards English editions; in the long interval which elapsed before the appearance of the second volume, its ground had been thoroughly explored by two eminent scholars and all its material had been thoroughly sifted and analysed. The *Satires* by Professor Palmer and the *Epistles* by Professor Wilkins, though appearing in a series which does not profess to aim so high as the Clarendon Press, must be at once seen to represent a far higher standard of scholarship than Mr. Wickham's edition. He has made abundant use of the materials of both editors, but has not caught the spirit of either. There is a certain apathy and lack of interest in his work which contrasts greatly with the enthusiastic search for truth which characterises that of Professors Palmer and Wilkins.

In *Sat.* i. 3, 120

Nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
Verbera non vereor

we have a reading which, as long as it stands in the text of Horace, is a standing argument that there is no such thing as a science of grammar. If *vereor ut* may in one passage in Latinity and in one only—for the alleged parallels are obviously irrelevant—signify 'I fear you will,' then any deviation from any grammatical rule in any case and in any author is admissible. What should we say if we were told that in one passage only in English literature 'I have my doubts about his succeeding' meant 'I fear he will succeed'? Now the case is far stronger against the possibility that a Latin writer should use *vereor ut caedas* in the sense of 'I fear that you will scourge' against the consentient practice of Latin writers of all ages and conspicuously against his own.¹ Yet on this passage Mr. Wickham does not even mention Palmer's conjecture of *nunc* for *non* which completely restores the sense and saves the grammar. He quotes in mitigation of the violation of grammar (which he calls 'the departure from the usual rule which would have required *ne* instead of *ut*') a passage in which *ut* is not in syntactical connexion with the verb of 'fearing' at all; and he says that an obviously untenable rendering proposed in the *Journal of Philology* 'may be right.' Here, again, is a note which makes one think the editor had not his own text before him when he was writing it; or is it possible

¹ Cp. O puer, ut sis vitalis metuo *Sat.* ii. 1, 60; *ne* quid deperdat metuens aut ampliut *ut* rem i. 4, 31.

that any one has proposed to read *in chartis*? The passage is *Sat.* i. 4, 132

ubi quid datur oti

Illudo chartis.

The note is:—'*Illudo chartis*. The depreciatory use of "*ludo*" of a man's own compositions (as in *Sat.* i. 10. 37, see on *Od.* i. 32. 2) with the addition *in chartis*. Horace is giving a final account of his writing of Satire. It is his playful and childlike method of self-rebuke and self-instruction.' But is it not a playful and childlike way of explaining a very difficult expression *illudo chartis* to treat *illudo* as if it were *ludo*, and *chartis* as if it were *in chartis*? The difficult phrase *illudo chartis* has been rightly understood by a scholiast and rightly explained by Palmer who quotes him; Mr. Wickham explains a phrase *ludo in chartis*, which, if any Latin writer had used it, would not seem to require explanation. If he really holds that *illudo chartis* = *ludo in chartis* he should have said so, and should have adduced reasons for holding this view, and examples supporting it.

In i. 5, 89

venit vilissima rerum

Hic aqua, sed panis longe pulcherrimus

surely the antithesis shows that the meaning is 'here you have to buy the worst water in the world,' not 'here water, the cheapest thing in the world, has to be bought.' Mr. Wickham follows Orelli in the latter explanation, and does not mention the former.

One naturally turns to i. 6, 75 and thus finds one's old friend *octonis referentes Idibus aera* which of course may be right; but if I had no better argument against *octonos... aeris* than that it introduces a new *s* into a verse where there are already as many as we want of that letter, I should prefer to fall back on the good old plan that I liked the old *mumpsimus* better than the new *mumpsimus*.

Just as Mr. Wickham explained *illudo chartis* as if Horace had written *in chartis ludo*, but without suggesting that *illudo chartis* could really be the same as *ludo in chartis*, so in the very vexed passage i. 6, 126 where V. has *lusumque trigonem*, a reading which has been accepted by most editors since Bentley demonstrated the ineptitude of *rabiosi tempora signi*, he gives in his text *lusumque trigonem*, but renders it in his note 'the game of three, a game of ball.' But *ludum* would have been the word used for 'a game'; the words must mean 'the (game

of) ball already played by me.' This is the poet's brief way of mentioning that he had already played a game of ball though he had not mentioned it. He writes that 'Munro thinking *trigon* was the ball itself would either take *lusum* as a participle = *elusum* "cheated, left in the lurch," or alter it to *pulsum*.' Hence Mr. Wickham seems to think if *trigon* is not the ball itself *lusum* may be something other than a participle. What then is *lusum*? If Horace meant to speak of a 'game' he would certainly have written *ludum*.

In i. 9, 36

et casu tunc respondere vadato
Debebat

Mr. Wickham says that *vadato* is dative. But *respondere* in this sense is always used absolutely, and elsewhere *vadatus* is always passive 'held to bail.' Hence it seems far better to take *vadato* as an impersonal ablative 'bail having been given for his appearance,' like *intestato*, *inauspicato*. It was the feeling that *respondere* must be absolute and *vadato* passive which led Bentley to read *vadatus* 'having been held to bail.' What was needed for the defence of the text was an *exact* parallel to *vadato* taken as an impersonal ablative absolute. This Mr. Palmer supplied by adducing *hoc quod satisdato debeo* Cic. *Att.* xvi. 6, 3, 'security having been given.' This would seem to settle the question, but Mr. Wickham does not mention it.

ii. 2, 123

Post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra.

One looks to this verse to see how an editor will treat the comment of Porphyry. Mr. Wickham's observation is 'His explanation suggests, though it does not say, that *culpa* had some technical sense.' Mr. Palmer's is 'This shows he simply knew nothing whatever about it,' and one feels strongly disposed to agree with the latter view. But let not the delightful rendering of M'Caul lack our humble tribute, 'each person took as much as he pleased, *restricted only by the feeling that excess was culpable*!' Perhaps *imbibed* instead of *took* would render this version perfect as a reproduction of the spirit as well as the manner of Horace.

In ii. 8, 6 no notice is taken of a nice grammar point; *leni fuit Austro captus aper* means 'there was a boar caught' &c. not 'the boar was caught' &c., a rendering into which the uncautioned learner will certainly fall.

The *Epistles* do not present the same kind of difficulties as the *Satires*, and Mr. Wickham would seem to have felt more interest in his task of editing them. The tone and topics are often very like those of the *Odes*, and if the editor has not always satisfactorily traced the train of thought, he is in this matter as successful as his predecessors have been or his successors are likely to be. But in explanation and criticism he does not seem to have much of his own to offer, and does not always seem to choose the best of the suggestions of others. Surely *olus omne* (i. 5, 2) is not 'a mess of vegetables'; *ingenuis* i. 19, 34 demands a note such as Mr. Wilkins has given, and the same may be said of *deserat* i. 20, 10; and in rendering *honoratum Achillem* (A.P. 120) 'the time-honoured character of Achilles' he has suggested an impossible meaning for the participle. Again, Haupt's *victo ridens* seems an almost certain correction of *victor violens*, a most unmeaning expression, in i. 10, 37. This conjecture however Mr. Wickham, though he does not accept it, at least mentions; an honour which he might have paid to a conjecture which has found so much favour in recent times as Ribbeck's *momen* for *nomen* in A.P. 253.

Of many of the notes we have nothing to say except that while they are useful and good, as far as they go, they are neither so useful nor so good as those of the edition by Mr. Wilkins which already holds the field. A comparison of the two editions will settle this question; we have formed our opinion on an examination of several passages containing matter of interest from the point of view of the grammarian and the student of history and archaeology: among these are *maiora minorare fama* Ep. i. 11, 3; *utroque pollice* i. 18, 66; *puteal Libonis* i. 19, 8—9; *frater ut alter* ii. 2, 87; *palus diu* A.P. 65; *cantor* A.P. 155; *quarta persona* A.P. 192.

The last few years have been rather rich in floating comments on Horace in the magazines both German and English. Messrs. Housman, Postgate and Palmer have all made interesting and instructive suggestions, some of which at least deserved to be mentioned in a large and handsome edition like the present. I will mention only one here—a suggestion made by Mr. Housman on a much vexed passage—which seems to me as convincing as it is simple, and which could not fail to be interesting to students of Horace. He thus punctuates A.P. 60—

Ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
 Prima cadunt ita verborum, vetus interit
 aetas,
 Et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigent-
 que.

Thus an extremely minute change even for the modern reader—no change at all in the tradition of the MSS.—restores coherence to a passage which has puzzled the commentators from Bentley down, while there is nothing either in the construction thus

emerging or in the rhythm which is not conformable to the manner and practice of Horace.

Mr. Wickham has certainly produced a handsome and useful edition of the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace: and, if we cannot say that he has contributed much to the knowledge of Horace or of Latin, perhaps that is because the field has been so recently and so thoroughly gleaned.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

RAWLINS' AND INGE'S *ETON LATIN GRAMMAR*.

The Eton Latin Grammar, for use in the higher forms. Second Edition, by F. H. RAWLINS and W. R. INGE (John Murray, London, 1890).

THIS book, which has now reached a second edition, is intended for those who have already mastered the rudiments of Latin. 'Our object has been to explain the facts already learnt, and at the same time to add to the stock of knowledge already acquired and to carry the learner upward to the higher scholarship' (preface by the authors). This programme is carried out by an elaborate treatment of Latin accidence on a philological basis, and a syntax of average scope. Obligations are acknowledged to King and Cookson's *Sounds and Inflections*, Henry's *Grammaire Comparée*, Brugmann's *Comparative Grammar*, and Schweizer-Sidler's *Latin Grammar*, second edition. The present edition is said to have been 'thoroughly revised,' and the Headmaster of Eton claims in an introductory notice that it is suitable not only for school use but also for students and scholars generally.

A glance at its contents suggests a number of questions of grave moment to the cause of classical education, which however it is impossible to discuss adequately within the limits of a review.

(1) Is grammar a means or an end in school study? Some teachers are using all their efforts to hasten the day when the pupil leaves off mumbling the dry bones of Accidence and commences reading the literature. They attempt to limit the amount of grammar to be learnt to what is really essential, and to present that limited amount in the most perspicuous and digestible form. The facts of grammar may be divided into three classes: (a) those necessary for reading a

language, a surprisingly small quantity; (b) those necessary for writing or speaking a language, a moderate quantity; (c) those necessary for answering grammar papers, an indefinitely large quantity, which however may be indefinitely reduced in proportion as examiners become more enlightened. At Eton it would seem that views of this kind find no favour. The fifth form boy, who ought to have mastered the essentials of accidence, is confronted with a grammar, in which he makes the acquaintance of 'the special forms used in Comedy and those in vogue in the silver age,' not to mention a liberal selection from inscriptions. Are the true ends of classical study furthered by a school grammar which gives as endings of the nominative plural of the 2nd declension -ī, -īs, -ēs, -eis (pp. 34, 37), and of the genitive singular of the 5th declension -ēī, -ēi, -ēi, -ēs (p. 31)?

(2) If two grammars are to be used in a school, ought there not to be some organic connexion between them? Would it not have been wise to make the advanced course strictly supplementary to the elementary, and to treat the knowledge acquired in the latter as a point of departure? Had this been done the authors would have lent powerful aid to the cause of organization and concentration in school work—surely one of the questions of the day. They have preferred to write an independent book. The whole matter of accidence has been thrown into the philological crucible, to emerge in a new and more formidable shape. Syntax is treated *ab initio*, the simplest definitions and rules being repeated.

(3) Is the attempt to initiate the pupil into the mysteries of scientific philology consistent with a simple and practical treatment of the facts of accidence? Take an

example from the treatment of the 3rd declension in the *Eton Grammar*. Which words of this declension form the genitive plural in *-ium*? The answer given is 'those which have *i*-stems.' Which words have *i*-stems? The oracle replies 'The chief test of differentiation of *i*-stems and consonant stems is that the former have gen. plur. in *-ium*, the latter in *-um*' (pp. 51 and 54). I have observed this circle in reasoning in other books which attempt to base accidence on philology. Has it never occurred to the authors that they are offering for bread a stone? This criticism does not apply to such a book as Schweizer-Sidler's *Grammar* (2nd ed.), which is avowedly for the use of the university student, and therefore omits all paradigms.

(4) Is it not both desirable and possible in a grammar to use terms consistently, and to observe the laws of logical classification? The authors would seem to belong to a class of teachers—that such a class really exists must be inferred from the defences offered by them in reply to their critics—who regard these as points of little importance or as savouring of the pedantry of the training college. Such teachers deprecate your taking them too seriously. But surely precision of language may be a valuable instrument of teaching. To use terms at random is to convert them into 'mere sound and fury signifying nothing.' To disregard logic in classification is not merely to sacrifice a powerful lever, but also to accustom pupils to vicious habits of thought. Let the reader examine the use of the terms 'substantive' and 'pronoun' on pp. 94, 212, 213, and say whether the statements made are the more lucid for being illogical. What is gained by such a cross-division as is involved in classifying sentences on p. 214 into (i.) affirmative (ii.) negative (iii.) interrogative? As though a sentence might not be both negative and interrogative (*Nonne venit?*). On p. 216 adverbial sentences (clauses?) are classified (with the omission of *purpose* and the treatment of *result* and *consequence* as two separate kinds¹): but this classification is not maintained in the subsequent discussion; see p. 317, where *cause* is ranged under *attendant circumstances*. On p. 259 we read that a substantive in apposition 'denotes the circumstances in which a statement is made.' The italics are mine. Let the definition be tested by one of the instances given: *Cato senex historiam scribere instituit*. 'Case' is nowhere defined; but the Vocative is declared on p. 21 to be

'not, strictly speaking, a case.' On p. 23 we hear about 'Names *essentially masculine*'; the authors mean 'Names of males.' With similar confusion of gender and sex the *Elementary Grammar* speaks of 'the male gender.'

(5) What is the true place of memory work in teaching, and how far should technical aids to memory be given in a grammar? The authors of the *Elementary Grammar* say that their book is to be 'learnt by heart' (302 pp.); yet both grammars have abandoned gender rimes and similar memorial ruses. I do not feel at all sure that the latter innovation is sound: where a certain body of matter which rests on no rational principle has to be mastered and carried in the memory, *memoria technica* seems distinctly in place. That a whole grammar should be learnt by heart can hardly be meant seriously.

To what extent this book will serve the cause of sound learning at Eton, *viderint Etonenses*. As a book for scholars and students generally, I fear it will prove disappointing. Perhaps the authors ought to be judged leniently. To give a just idea of the leading features of early Latin accidence and syntax, avoiding sins of omission and sins of commission, would have taxed the resources of the first Plautine scholar in Europe. Only one who has examined the facts at first hand can know when he is on safe ground—when he is dealing with real differences of usage and when with mere blunders of the MSS.² Only such a one can know what *not*

¹ To discuss the points of Plautine criticism involved in this book would lead me too far. But I will quote two instances of the sort of thing that I mean. On p. 37 the authors say 'Plautus wrote *hiscce oculis* (Mil. 373) and perhaps *illiscce* (Most. 510); Terence has *hiscce* (Eun. 269).' The statement occurs under the heading Nominative Plural (of the 2nd declension of nouns). Let the authors examine the latest editions of the Miles, by Lorenz (1886) and Goetz (1890), and they will find *oculi*. The reading is uncertain. And where are Amph. 974, Capt. Prol. 35, Mil. 1334, Pers. 856, Rud. 294, Trin. 877 (examples of *hiscce*)? Why 'perhaps *illiscce*'? If the authors think Most. 510 doubtful, why do they not quote Most. 935? Parenthetically be it said that examples of *hiscce* and *illiscce* are here out of place; they should have come on p. 102 (pronouns).—On p. 56 we read, under the heading Ablative Singular (of the 3rd declension) '*ē* appears in *fortē, mortē, partē, pubē*, all in Plautus.' Do the authors really feel confident that we ought not to read with some scholars *-i*? Not one of these ablatives in *-ē* is recognized by Georges in his *Lexicon der lateinischen Wortformen*: each of them rests upon a single passage of Plautus. *Pubē* is not an ablative at all, but a dative in its passage (Pseud. 126). Just above they quote *sine dotē* as Plautine; there is no evidence for this at all (see the MSS. in Trin. 714). The whole statement is borrowed wholesale from Bücheler's *Grundriss der lat. Declination*, and without

² Apparently a misprint: see p. 215 (bottom).

to say, which in grammar, as in poetry, is half the battle. The writing of a grammar is an art involving a delicate sense of scale and proportion.

The Headmaster of one of our leading Public Schools once said to me, 'What need is there of a new Grammar? I suppose it will give the perfect of *moneo* as *monui*.' The *Eton Grammar* is a curious commentary upon this somewhat cynical remark. I have noted a number of points in which it is more or less out of touch with accepted views or with the evidence on which such views ought to be based: but I have space for only two. From the ill-arranged statements on pp. 56, 57 and 71 about the forms of the abl. sing. of the 3rd declension one gathers that adjectives 'whose stems end in *-nti*' form the abl. generally in *-ē*, occasionally in *-ī*: *ingenti* is given as an exception, together with present participles when used as adjectives. (In the *Elementary Grammar* p. 24 we find in the paradigm *ingenti* or *ingente*, and a statement that the present participle is declined 'in the same way.') If so we ought to write *elegante sermone*, *insolente alacritate*, *recente adventu*, etc. But the instances quoted by Neue (second edition, pp. 90—95) show that in these and similar cases the evidence is all in favour of the abl. in *-ī*. On p. 75 we are told that *sal* is generally neuter when it means 'salt,' always masculine when it means 'wit.' This is a strange way of 'adding to the stock of knowledge already acquired.' The dictionary shows that the *Elementary Eton Grammar* was right in giving *sal* and *sol* as masculine: this is the universal gender in Plautus, Cicero, Sallust, Catullus, Horace, Pliny, in both the literal and the metaphorical sense; *sal* neuter is found only in Lucr. iv. 1162 and in a few fragments of authors interesting only to the specialist (Fabius Pictor, Afranius, Varro, etc.), in one at least of which it is used in the metaphorical sense. On p. 25 we find the quantity *salūbris*; but this is perhaps a misprint, as the correct quantity is given elsewhere.

The Syntax, as a whole, is a much better piece of work than the Accidence. It shows in several places a laudable effort to improve upon current doctrine and signs of independent research are not wanting.¹

observing his significant remark that the difference between *i* and *e* in the MSS. is a comparatively unimportant fact, as the question is one simply of the length or shortness of the vowel.

¹ On p. 309 two new instances are quoted for *ne* with the present subjunctive in a prohibition addressed to a particular person: Martial ix. 61. 20, Tibullus ii. 6. 28.

The treatment of the Supines as Verbal Nouns (p. 266 f.) is good, particularly the note on the Future Infinitive Passive. Conditional Sentences are better classified than in the Public School Primer, the main results of the discussion in the *Classical Review* i. p. 124 f. having apparently been utilized.² I sympathize with the attempt which has been made on p. 326 to distinguish sentences like *Accusavit Socratem quod iuventutem corrumpere* and *Rogo quo eas* from sentences containing *Oratio Obliqua* proper.³ But the new term introduced for the former—'Described Speech'—can hardly be regarded as a happy one. 'Contained Speech' would be better: but why 'Speech' at all? Are not such clauses best described simply as Object and Subject Clauses (Noun Clauses)?—The verb in the 'Described Question,' i.e. Dependent Question, is said to be 'naturally Subjunctive' (p. 334). Why 'naturally'? English, like Old Latin, habitually uses the Indicative: I am afraid boys who are beyond the stage of writing the Indic. in Latin are apt to put in the Accus. with Infin. Their teachers are perfectly within their rights in telling them that classical Latin, as a matter of fact, demands the Subjunctive; but the word 'naturally' will not enlighten them. Sequence of Tenses (p. 337) is rightly denied in Consecutive Clauses, though this is not consistent with the *Elementary Grammar*, p. 152; but there is no mention under this head of sequence in Dependent Questions or in Noun Clauses dependent on expressions like *accidit*, *factum est*, etc. If, as the pupil would gather from p. 336, sequence is confined to Final Clauses, then there is no need to speak of 'sequence' at all; for it

² I object however (i.) to saying that two Pluperf. Indicatives are 'unintelligible'; a sentence like *si peccaverat, praemium non meruerat* is quite possible, though no instance has been quoted: (ii.) to representing the protasis of *si hic sis, aliter sentias* as 'rhetorically possible'; the old Latin *sis* here is precisely = *esses*: (iii.) to calling the Subjunctive in *o mihi praeteritos referat* etc. 'hypothetical'; this is quite inconsistent with pp. 308, 311, 316: (iv.) to speaking of cases like *si fractus illabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruinae* as cases of substitution of an Indic. for a Subj. in the apodosis: I think the Indic. is here quite normal, as in Engl. 'Should the welkin crack and fall upon him, the ruins will strike him undismayed'; cf. my note on Plautus, *Rudens* 1021.

³ The rules for *Oratio Obliqua* on p. 331 contain a slip, five times repeated: *dicit si peccet doliturum esse*, without *se* (subject of Infin.). On pp. 332 f. the rules for conditional sentences in dependence are in part antiquated by the researches of Stegmann: the ordinary way of expressing sentences like *si peccaret doleret* and *si peccavisset culpatus esset* (Passive) in dependence on an expression like *factum est ut* is to leave the Subjunctive unchanged in both clauses.

is quite sufficient to say that the present subjunctive in Final Clauses expresses a *present purpose*, the imperf. subjunctive a *past purpose*. The only two cases which experience in teaching Latin prose shows to be difficulties are ignored on pp. 336 f.; they are (i.) cases like *nescio quot fuerint* (not *essent*), (ii.) cases like *accidit ut una nocte omnes Hermae deicerentur* (not *deiecti sint*); the rule given under another heading (p. 327) is directly misleading.—Appendix IV (p. 207) recognizes an Aorist Subjunctive, as well as a Future Perf. Subj.; this will be regarded as an improvement by some teachers; but are Livy 44. 22 and Plaut. Rud. 730 good examples of the Future Perf. Subj.? In the latter *noveris* = *noturus sis*; cf. line 756 and Pseud. 464, where the pres. subj. is used in the same sense: do the writers mean to call *noturus sis* a Fut. Perf. Subj.? It is strange that in the Accidence (p. 130) *amaturus esse* is

called 'Future and Fut. Perf. Infin.'—Appendix VI (p. 210) contains a good list of Past (Perfect? cf. p. 140) Participles of Deponent Verbs with passive sense, on which a good deal of trouble has evidently been expended.¹

In conclusion I would say that the Syntax, if carefully revised in the next edition, may become a very serviceable treatise. If I may venture to add another hint to those given above, I would ask the authors to consider firstly whether the remarks on Plautine syntax should not be either abolished or else rendered more complete; and secondly whether they have not laid too much stress upon the 'pedigrees' of the Cases.

E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

¹ Should not *comitatus* (from the parallel Active form *comito*) have been included, if *auguratus* (from *auguro*) is admitted?

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

THE following list includes all the emendations which have been received by the Editors between Feb. 21 and March 21, excepting those which were already anticipated in the last number. Each emendation is assigned to its author by his initials as under:—

F. Blass* (B.), E. H. Brooks (EHB.), J. B. Bury† (JBB.), S. H. Butcher (SHB.), R. Ellis (E.), H. van Herwerden‡ (H.), (who promises an edition shortly), G. F. Hill (GFH.), G. E. Marindin (GEM.), J. B. Mayor (JBM.), W. R. Paton (WRP.), A. Platt (AP.), H. Richards (HR.), W. G. Rutherford (R.), J. A. Stewart (St.), R. Y. Tyrrell (T.), L. Whibley (LW.).

Mr. Kenyon has kindly compared the emendations with the papyrus and added a note (signed K.) where the former are not inconsistent with the MS. reading.

P. 2, l. 6. τ[οῖς μὲν] ἄλλοις. Read τοῖς τε JBM. B., H. (or καὶ τοῖς.) HR., [τοῖς τε MS., I think. K.]

P. 3, l. 2. ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς μισθώσεως

* In *Lit. Centralblatt* for Feb. 28.

† Partly or wholly in *Academy* for Feb. 28, and March 7.

‡ In *Berl. philol. Wochenschrift* for March 14.

εἰργάζοντο. Read perhaps ὑπέρ or περὶ M., ἀπό J., B. [I think the MS. has the accusative (in abbreviated form) ταύτην) τ(ήν) μίσθωσ(ιν). K.]

P. 3, l. 6. Should not δεδανεισμένοι be substituted for δεδεμένοι here and on p. 13, l. 7? The supplement τοῖς δανείσ[ασιν] in the former passage then requires alteration. WRP. For κ[αὶ δεδεμένοι] read perhaps καὶ ὑπεύθυνοι. The phrase ὑπεύθυνος τόκων occurs in an inscription cited by Rost and Palmer. JBM.

P. 3, l. 9. [ἀρχῶν μὴ μετ]έχειν. Read τὸ τῆς γῆς μὴ μετέχειν. B., HR.

P. 4, l. 2. βασ[ιλεὺς τε καὶ πολ]έμαρχος. Has the editor assured himself that the writer of this treatise ever uses τε καὶ in juxtaposition? R.

P. 5, l. 3. διὰ τοῦ γίνεσθαι. Read τό. Cf. 26, 6, &c. HR., B. [Possible. K.]

P. 5, l. 4. πολεμικὰ for πολέμια. B., HR.

P. 6, l. 4. ἐπὶ Ἀκάστον [τῆς πόλεως ἀρξ]έιν. Would not [βασιλέως ἀρξ]έιν be a better supplement? AP.

P. 6, l. 6. παραχωρησάντων τῶν Κοδ[ριδῶν] ... τῷ ἄρχοντι *δωρεῶν*. The meaning is that the Kodrids resigned their prerogatives in favour of the archon. Read perhaps τῶν γερόν. JBB. May not δωρεῶν have much the same force? Cf. Dem. 157, 6 τὰς πολιτικὰς δωρεάς, explained by Reiske to mean

immunitates, jus epulandi in Prytaneo, &c.
JBM.

P. 6, l. 7. ὁποτέρως ποτ' ἔχει for ποιν. **B.**

P. 6, l. 9. πατρίων? on account of ἐπιθέ-
τοις; cf. cap. 57 ff. **W.** [τὸ μηδὲν τῶν
πατρίων. **B.** [I think this is right: the
μη seems discernible. **K.**]

P. 6, l. 11. ἀλλὰ[τὰ νεώτερα]. **B.**

P. 6, l. 16. Read ἐγένετο πλὴν ἢ (or πλὴν
εἰ) ἐνιαύσιος. **R.**

P. 6, l. 17. If [οὔτοι] refers to the βα-
σιλεύς, πολέμαρχος, and ἄρχων, then we should
read προέχουσι τῶν ἄλλων, and regard from
'θεσμοθέται δὲ πολλοῖς' to 'ἐνιαύσιος' as
either misplaced or parenthetical. If ἀλλήλων
is read in l. 18 we must change προέχουσιν
to διέχουσιν. **R.**

P. 6, l. ult. ἦσαν δ' οὐχ ἅμα πάντες οἱ
ἐννέα ἄρχοντες. This could not express the
fact that the archons had different offices or
courts. Now Mr. Kenyon's ᾠκησαν was
probably a *vox propria* for the archons' office
or court. Cp. ἡδὴ δὲ ἐσπέρας οὔσης καὶ σκότους
ἔρχεται Μειδίας οὔτοσι πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων
οἶκημα [office] καὶ καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἄρχοντας
ἐξιώντας (Dem. Meid. 542). *Domus* is used
in the same sense in Juv. xiii. 160. The
imperf. is not so suitable as the aorist in a
general statement about the past. **T.**

P. 11, l. 1. There is no need to alter
ἐλάττους. What we want is τὰς δ' ἄλλας
ἀρχὰς <τὰς> ἐλάττους. The article is omitted
repeatedly in this text. **HR., B., W.**

P. 11, l. 3. οὐκ ἐλάττον' ἢ ἑκατὸν μῶν
ἐλευθέρων. As the note remarks, 100 seems
a very improbable number, when for the
superior office it is only 10. This may be
obviated, and the sentence made to corre-
spond with the preceding sentence by reading
οὐκ ἐλάττον' ἑκάστον ἢ μῶν ἐλευθέρων (i.e.
8 minae). The alteration might have arisen
from a misunderstanding of the numeral
letter. **GEM.**

P. 11. στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ ἱπάρχους οὐσίαν
ἀποφαίνοντας οὐκ ἐλάττον' ἢ ἑκατὸν μῶν ἐλευ-
θέρων (*lege* ἐλευθέρων) καὶ παῖδας ἐκ γαμετῆς
γοναῖκός γνησίους ὑπὲρ δέκα ἔτη γεγονότας: τού-
τους δὲ δεῖν εἶναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς
στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους τοῦ γένους μεχρὶ
εὐθυνῶν . . . The words δεῖν εἶναι give no
sense, and a note tells us that the original
word began with δι. We expect some ex-
planation in regard to the provision that
strategoi and hipparchoi must have sons of
ten years or over. The sons of course were
to be pledges for the conduct of the fathers;
and consequently some official supervision
must have been exercised over them. We
must suppose, for example, that the son of a
strategos would not be allowed to leave

Athens during his father's year of office.
Read, then, τούτους δὲ δι[ατηρεῖν] τοὺς πρυτάν-
εις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους *τοῦ
γένους* μέχρι εὐθυνῶν. A board, consisting of
the Prytaneis, the Strategoi, and the Hip-
parchoi, was to watch closely the sons of the
officers in question, τούτους referring to γνησί-
ους παῖδας. Or perhaps we should punctuate
after πρυτάνεις; in that case the duty de-
volved on the Prytaneis alone. **JBB.** τούτους
δὲ δεῖν εἶναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατη-
γούς καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους τοῦ γένους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν
. . . τὰς δ' ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους δεχομένους οὐπὲρ
οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱπάρχου. Here, as in
many other places, words have got into the
wrong place. I would read τούτους δὲ δεῖν
κρατεῖν τοὺς δεχομένους (τοὺς στρατηγούς
καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους) τοῦ γένους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν
εὐθυνῶν τὰς δ' ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους πρυτάνεις
οὐπὲρ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱπάρχου. Compare
p. 140, l. 11—κρατεῖν μέχρι ἀρχῆς τέλους.
The writer uses γερῶν, p. 144, l. 2. **T.**

Read τούτους δὲ διαφυλάξαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις,
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἱπάρχους
τοὺς ἔτους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν, ἐγγητὰς δ' ἐκ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ τέλους [μη] παρασχομένους κ.τ.λ. The
prytanes are to keep in custody the children
of the *strategi* and *hipparchi*, and the *strategi*
and *hipparchi* themselves during the period
which elapses between their retirement from
office and their audit, unless they give four
sureties, &c. **WRP.** [But is there the
slightest hint of such a regulation existing
at Athens?]

P. 13, l. 7. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν δεδε-
μένοι. There would seem to be no parallel
anywhere for this figurative use of δεδεμένοι.
The verb is only used of actual bonds or im-
prisonment. Is it possible that we ought to
read δεδανεισμένοι? Cf. δανείζειν ἐπὶ τοῖς
σώμασιν, p. 15, l. 14, and perhaps p. 3, l. 6,
where, if I am right, we must not insert
δεδεμένοι. **HR.**

P. 14, 5. It has occurred to me with
regard to the words καὶ γὰρ ἐπῆλυνεν on p.
14 of Mr. Kenyon's *Aristotle on the Athen-
ian Constitution*, that they may be the
beginning of a third verse (expressing the
strife between the parties), and that the
rest has fallen out. Perhaps they were
inserted by some one who knew how the
lines continued.

If they are part of the text, perhaps
ΕΠΗΜΥΝΕΝ might be suggested, (i.e. he
came to the assistance of the country).
ΕΚΠΡΑΥΝΕΙ also occurred to me, though
it has no classical authority. **GFH.**

P. 14, l. 5. The words misrepresented by
the unmeaning καὶ γὰρ ἐπῆλυνεν seem to be

part of Solon's poem, and to describe the distracted state of Athens, perhaps καὶ γὰρ ἔτ' ἡλαίνει ('is distracted'). **T.** [But do we not want the καὶ γὰρ to introduce πρὸς ἑκατέρους ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρων μάχεται?]

P. 15, l. 7. Perhaps for ἄρτια read ἄρθμα. Cp. Theog. 1312 ἄρθμιος ἡδὲ φίλος. **T.**

P. 16, l. 6. For [μετὰ δὲ] οὐ πολὺν, read ὕστερον δὲ (or μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) οὐ πολὺν, 'not long afterwards.' **T.**

P. 16, l. 12. For [νόμ]ους read ἑτέροους. **B.**

P. 16, l. 17. μετεκρούσατο may be right. The idea of a balance underlies the word, as in παρακρούεσθαι; and 'he shifted the balance of affairs' would be a not unnatural way of saying 'he changed the face of politics.' **T.** I previously suggested καταπαύσατο, thinking the middle voice might be due to Solon. I think now the right reading is ὅτι δὲ... νοσοῦντα κατέπαυσε, το<ν> καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν αὐτὸς μέμνηται. μέμνηται 'desiderates' τοῦτον. **HR.**

P. 17, last line. <τὰ> τιμήματα. **B.**

P. 20, l. 2. ἐφ' ἣ instead of ἐφ' ᾧ. **W., B.** [corrected in 2nd ed.]

P. 20, l. 3. It is impossible that an inscription should consist of two pentameters. Read

ἵππον Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων ἀνέθηκε θεοῖσι; and, in the next lines, read ἐπιμαρτυρῶν for ἐκμαρτυρῶν. **T.** For ἐκμαρτυρῶν read ἐκ τῶν ἀριστέρων. **B.** I should prefer to read Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τήνδ' εἰκόν' ἔθηκε θεοῖσι as more metrical, nearer to the MS. and more easily leading to the existing corruption. The letters ονεθηκε naturally suggested the familiar ἀνέθηκε, and later scribes would drop the unmeaning εικ and change the line to a pentameter by reading θεοῖς. **JBM., HR.** Nor do I see the objection to ἐκμαρτυρῶν, of which the first meaning in Stephanus is *palam testificor*, Aesch. *Eum.* 461 λούτρων ἐξεμαρτύρει φόνον, and Aeschin. xv. 19 εἰς πολλοὺς ἐκμαρτυρήσαι being cited as examples. Even the technical sense (thus defined in *Etym. Mag.* ἐκμαρτυρία γε γενομένη ἀναγιγνώσκεται ὅταν τις ἡ τελευτήσῃ ἢ ὑπερίορος γένηται) would be quite appropriate here, cf. Schoemann on Isaeus, iii. 77, 'The horse standing by his master's side in the bas-relief may be cited to prove that the term ἱππίας signified τὸ ἵπποτροφεῖν δόνασθαι' (p. 19). If any change is needed I should prefer to put ὥς before ἐκμαρτυρῶν, as Mr. A. S. Murray has suggested to me, 'stands by as though proclaiming,' rather than to read σημαίνουσιν. For the participial construction cf. Soph. *Ant.* 995, and Antiphon, 115, 21, μνηνεί ὁ θάνατος αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀποθανόντα. **JBM.**

P. 21, l. 4. For προκρίνει read προύκρινε. **B.** (or προκρίνοι) **HR.**

P. 23, l. 6. For [ἦν δὲ τῶν] read ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν. **B.**

P. 24, ll. 2, 3. ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς Σ[ολωνος] οἷς οὐκέτι χρώνται (οἷον [εἰκὸς] γέ[γραπται]. For οἷον εἰκὸς I would suggest οἱ νῦν. **St., HR.**

P. 24, l. 9. τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πολιτῶν διετῆρει. Read τῶν πολιτικῶν. **HR.**

P. 24, l. 10. For [τοῦ] read καὶ, as in p. 9, l. 2. **B.**

P. 25, l. 1. For τὴν πρόφασιν [ν τοῦ κόλαζ-] εσθαι, read τὴν πρόφασιν τοῦ ἐκτίνεσθαι. **T.** Read εὐθύνεσθαι. **B.**

P. 26, l. 8. ἀνάγκ[η ἢ ν] read ἀνάγκη πολλὰς. **B.**

P. 27, l. 1. κύριος seems to me impossible. Perhaps for ἔχῃ [ὁ δῆμος κ]ύριος we should read ἔχῃ τὰ δικαστήρια. **GEM.**

P. 27, l. 7. τὴν τῶν χρεῶν. **HR., B.** (with **R** in *C. R.*, p. 91.)

P. 27, l. 11. Om. μὲν. **B.**

P. 27, l. 12. δ ρ α χ μ α ι ς. **B.**

P. 27, l. ult. For τ[ρ]εῖς καὶ ἐξήκοντα, read, perhaps, ὡς καθ' ἐξ. The abbreviated symbols for καὶ and κατὰ are very much alike. **T.** But καὶ is not abbreviated here. **K.**

P. 28, l. 7. For ἐλογίσατο, read ἐσοφίσατο. **B.**

P. 28, l. 14. καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἀμφοτέρας μεταθέσθαι. The facsimile seems to point to a somewhat longer word than μεταθέσθαι, which can hardly be right. Perhaps μεταμέλεσθαι. Both parties repented of having accepted Solon as reformer. **JBB.** The writing straggles a little, but every letter of μεταθέσθαι is traceable. **K.**

P. 28, l. 17. For ἧς [μέντοι] παραλλάξ[ας δόξης] read ἡ συμκρὸν παραλλάξειν· ὁ δὲ (παρ. being transitive, *Top.* iii. 5, p. 119a, 15). **B.**

P. 30, l. 5.

ἃ μὲν γὰρ εἶπα σὺν θεοῖσιν ἦνυσσα. [ἄλλα δ' α]ῖ[δ] μ[ά]την ξεροδ[ον], οὐδέ μοι τυραννίδος

ἀνδάνει βία τι [ρέξ]ειν οὐδὲ πιείρας χθονὸς πατρίδος κακοῖσιν ἐσθλοὺς ἰσομοιρίαν ἔχειν.

The contrast is between the things which Solon did and the things (ἄλλα) which he did not do, but which the demos on the one hand, and the aristocracy on the other, wanted him to do. Therefore read

ἄλλα δ' οὐ μάτην ξερδον. **JBB., W.**

Would it not make better sense to read τᾶλλα δ' οὐ μάτην 'the rest of my actions (as distinguished from the mere fulfilment of promises) were reasonable'? **JBM.**

[Bergk gives αἰ in the quotation from Aristides, but apparently the MSS. of the latter have οὐ.] **K.]**

P. 30, l. 7. Read ἀνδάνει βίᾳ τι κινεῖν. **JBB.** ἦνδανεν. **HR.** ἄνδανεν. **Β.**

P. 30, l. 12. As Mr. Kenyon informs me that the MS. may be read νηγαγον at the end of this line, it is clear we should read

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν εἵνεκα ξυνήγαγον
δήμον.

How to fill up the rest I cannot guess satisfactorily. The meaning should be 'On the one hand I gathered together the people, and on the other refrained from making myself tyrant.' Compare *Politics* iii. 14 ἡ διὰ τὸ συναγαγεῖν [τὸ πλῆθος] . . . ἐγίνοντο βασιλεῖς ἐκόντων. **AP.** ἀξονήλατον cannot be satisfactorily explained. Some word meaning 'enslaved' would suit the δουλευόντων πρότερον above. There may have been a word ξενήλατον or ξυγήλατον, and we might read οὔνεκα ξυγήλατον. ξυγηφόρον, which does exist, is further from the text. **GEM.** I conjecture Ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων εἶν' ἐκ' ἀξονήλατον | δήμον τίων (?) τῶν πρὶν τυχῶν ἔπαυσάμην (νῦν!) or ἐλυσάμην (ἐρρυσάμην?). ἔπαυσάμην is certainly wrong. **W.** Perhaps ἀξονήλατον—τί—τυχεῖν. The Berlin papyrus has -σαμαν, what precedes being illegible. **Β.** Can there be an allusion to the *revolving* ἄζονες on which the Laws of Solon were engraved? If so, ἀξονηλατῶν (from ἀξονηλατέω) would be a poetical synonym for νομοθετῶν, and would be taken with ἔπαυσάμην; or perhaps we should read οὔνεκα ξενήλατον = 'treated like a stranger and banished.' See l. 8 of this fragment. **T.**

P. 30, l. ult. For τυχῶν, read τυχεῖν. **T.** [Possible. **K.**]

P. 31, l. 8. Read χρειωθς, comparing © 57. **Β.**

P. 31, last line. The MS. gives

ει γαρ ηθελον
αυτοις εναντιο[ισι]ν ηνδανεν τοτε
αυθις δε αυτοισιν ουτεραι φρασαιατο
πολλων αν ανδρων ηδ εχηρωθη πολις.

In 32 the MSS. of Aristides, who quotes the same passage, give ἂ τοῖς for αὐτοῖς: in 33 αὐθις δ' ἂ τοῖσιν ἀτέροις absurdly. The letters of the papyrus point to αὐθις δ' ἂ τοῖσι θήτέρα or θάτέρα. For φρασαιατο the MSS. of Aristides give δρᾶσαι διά. It seems probable that in -ατο of the papyrus the first two letters are a corruption of ΔΙ (into ΑΤ), and that the whole verse ran originally thus:

αὐθις δ' ἂ τοῖσι θάτέρα δρᾶσαι δίχα.

δίχα, Ahrens and O. Schneider, 'Had I been

willing to carry out separately what at the time was the wish of the opposite party, and again what pleased those on the other side.' **E.**

P. 32, ll. 1, 2. τότε may be defended by p. 30, l. 3. Is ποεῖν admissible in Ionic verse? δίχα is no gloss but a conjecture of O. Schneider's. **AP.**

P. 32, l. 2. Probably we should read

αὐθις δ' ἂ τοῖσδ' ἂν ἄτεροι φρασάιατο. **T.**

P. 32, l. 4. ἀλκὴν ποιούμενος seems to be right; compare Sophocles *O. C.* 459. **AP.**

P. 32, l. 6. For αὐτ[οῦ] read αὐτῶν. **Β.**

P. 33, l. 5. καὶ πάλιν ἔτι πέμπτω *τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀρχαίαν* ἐποίησαν. The editor's suggestion, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐποίησαν, gives the required sense, but does not explain the corruption. Read τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίας. The omission of one *an* caused the corruption. ἀναρχία is the negative of ἀρχή, 'archonship' (cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* ii. 3, 1). **JBB.** Surely the evidence points rather to ἡ αὐτὴ αἰτία ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησεν (HΔΥΤΗΔΙΤΙΑΔΑΝΑΡΧΙΑΝΕΠΟΙΗCEN)? **R.** The emendation already proposed, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν ἐποίησαν, is neat, if the phrase can be maintained, but it appears to me to be rightly questioned. τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχίας ἐποίησαντο occurred to me, but I am inclined rather to propose διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀναρχοὶ ἦσαν. The first corruption, whence the rest followed, may have been the repetition of ἀναρχοί, so that αἰτιαναναρχοιαναρχοισαν was produced. **GEM.** For αἰτίαν ἀρχαίαν read ἔτι ἀναρχίαν. **Β.**

P. 36, l. 4. οἱ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἐζήτουν Perhaps ἐζήλουν here and on p. 93, l. 6. **JBB.**

P. 36, l. 6. προσεκεκόσμητο δὲ τοῖτοις οἷ τε ἀ[φ]ηρημένοι τὰ χρέα κ.τ.λ. Read προσενέμηντο. The word is often used of attaching oneself to a certain party or person. Cp. Dem. *Ol.* ii. 29 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσενέμυσθε οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους, Dem. (i) *Er.* iii. 2 τότε ταῖς τοῦ δήμου προαιρέσεσι προσένειμεν ἐαντόν, Dem. (i) *Aristog.* i. 43 οὐ σωφρονοῦσι προσνέμοντες αὐτοὺς τούτῳ. **SHB.**

P. 36, l. 6. Has δοκιμώτατος εἶναι δοκῶν been inserted from p. 37, l. 1? **R.**

P. 36, l. 10. κατάπανυσιν for κατάστασιν. **W.** κατάλυσιν. **Β., HR., WRP.** κατάλυσιν MS. **K.**

P. 39, l. 1. ἐπέραινειν οὐθέν. **Β.**

P. 41, last line. τότε πρῶτον (cf. 58, 5). **Β.**

P. 42, l. 11. [φωνῇ δ' ἐξεκκλησι]ασεν μικρόν.

The restoration is certainly wrong. The alternative expressions are μικρόν or φωνή μικρά, and the verb should be ἐδημηγόρησε or ἐφώνησε, or something of that kind. Is the α certain? I cannot discover from the facsimile. **JBB.** Read [ἐπίτηδες δ' ἐφώνη]σε μικρόν. The facsimile at least shows no sign of a in -ασεν. It may be observed that Polyaeus does not seem to have had before him the same text of the *Const. of Athens*. **T.** [φωνῶν δ' ἐξεκλήσι]ασεν μικρόν for φωνή. **W.** [I don't think there is much doubt about the α. **K.**]

P. 43, l. 12. ὥστε δια[μπε]ρὲς ἐγεωργοῦντο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει κ.τ.λ. This adverb and the middle verb are, of course, impossible. The MS. has ἐγεωργονται. Possibly ὥστε ἰδὺς ἀγροὺς ἐγεώργουν. καὶ τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει κ.τ.λ. **JBB.** I would suggest ὥστε διετέλουν γεωργοῦντες, and ἀγροίοις for ἀ[πο]ροι[s] in the previous line. **St.**

P. 44, l. 11. ἀπεκρίνατο <αὐτὸν> ἀγνοῶν. **W.**

P. 44, l. 15. ἐπηρείας ἡσυχίαν. **B.**

P. 44, l. 20. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων ἦν [τῶν ἀρεσκο]μένων. Perhaps τῶν προσαγομένων or προσαγομένων, as προσάγεσθαι exactly means *sibi conciliare*. After [τῶν προσαγο-]μένων I suppose τὸν δῆμον to have fallen out of the archetype before τὸ δημοτικόν. **T.**

P. 44, last line. ὁ δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος φοβηθεὶς ἔλιπεν. Read ἐξέλιπεν. Cf. 12, 4 ἐκλείπει [τὴν σύν]οδον; Deinarchus, 3, 98 τοῦ νῦν ἐκλελοιπότες τὴν κρίσιν; Plat. *Laws*, xii. 943 A. εἰ δὲ τις ἐκλείπη τινὶ κάκῃ μὴ στρατηγῶν ἀφέντων. **HR.**

P. 44, last line. ἔμεινε [τυραννῶν. Rather ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ on account of the following ἐκπέσοι . . . ἐπελάμβανε. **W.**, **B.**

P. 45, l. 4. καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπεφύκει καλῶς. Read ἀμφοτέρως, viz. τὰς ὀμιλίας καὶ τὰς βοηθείας. **W.**

P. 45, l. 7. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ μάλιστα καθ[ήκ]ων πρὸς τῆς τυραννίδος. This is untranslatable. The MS. has πρὸς τ(ην) τ(ης) τυραννίδος. Perhaps read καθήκων πρὸς προστάτας τ. The law referred both to the tyrant himself and to those who were chiefly instrumental in establishing a tyranny. προστάται (almost 'ringleaders') covers both. For the expression cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 1, 36—προστάται γενόμενοι τῆς εἰρήνης. **JBB.** Perhaps καθ[απ-τόμενοι]ος. **WRP.**

P. 45, l. 10 ff. Read perhaps ἐπι<χειροῦντι or -τιθεμένω> τυραννίδι κτέ. Cf. 38. **W.**

P. 45, l. 17. ληροῦσι<ν οἷ> φάσκοντες? **W.**

P. 46, l. 1. ἦσαν δὲ δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς γαμετῆς . . . δύο δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀργείας κ.τ.λ. This would imply that the Argive Timonassa was only a concubine of Pisistratus; but the author knew that she was his wife, for in the next

sentence he tells us so—ἐγγημεν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. The opposition is clearly between the first wife and the second. Read, therefore, ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γαμετῆς (or τῆς γαμετῆς τῆς πρώτης). The corruption (in either case) was due to the homoioteleuton της. **JBB.** τῆς <Ἀττικῆς> γαμετῆς. **W.**

P. 46, l. 8. ἐπὶ Παλληνίδι, as in 42, 5. **B.** [ἐπὶ in MS. **K.**]

P. 46, l. 9. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους ἐνέστη φίλια καὶ συνεμαχέσαντο χίλιοι τὴν ἐν Παλληνίδι μάχην Πεισιστράτον κομίσαντος. It was pointed out in the last number that κομίσαντος was an unsuitable word to use of Pisistratus himself. It is rightly used of an ally or subordinate, as in Herod. i. 61, speaking of this very expedition, Λύγδαμος προθυμὴν πλείστην παρέιχετο κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας. By changing the first three letters of Πεισιστράτον we get the name of one closely connected with Argos and likely to have brought an Argive reinforcement, viz. Hegesistratus, the son of Timonassa, P.'s Argive wife. The only question is whether he was old enough to do this, as he is stated in l. 17 to have been much younger than his brothers. We learn however from Herod. v. 94 that within eight years from this time he was old enough to be placed in charge of Sigeum by his father, and that he successfully defended it against the Mytilenaeans; and in l. 10 we read that P. married Timonassa during his first exile (B.C. 555–551). [The other report, οἱ δὲ κατέχοντα τὴν ἀρχήν, is consistent with the marriage having taken place either before or after.] It would be in accordance with these facts if we assume his age to have been about sixteen when the battle of Pallene was fought; and this would make him some fifteen years younger than Hippias and Hipparchus, who are said (Her. i. 61) to have been young men when P. married the daughter of Megacles in 551 B.C. [I use Mr. Kenyon's dates.] **JBM.** The MS. is a little blurred, but I believe now that the reading is Ἡγησιστράτον. **K.**

P. 46, l. 11. μὲν τῶν. **B.** **HR.**

P. 46 (*ad extrem.*). The editor makes a difficulty about the antecedent of ἀφ' οὗ. Is not οὗ neuter? **JBB.** [There can be little doubt that οὗ is neuter, but the historical difficulty still remains, for we can only explain it to mean that the insolent character of Thettalus was the cause of the misfortunes of his race; and we can hardly understand the following ἐρασθεὶς of any one but Thettalus.] Θετταλὸς —ἰβριστής is out of place and perhaps a gloss. **W.**

P. 47, l. 3. ἐνεσημῆαινε τὸ πικρόν. Read ἐνεσημαίνετο τὸ π. **HR.**

P. 47, l. 11. κατερχόμενος (descendens ex arce) for μετερχόμενος. **W.**

P. 48, l. 15. ἀλλ' ὁ λεγόμενος λόγος . . . οὐκ ἀληθής ἐστιν. But the MS. has αληθές. Read οὐ τὰληθές. **JBB.**

P. 48, l. 16. οὐ γὰρ ἔπεμπον τότ' ἐμεθ' ὄπλων for ἐπέμποντο (with **R.**, **WRP.** and **HR.**): against Thuc. VI. 58 μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν, which is thus shown to be genuine. So πρὸ τῆς συλλήψεως (48) confirms the reading πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι, Thuc. I. 21, which was doubted by Cobet, **B.**

P. 49, l. 3. ἐμῆννει, rather μνηύων. **W.**

P. 49, l. 5. πείσας αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰππῖαν δοῦναι τὴν δεξιάν. Read αὐτῷ. **JBB.**

P. 50, l. 8. The third line of the *scolion* does not scan. Read ἀγαθούς τε καὶ εὐπατριδᾶν. **T.**

Bergk has suggested τε χάμ' and τ' ἐτῆ τ', and I have thought of γένει τ'. But it seems much more likely that τε καὶ was an insertion made to fill the place of some quite dissimilar word which fell out. I would read

ἀγαθ<οὺς, καλ>οὺς, εὐπατριδας. **JBB.**

[The *scolion* is given in the same form by Athenaeus, Suidas, and the Etym. Magn. **K.**]

P. 50, l. 12. There is apparently a lacuna here. The passage perhaps originally stood thus: ὅθεν [εἰδοκιμήσαντες, τὴν Πυθίαν] εὐτρεπίσαντο χρήμασι. The words in brackets were omitted by a copyist's error, and εὐτ. χρήμασι conjecturally altered to εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων. **WRP.**

Ib. l. 16. εἰς τοῦτ' εὐθέως προὔτρεψε τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. Read perhaps εἰς τοῦτο δ' ὁ θεὸς προὔτρεψε κ.τ.λ. **JBB.** Is not this too much of a repetition of ἡ Πυθία προέφερεν? If we make a slight change and read καὶ εἰς τοῦτ' ὁ θεὸς προὔτρεψε, we merely touch on it in passing to the more important cause συνεβάλλετο κ.τ.λ. **JBM.** For εὐθέως perhaps εὐθέτως, 'conveniently,' 'easily.' There may be a contrast between the comparative facility with which she prevailed on the Spartiates, and the greater difficulty experienced in urging on the other Laeonians. **T.** εἰς τοῦτ' ἔως, cf. Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 1153. **B.**

P. 50, l. 18. συνεβάλλετο. συνεβάλετο? **HR.**

P. 52, l. 6. ἡττούμενος, cf. Herod. v. 66. **B.**

P. 53, l. 16. ἐπίστενον ὁ δῆμος τῷ Κλεισθέει. ὁ δῆμος is clearly a gloss. **JBB.** So **R.**

P. 56, l. 1. ἀναγορεύουσιν. ? προσαγορεύουσιν. **HR.**

P. 56, l. 7. προσηγόρευσε δὲ τῶν δῆμων τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν κτισάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπῆρχον ἐτι τοῖς τόποις. The editor suggests that ἅπασι should be read. Palaeographically οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες <οἱ κτισαντες> ὑπῆρχον κ.τ.λ. would be a neat correction. All the original founders were not extant in local memories. On the other hand, if it is meant that some places were nameless, we might read ἅπασιν ὑπῆρχ' ὀνόματα τοῖς τόποις. **JBB.**

P. 57, l. 6. τότ' ἐδ' ἄλλους. **B.**

P. 57, l. 9. Read Ἑρμοκρέοντος. **R.**

P. 60, l. 1. For τοῖς read τότε. **B.** See above, p. 168.

P. 64, l. 7. κατ' ἐδέξαντο for ἀπεδέξαντο. **W.**

P. 64, l. 8. Ὑψηχίδου for Ὑψιχίδου. **W.**

P. 65, l. 2. αὐξανομένη? **HR.**

P. 66, l. 5. πολεμικά. **B.**

P. 66, l. 8. Read ἀπὸ τῆς . . . συμμαχίας. **W.** See above, p. 168.

P. 67, l. 8. Should we not read δεσποτικώτερον for δεσποτικωτέρως? **R.**

P. 67, last line but one. For φόρων, which seems to be merely repeated in συμμάχων, read perhaps εἰσφορῶν. **LW.**

P. 68, l. 9. ἄλλαι δὲ νῆες αἱ τοὺς φόρους ἄγουσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κυάμου δισχιλίους ἄνδρας. A participle is required for ἄνδρας, and its disappearance is easily explained if we recognise that αἱ τοὺς φόρους ἄγουσαι is an adscript. The original words were ἄλλαι δὲ νῆες δέκα φέρουσιν τοὺς κ.τ.λ. The next stage was ἄλλαι δὲ νῆες (αἱ τοὺς φόρους ἄγουσαι) δέκα, φέρουσιν, whence, owing to homoioteleuton ἄλλαι δὲ νῆες αἱ τοὺς φόρους ἄγ<ουσαι> δέκα φέρ<ουσαι>. **JBB.** For φόρους read φορολόγους. **T.** φρουρούς, cf. p. 154. **B.** Is the word lost before ἄγουσαι the participle συλλέγουσαι? **R.**

P. 68, l. 12. Perhaps διασίτησις for διοίκησις. **W.**

P. 71, l. 7. ἐφ' αἰρεθέντας for ἀφ' αἰρεθέντας; cf. Thuc. IV. 38. **W.** See above, p. 164.

P. 73, l. 10. ἀλλ' ἢ ἔκτω. **B.**

P. 76, l. 10. For δικασταῖς read δικαστηριοῖς, as in p. 75. **B.**

P. 76, l. 11. ἀφ' ὧν αἰτιῶνται τινες χεῖρω γενέσθαι. A subject for γενέσθαι is wanted — something like τὰ κατὰ τὰ δικαστήρια. **JBB.**

P. 78, l. 7. I should now say that διεδίδον is quite corrupt, and has replaced some such phrase as διετέλει δημαγωγῶν with which κατέλυσε will very well agree in the sense of 'deposed.' **R.** καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα διεδίδον. Perhaps διωβολίαν ἐδίδον (*scil.* Kleophon). **JBB.** See above, p. 169a.

P. 82, l. 7. ἢ ζημιοὶ ἢ προσκαλῆται ἢ εἰσάγη

η εἰς δικαστήριον. So MS. ; the editor omits η before εἰς. Read ἡ ἄλλῃ εἰς δικαστήριον, a formal pleonasm. **JBB.**

P. 84, ll. 2, 3. For τῶν ἄλλων ὁσίων read τῶν ὁσίων οἱ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁσίων. οἱ is meant for οἷ. Ἐλληνοταμίαις appears to be an error for ταμίαις. We want a word like ταμίαις to govern χρημάτων, and the mention of the Hellenotamiae is absolutely inconsistent with lines 8, 9, besides their being out of place between the treasurers of the ἱερά and those of the ὅσια χρήματα. **HR.**

P. 86, l. 6. Surely εὐρόμενος is the tense demanded, not εὑρισκόμενος. **T., HR.**

P. 88, l. 3. ὅταν τοῖς ἀστοῖς γίγνηται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βουλευέν. Perhaps we should read τοῖς αὐτοῖς, 'the same senators, the old members.' We find (p. 156) that the office of senator was the only civil office which could be held twice. **T.**

P. 90, l. 3. ἡττηθέντες δὲ κτέ. The subject Ἀθηναῖοι is lost. **Ψ. HR.**

P. 90, l. 12. γιγνομένοις. **Β.**

P. 91, l. 4. τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικῶντας. Read τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. **T.**

P. 91, l. 7. διὰ τοὺς παροργίσαντας, a very doubtful form. Read either ὀργίσαντας or παροργμήσαντας. **JBB.**

P. 91, l. 10. οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν ἀν' ἐξαπατηθέντες as in 95, 7. **Ψ.**

P. 93, l. 1. διασώζειν for διασώσκειν. **Ψ., Β.**

P. 93, last line. ἐκ τῶν χιλίων should perhaps go out, as a gloss written by some one who had a confused recollection of a χίλιοι in other states, such as the χίλιοι λογάδες at Argos, or of similar numbers in Plato's *Laros*. **GEM.** Om. ἐκ τῶν. **Ψ.**

P. 95. εἰ μὴ μανίων ἢ γῆρων ἢ γυναικί πειθομένοις. I imagine ἢ has fallen out, either after μὴ, μὴ [ἢ] μανίων, or before ἢ γῆρων. That μανίων is possibly a participle like γῆρων is not quite disproved by the fact that in Demosth. 1133 it is undeniably a genitive plural. **E.**

P. 95, l. 10. ἀπέκτεινον. **Β.**

P. 96, l. 11. τῶν <ἐγ>γεγραμμένων, as in 107, 9 ὅταν δ' ἐ<γ>γράφωνται, and 121, 12 ἐντεῦθεν <ἐγ>γγράπται οἱ ἐνταῦθ' ἐγγέγραπται. **Ψ.**

P. 97, l. 9. Om. ἦ. **Ψ.**

P. 99, l. 6. Om. μέν. **Β.**

P. 99, l. 7. Δημίμακρον. **Β.**

P. 99, l. 14. αὐτοὺς for αὐτήν. **Ψ., Β.**

P. 101, l. 5. τιμητὰς ἐλέσθαι πρεῖς ἐκατέρων. Read ἐκάτερον (cf. τὸν κεκτημένον, l. 3). **JBB., HR.**

P. 101, l. 13. ἀπογράφηται. **Β.**

P. 101, l. 15. Perhaps εἰ τίς τινα ἀὐτοχρεῖα ἐπὶ τίσει χειρὶ σώαι for αυτοχρεῖα ἐκτίσει ιερώσας. **Ψ.**

P. 102, l. 6. ἐπινοούντων μὲν. **Β.**

P. 102, l. 9. συνιδὼν τὸ πλῆθος is hardly right. Perhaps συνιδὼν τὸ πλῆ<θους πά>θος. **JBB.**

P. 103, l. 13. For ἄμα read ὅλως δὲ, comparing 35, 4. **Β.**

P. 104, l. 12. Om. ἦ. **Β.**

P. 104, l. 13. συνοικησάντων, cf. p. 171. **Β.**

P. 104, last line. Read for συνενεμήθησαν either διεν. or κατεν. **HR.**

P. 105, l. 2. δευτέρα δὲ καὶ πρώτη μετὰ ταῦτα [ἐξ]έχουσα πολιτείας τάξις ἢ ἐπὶ Θησέως γενομένη. MS. πολιτειαν ταξιν. Read κατέχουσα πολιτείαν τάξις. **JBB.**

P. 106, l. 3. ὀγδόη δ' ἢ τῶν τετρακοσίων κατάστασις. MS. ὀγδοήν. Read ὀγδόη δ' ἦν. **JBB.**

P. 106, last line but one. σοφίζομένων. **Β.**

P. 108, l. 11. ἡ μὴ ἐλεύθερος seems to have been lost after ἐτῶν. **Ψ.**

P. 109, l. 2. [εἰ]τα (or [ἐπει]τα) δὲ τῶν φυλετῶν κτέ. **Ψ.**

P. 109, l. 6. οὕτω διεξάγουσι. **Β.**

P. 109, l. 7. γενομένης with Harp. **Β.**

P. 110, l. 8. Something seems to have been lost after ἐπιμελητοῦ in reference to καταλογεῖς (cap. 49), γραμματεῖς τοῦ δήμου (cap. 54), and μυστηρίων ἐπιμεληταί (cap. 57). **Ψ.**

P. 111, l. 10. καὶ ὅτι ἐν ἐκάστη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ὅτι οὐ καθήκει οὗτοι προγράφουσι. The fourth and fifth letters of καθήκει are uncertain. Perhaps καθέξει. κατέχω might well have been a technical word in the sense required. **JBB.**

P. 112, l. 12. κὰν for ἐὰν. **Β.**

P. 113, l. 3. τρία δ' ὁσίων should come close to χρηματίζειν. **Ψ.**

P. 116, l. 5. Omit τ' as in 100, 2. **HR., Β.**

P. 117, l. 10. καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν εἶχεν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυπάνου. Perhaps ἔσχεν rather than εἶχεν. **JBB.** [Possible. **K.**]

P. 119, l. 8. εἰς ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς. Read ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης. **JBB.**

P. 120, l. 6. καὶ τῶν [προδοτῶν]? **Ψ.**

P. 120, l. 9. We should probably read τὸν [πριάμενον καὶ ὁπόσον ἂν] πρήτται. **T.**

P. 120, l. 17. At the end supply [ῶν]. **WRP.**

P. 120, l. 20. παραδίδωσι, not κατακυροῖ, should be, I think, restored. **WRP.**

P. 120, l. 20. πριτανείαις ἐ[κ]άτεροι? **Ψ.**

P. 121, l. 3. ἐπιστολίων. Is this 'columns' of the accounts? Cf. 'Glossae Graeco-Latinae,' vol. ii. p. 310 of Götz's *Corpus Glossar. Latin.*, ἐπιστολίον, columnella. Or is it an error for ἐπιστολίων? **E.**

P. 121, l. 11. κὰν τις ἐλλέπη καταβολὴν ἐντεῦθεν γέγραπται. What is the force of ἐντεῦθεν? Read τὸ ἐλλειφθέν. **JBB.**

P. 121, l. 18. The supplement seems to be καὶ [παράδιδω]σιν. **T.**

P. 122, l. 7. For τοῦτον read τὸ αὐτοῦ. **B.** τὸ ἐαυτοῦ (comparing P. 159: 2). **HR.**

P. 122, l. 10. ἀναγνοὺς for ἀκούσας. **B.**

P. 122, ll. 18, 19. The correction of τρέφειν to τρέχειν is suggested by *Eth.* ii. 6, 2—ὁμοίως ἡ τοῦ ἵππου ἀρετὴ ἵππον τε σπονδαῖον ποιεῖ καὶ ἀγαθὸν δρομεῖν καὶ ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν ἐπιβάτην καὶ μῆναι τοὺς πολεμίους. It will be observed that the same passage explains μένεν. **T.**

P. 122, c. 49. Δοκιμάζει δὲ καί, &c. Perhaps we should write this passage as follows: Δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἢ βουλή, κὰν μὲν τις καλ[ῶς ἔχων] κακῶς δοκῇ τρέχειν (MS. τρέφειν), ζημιοὶ τῷ σίτῳ, τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις τρέχειν (MS. [τ]ρέφειν) ἢ μὴ θέλουσι μένεν ἀναδοῦσι (MS. ἀγαγοῦσι, with a correction over να which looks like λγ) τροχὸν ἐπὶ τὴν [ἡνίαν], καὶ ὁ τοῦτο παθὼν ἀδόκιμός ἐστι. **E.**

P. 125, l. 1. Perhaps ἐντὸς ὄρων τοῦ τείχους? Below ὁχευτοὺς μετέωρους εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἔκρουν ἐχ οὐ[σας] ποιεῖν. **W.**

P. 127, l. 3. ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σίτος ἀργὸς ὄνιος ἔσται. We must either read ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἀργὸς σίτος, or regard ἀργός as a gloss. **JBB.** ? ἀργὸς <ὦν> ὄνιος. **K.**

P. 128, l. 11. ἀποδιδῶ. **B.**

P. 128, l. 14. (εἰσὶ δ' ἔμμηνοι) . . . ἔτι δ' αἰκείας καὶ ἑρανικὰς καὶ κοινωνικὰς καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ υποζυγίων καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ τραπέζιτικός. Read ἑρανικαί, κοινωνικαί, τριηραρχικαί, and τραπέζιτικαί. **JBB.**

P. 128, l. 16. αἰκείας; perhaps <ἐμπορ>ικὺς, as in Pollux and Harpokraton. **W.**

P. 130, l. 9. παραδιδάσιν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ φεύγοντος δικάζουσιν. These obscure magistrates are also mentioned on p. 146, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φυλὴν δικάζοντας. If οἱ δικάζοντες was the name by which they were generally known, the genitive τῆς φυλῆς may be right. For ἐπὶ τοῖς perhaps read ἐπιτρόποις τοῖς. **JBB.**

P. 131, l. 1. ἔφηβοι οἱ. **B.**

P. 134, c. 54. πρότερον μὲν οὗτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ *απιστοτάτους* [ἔχει]οτόνουν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς ταῖς συμμαχίαις καὶ προξενίαις καὶ *πολ//εiais* οὗτος ἀναγράφεται· νῦν δὲ γέγονε κληρωτός.

I suspect that ἀπιστοτάτους, 'least liable to seduction,' should be read. Hesych. ἀπιστος· ἀπαράπιστος, ἀπειθής. Σοφοκλῆς Τρωίῳ. In this passage of Hesychius, Nauck, in his *Fragm. Trag. Graecorum*, writes ἀπειστος ἀπαράπειστος. Nauck refers to Lobeck on Ajax, pp. 139, 140. [Or it may be a mere error for ἀρίστους.] The erased letters in πολ//εiais were perhaps the remains of μ followed by π, πομπείας. **E.**

P. 135, l. 3. πολιτείαις is right, 'stelae conferring citizenship.' **WRP.** See above, p. 164.

P. 135, l. 8. οὐδένης... ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀναγνῶναι. Read ἀλλ' ἦ. **W., B., HR.**

P. 137, l. 3. ἐνιαυτῷ γίνεταί. **B.**

P. 140, l. 5. ἕκαστος for ἐκάτερος. **W.**

P. 141, l. 14. ἡγάλισκον = ἀνῆλίσκον. **B.**

P. 142, l. 11. εἰ [πλείονες τὸν αὐτὸν θέλουσιν] ἐπιτρόπον αὐτῶν ἐγγράψαι. **WRP.**

P. 142, last line. I would propose to read καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους, ἐὰν μὴ τροφὴν δῶσι, as the passage quoted from Harpocration seems to suggest. **EHB.**

P. 143, l. 1. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἄρχων. **B.**

P. 143, l. 10. τίθησι. Read διατίθησι. **HR.**

P. 144, l. 10. Should we not read οἱ ἐφέται after ξένον? Otherwise there is no subject for δικάζουσιν in the last line. ἐν τῷ in lines 10 and 13 should perhaps be omitted. **EHB.**

P. 145, l. 2. μὲν wrongly supplied. **B.**

P. 145, ll. 2-6. δικάζουσιν σκοτ[α]ῖοι καὶ υπαίθριοι (Arist. *Politeia*, p. 145). This suggestion has been made by several critics. I daresay it is right, but it should be pointed out that the statement does not refer to the Areopagus. The preceding lines should be thus restored and punctuated: τοῦτ' δ' ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικάζουσιν· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπολογ[εῖται] παρ-ορμισάμενος ἐν πλοίῳ. δικάζουσιν δ' οἱ λαχόντες τα[ῦτα] δικάσται[ς] πλήν τῶν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ γυγνομένων· εἰσάγει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δικάζουσιν κ.τ.λ. ταῦτα here means all the kinds of 'δίκαι φόνου καὶ τραύματος' which have been enumerated. λαχόντες ἐφέται is, of course, impossible, and indeed the ἐφέται have no place here, as they had disappeared before Aristotle's time. The statement in question, then, refers to a procedure modelled on that of the ἐφέται, which may again have corresponded to that of the Areopagus. **WRP.**

P. 145, l. 3. Full stop after πλοίῳ. **B.**

P. 145, l. 9. καὶ οὐδεὶς τὴν α[ιτί]αν δύναται ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ. Read δ[ε]ξίαν. **W.**

P. 147, l. 15. πάντα δικαστήρια. Read τὰ for πάντα. **HR.**

P. 149, l. 13. ἀργύρια καὶ χρυσία for χρυσά. **W.**

P. 151, l. 3. ἐκκηρύξαι, see Lys. iii. 45. **B.**

P. 152, l. 6. γίνεται <καὶ> τούτων. **W.**

P. 155, l. 4. [ὀβολὸς π]ροστίθεται. Om. δέκα προστίθενται (which arose from ἱπποσ-ΤΙΘΕΤΑΙ, where ἱ stands for the obolos). **B.**

	I	II.	III	IV
α	δ α δ	α	α α λ	α α λ α λ
β	β β β β	β	β	β β
γ	γ γ γ γ	γ	γ γ	γ γ
δ	Δ Δ	Δ	Δ Δ	Δ Δ
ε	ν ρ ε	ε ρ	ν ρ ν ρ	ν ρ ε ρ ν ε
ζ	ζ ζ	ζ	ζ	ζ ζ ζ ζ
η	υ γ ρ η η η η	η η η η	η η γ	η η η η η
θ	θ θ θ	θ	θ θ	θ θ θ
ι	ι	ι	ι	ι
κ	κ κ	κ	κ κ κ	κ κ κ
λ	λ γ λ γ α δ	α λ α λ	λ η γ (κ λ)	λ γ
μ	μ μ μ	μ μ	μ μ	μ μ μ
ν	ν η γ π	ν ν	ν ν ω, ν (ω γ)	ν ν γ ν
ξ	ξ ξ	Ξ	ξ	ξ ξ
ο	ο ο	ο	ο, ρ (το)	ο ο
π	π π π π ω (α π)	π	π π π	π π π π π
ρ	ρ ρ ρ	ρ	ρ ρ ρ	ρ ρ ρ
σ	σ ρ σ	σ	σ σ σ	σ σ σ σ
τ	τ τ τ τ (π τ) το (το)	τ τ	τ τ τ τ	τ τ τ
υ	υ υ υ υ	τ	υ υ	υ υ
φ	φ φ	φ φ	φ δ	φ φ φ
χ	χ χ	χ	χ	χ
ψ	ψ	ψ	ψ ψ	ψ ψ
ω	ω ω	ω	ω	ω ω ω

[We are glad to be allowed to insert the preceding Alphabet, which cannot fail to be of great use to those who are interesting themselves in the text of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. It contains the ordinary forms of the letters in each of the four hands in which the papyrus is written; I being found in cols. 1—12, II in cols. 13—20, III in cols. 21—24 together with the fragments at the end, IV in cols. 25—30.]

UN-ARISTOTELIAN WORDS AND PHRASES.

I follow the example of the editor of the *Classical Review* in putting down a few things that have struck me as departures from Aristotelian usage. Of course I have trusted mainly to the Berlin Index. I have put a * to the things for which some sort of parallel seems forthcoming.

P. 3, l. 14. τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἵστασαν. Not an Aristotelian phrase: read perhaps καθίστασαν.

*P. 7, l. 11, and p. 129, l. 10. αὐτοτελείς. Not used by Aristotle in a political sense.

*P. 9, l. 3. κυρίως. Often as Aristotle uses κύριος of political or judicial authority, and fond as he is of κυρίως in certain senses, he seems never to use the adverb in a political or judicial sense.

P. 12, l. 4. εἰ δέ τις..., ὅταν ἔδρα...ῆ, ἐκλείποι τὴν σύνοδον, ἀπέτινον κ.τ.λ. Is there any parallel for this syntax? Can it be right?

P. 13, l. 7. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἦσαν δεδεμένοι. The figurative use of δεδεμένος, like 'nexus,' seems to have no parallel in any author. See list of emendations.

P. 14, l. 2. τὴν ἐλεγείαν. Aristotle uses τὰ ἐλεγεία. ἐλεγεία is quoted from late authors only.

P. 48, l. 10. οἱ καὶ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἦσαν. Cf. the emendation of φύσει for ῥήσει in p. 14, l. 8. Aristotle does not use φύσις in this way and, as a friend points out to me, he expressly contrasts φύσις and γένος in *Pol.* i. 12, 1259b, 14. τὰ πράγματα for 'fortune,' 'position,' in p. 14, l. 9, is not Aristotelian either.

*P. 16, l. 12. τοὺς νόμους ὑποποιησάμενον. *Pol.* viii. 4, 1303 b, 24, is hardly parallel.

P. 19, l. 7. τελεῖν πεντακοσιομέδιμον. Is not this quite an unusual phrase?

P. 28, l. 17. παραλλάξας δόξης, if right, seems also unusual. [Plato has οἶον τοσότῃν φαῖλον παραλλάξαι τοῦ σκοποῦ, *Theaet.* 194 A, cf. *Leg.* xii. 957 B.]

P. 50, l. 18. συνεβάλλετο δ' οὐκ ἐλαχίστην

μοῖραν κ.τ.λ. The phrase is Platonic, but μοῖρα = μέρος seems unknown to Aristotle.

P. 51, l. 6. προσοργισθέντες τῷ γενομένῳ. L. and S. quote προσοργίζομαι only from Plutarch and Josephus.

P. 55, l. 2. ἀναμίσγεσθαι is an Ionic form. But Aristotle uses the verb (though not the form) in the very similar passage, *Pol.* vii. 1, 1319b, 25.

P. 50, l. 14. ἡ δὲ Πυθία προέφερεν αἰεὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρηστηριαζομένοις ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας. προέφερεν ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας is taken from Herod. v. 63, 1 προφέρειν σφι τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλευθεροῦν. προφέρειν is not Attic in this sense. χρηστηριαζέσθαι is not Attic, but constant in Herod. αἰεὶ is not an Attic form, but in this text it occurs often. Is this lapse into Ionisms Aristotelian? [Other instances in which the language of the original authority has been preserved are the following: P. 41, l. 5. παραιβατούσης, used of the same incident by Cleidemus (fl. 460 B.C.) *ap.* Ath. xiii. 609, where also we are told that Phye was a στεφανόπωλις. P. 39, last line, is taken word for word from Herod. i. 60 περιελαυνόμενος τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλής. P. 39, l. 8. οὐπω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐρριζωμένης reminds us of Herod. i. 60 τὴν τυραννίδα οὐκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπόλετο. See also the passages referred to in Mr. Kenyon's note on c. 20. This close resemblance may serve to confirm the reading καταγούσης in p. 40, l. 4 (for which καταξούσης has been suggested), as we read in Herod. i. 60 προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, bidding the Athenians receive into their acropolis the man whom αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη κατάγει, and (immediately after) ἐς τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπέκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει.—ED.]

P. 57, l. 7. στοχαζόμενον τοῦ πλήθους. Aristotle is fond of στοχαζεσθαι, but never, I think, uses it in this way—always of an end to be gained. [It is found in Plato, *Laches*, 178 B στοχαζόμενοι ('desiring to please') τοῦ συμβουλευομένου ἄλλα λέγουσι παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν, and Polyb. vi. 16, 1 ἡ σύγκλητος ἀναγκάζεται προσέχειν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ στοχαζεσθαι τοῦ δήμου, *ib.* 5.—ED.]

*P. 69, l. 4. πολιτεία...ὑποφερομένη. Cf. 95, 16. Not used in this way.

P. 73, l. 7. τοὺς ἐπικεῖς καὶ τοὺς δήμους καὶ τῶν εὐπόρων. Aristotle is fond of ἐπικεῖς, but always opposes οἱ ἐπικεῖς to οἱ πολλοί, ὁ δῆμος, &c. For two or three reasons I think this clause may be an 'adscript.'

P. 80, l. 5. ἀμφισβήτησις τῆς κρίσεως ἐστὶ ἀ. occurs often in Aristotle, but not ἀ. τῆς κρίσεως.

P. 87, l. 7. τὸ νῦν εἶναι. Does Aristotle use any of the phrases with εἶναι?

P. 95, l. 6. *κακοπράγμονας*, 'mischievous.' Not an Aristotelian word.

P. 96, l. 9. *ὑπερεβάλλοντο*, 'postponed.' *ὑ* is very rare in this sense in Attic, but occurs twice in the *Rhet. ad Alex.* Aristotle uses *ἀναβάλλεσθαι*, *Rhet.* iii. 10, 1411b, 14, and that word occurs in this treatise, p. 102, l. 6.

P. 97, l. 3. *ὁ μὲν εἰς (νόμος)...ὁ δ' ἕτερος*. Is *ὁ μὲν εἰς* either Aristotelian or Attic? (I have since found *ὁ μὲν εἰς* in *Pol.* viii. 11, 1314a, 30, but it is rather different there, as referring to *ἄτερος* in 1313a, 34.)

P. 99, l. 12. *ἐσπούδαζον μὴ κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς*. Any example of this construction? [In *Xen. Hell.* vi. 3, 11 we have *ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις γενέσθαι*.—ED.]

P. 122, l. 18. *κὰν μὲν τις καλῶς ἔχων κακῶς δοκῇ τρέφειν* (*i.e.* ἵππον). If the text is right, *κ. ἔχων* is used in the very unusual sense of 'being well off.' But no doubt *τρέχειν*, which had occurred to me as well as to others, is to be received.

*Pp. 124, l. 8, and 143, l. 11. *ὡς ἔπος*

εἰπεῖν. The *Index Aristotelicus*, giving innumerable instances of *ὡς εἰπεῖν*, gives only one of *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, *Mel.* iii. 5, 1009b, 16.

P. 147, l. 17. *κυροῦσι*. The only parallel is quoted by Steph. Byz. from Ἀριστοτέλης *ἐν τῇ Τενεδίων πολιτείᾳ*. Neither does Aristotle use the substantive *κῦρος*, which occurs in this treatise, p. 94, l. 9. But read perhaps *κατακυροῦσι* as in p. 17, l. 6, and p. 120, l. 2.

P. 150, l. 4. *πολεμεῖ*, 'conducts the war.' Any parallel?

H. RICHARDS.

The phrase *ὅτε μὲν...ὅτε δέ*, which is so common in the *Politics*, does not, I believe, occur in this treatise.

J. B. MAYOR.

Another argument against Aristotelian authorship may be drawn from the use of *μέλλω*. Aristotle almost invariably uses the future infinitive after *it*, the author of this treatise the present (pp. 21, 47, 71).

ARTHUR PLATT.

THE NEW FRAGMENTS OF THE *ANTIOPÉ*.

Fr. B 4. I prefer *ἵκται δὲ πάντως εἰς τοσόνδε συμφορᾶς* ('matters have in any case reached...') [So also Prof. Campbell.]

Fr. B 4. The construction is perhaps more probably of this kind:

*καὶ σοὶ μὲν οὕτω, μήτερ, ἔξανδῶ τάδε·
σέ δ' ὅς τὸ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρος ναίεις πέδον
αἰτῶ τοσοῦτον...*

Fr. C (left col.) 10, *ἀλαλάζετ' ὦ μέγα...* The letters at the end of the line suggest *ἀνασειώ μέλος* (cf. *Ar. Ach.* 347 *ἐμέλλετ' ἄρ' ἅπαντες ἀνασειῶν βοῆν*), but metre perhaps refuses it.

Fr. C (left col.) 13. In view of the reading of this line in Stobaeus, I feel very sure that *ΑΙΜΑΤΟC* is merely an error (whether of the MS. or not) for *ΔΙΚΑ ΤΟΙ*.

Fr. C (right col.) 50, *ἐκλιποῦσ' ἐδώλια* should be considered.

Fr. C (right col.) 51, *..τεῖχος? οὐ τειχοποιῶν?*

Fr. C (right col.) 56, *καὶ λέκτρ' ὁ μὲν Θηβαῖα λήψεται γάμων* (cf. *Phoen.* 59 *τάμὰ λέκτρα μητρῶν γάμων*).

W. HEADLAM.

EURIPIDES, *Antiope*, *Fragm.* C. (1) ll. 43, 44, published by Professor Mahaffy in *Hermathena*, Feb. 1891, p. 47:—

NO. XLI. VOL. V.

*χωρεῖτε []ς ἄστν δ' Ἰσμηνοῦ πάρα
ἐπτάσ[τομ]ον πύλαισι[ν] ἐξαρτύετε.*

Read

χωρεῖτε Θήβας, ἄστν δ' Ἰσμηνοῦ πάλιν κ.τ.λ.

(2) *Ib.* ll. 67—71, p. 48:—

*ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν Διὶ
Ἑρμῇ[ι] Ἄρε[ος] εἰς κρήνην [β]αλῶ
γυναικα θάψας τῆσ[]νονσα γῆς
νασμοῖσι τέγγη πεδία Θηβαίας χθονός.*

For ll. 67—69, read—

*ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν Διὶ
Ἑρμῇ πιθόμενος Ἄρεος εἰς κρήνην βαλῶ
γυναικα θάψας, τῇ σ' ὅπως πρὶν οὔσα γῆς
κ.τ.λ.*

J. E. SANDYS.

I venture to suggest that line 11 and a portion of line 12 in the C fragment of *Antiope* should be given to Lycus instead of the Chorus. They seem to be the outcry of one invoking succour.

For the unintelligible *φύσιν* in line 27 I would propose *τὴν ταλαίπωρον φορὰν*.

R. GARNETT.

NOTES.

VERG. *Aen.* vi. 743.

Quisque suos patimur Manes.

Manes is used by Vergil in two senses: (1) general—the ‘Benign Powers’ of the lower world, e.g. *Georg.* iv. 489 *ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes*; *Aen.* xii. 646 *vos, o mihi Manes | este boni quoniam Superis aversa voluntas*: (2) individual—the ghost or spirit of a dead man. Probably the general meaning is earlier than the other: the plural name applied to the individual being best explained by supposing that, as in the idiomatic ‘plural of respect’ the individual is as it were merged in the class to which he belongs, so here the influence of the single spirit is reverentially and with a sense of mystery associated and identified with all those influences of the spirit world, or of its rulers, which are denoted by the collective title of deprecation, *Manes* or ‘Benign Powers.’

We have to do in this passage with the first of these meanings. In no sense could it be said that we endure each of us his own shade (or ghost); and there is no ground for saying that ‘shade’ is put for ‘life’ or ‘doom’ as a shade. Whereas ‘We suffer each for himself the Powers of the other world’ means plainly ‘*The treatment of the Manes is different for each of us*’: *suos Manes* = ‘the Manes in their relation to him,’ i.e. their treatment of him. It is impossible to say *patimur regem*; but *patimur superbum regem* = *patimur superbiam regis*. *Ruptae lectore columnae* would not be Latin: but in *assiduo ruptae lectore columnae* ‘*assiduo lectore*’ = *assiduitate lectoris*. *Curatus inaequali tonsore capillos* ‘trimmed with a barber cutting awry’ is possible because ‘*inaequali tonsore*’ = *inaequalitate* (or *inaequali cultello*) *tonsoris*. *Scriberis Vario fortis...Maeonii carminis alite*, ‘you shall have the epic genius of Varius to record your valour.’ In all these cases, the adjective makes the expression impersonal, as *ademptus Hector* = the loss of Hector. So here: ‘each has his own experience of the Benign Powers of the world beyond the grave, who plague us for our good’; ‘the Manes deal with each of us according to our need, and we abide their dealings.’ So Statius *Theb.* viii. 84 (quoted by Conington) *At tibi quos, inquit, Manes? (sc. attributam)* ‘How are you to be punished?’

In the same context, it seems impossible that *Titania astra* (725) can mean only the sun: no account could be given of the plural. The sense required is ‘the sun and all the stars’; and this may be justified by regarding *Titania* as an attempt to represent in Latin the idiomatic Greek phrase *τὰ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον*.

In favour of transposing the two lines 743, 4, *quisque . . . tenemus*, and putting them after 747, it may be suggested that 743 ends in *igni*, 747 in *ignem*, and that the resemblance deceived the scribe, causing him to omit 745–7, which were afterwards inserted in the wrong place, perhaps because of the

fitness of ‘*Quisque suos patimur Manes*’ after 740–2. The transposition gives a very suitable antithesis between *pauci* (the few elect souls who remain in Elysium) and *omnes* (the souls waiting to return to the upper world): and it delivers us from the alternative of either a needlessly awkward parenthesis, or the supposition that a second purgatorial process goes on in Elysium.

R. WHITELAW.

* * *

SOPHOCLES, *Ajax*, 651 (see *Classical Review*, IV. p. 397, V. p. 66).—I hope it is not sheer obstinacy that makes me adhere to my view about the meaning of this passage, in spite of Mr. Whitelaw’s note. He has not touched upon my chief objections to the interpretation which he supports. These were (and still are): (1) that *βαφή* is everywhere else used of hardening, and seems to have been a recognized metaphor in that sense; (2) that I know of no passage written within 500 years of the time of Sophocles which even suggests any other kind of *βαφή* for iron or steel [I find that in my former note the reference to Blümner is wrongly printed vol. i. for vol. iv.]; (3) that *θηλόνω* is not the word which would be used to express annealing. I cannot but think that the addition of ‘or flexible’ in Mr. Whitelaw’s rendering admits the difficulty of his position. Surely ‘soft or weak’ would more nearly translate *θῆλος*, whereas a word meaning ‘flexible or tough’ would be needed to express the process of annealing. Indeed the very word *θῆλος* might well be used to describe *μάλαξις* and *ἀπαλότης* which are said to be the effect upon iron of fire as contrasted with that of water (*Plut. def. orac.* 47 p. 436 C).

As regards the ‘second immersion’ in modern manufacture, it appears to me from a study of the article which Mr. Whitelaw cites from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that steel is annealed in most cases (exceptions are noted) by *dry* heat and *dry* (i.e. slow and spontaneous) cooling. In modern phrase therefore to use the word ‘immersion’ would be an odd way of distinguishing the annealing process from the hardening, and it would be at least as strange to use *βαφή* for that purpose in Greek, even if we assume that both processes were known so early.

As to the construction, I confess that I see no more difficulty in *βαφή καρτερεῖ* as a dative of cause than in other recognized instances, such as *τελευτᾶν νόσφ.* Sophocles can supply examples of this case that undoubtedly are harsh, but I should not class this among them. Lastly I must demur to the argument from metre. The rhythm, according to the rendering which I prefer, would be decidedly objectionable if the whole sentence ended (with the line) at *στόμα*: but, unless my ear misleads me, it is not objectionable at all when the sentence is read on to its end at *γυναικός*.

G. E. MARINDIN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

March 12.

SIR,—My attention has been called to a controversy between Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. C. Torr *à propos* of a mistake in a recent book of mine. May I venture to plead in behalf of serious discussion in place of such trivialities?

When speaking in passing of the friendship of Pontic tyrants with Athens, and merely to note that fact, I said that ‘Leucon had obtained this friendship by means of large gifts of corn’: I should have said that ‘Leucon had obtained this friendship by means of granting trade facilities

which amounted to large gifts of corn.' So Grote describes the facts, and so Demosthenes, the Athenians, and Mr. Hobhouse, rightly understood them. But what matter? Does it affect, in the smallest degree, my argument? Let Mr. Torr clothe himself in infallibility, but confine himself to the office of universal censor, instead of producing infallible books which nobody can possibly read. His criticisms are always of value to an honest author, who is glad to correct even the most trivial inaccuracies; they may mislead careless readers, who only count, and do not weigh, objections.

To state, or to insinuate, that in a book containing many thousand statements the occasional occurrence of such flaws is a proof of general incompetence, or to state that all the errors carefully sought out and paraded are fair specimens of the rest of the book, is either to make an assertion which nobody is likely to believe, or to circulate a malicious falsehood concerning what *may* be a book of some value.

But I can hardly think your readers green enough to believe any critic when he says that he has left aside graver blunders than those which he enumerates, and which he has discovered, with manifest pride. This is however what I see said every day in notices of serious books, and even by men who are not infallible.

Let me conclude with something better than this useless protest against the absurdities of pedantry. As regards the *Antiope*

Frag. B. 15, Profs. Blass and Wil.-Möller independently suggested to me that this line belonged to the chorus, and not the previous speaker (as Mr. Bury and I supposed). I then again studied the vestiges at the opening of B. 16 and read $\pi\tau\rho$, with room for two letters before and after. Mr. Bury then found me the required $\sigma\kappa\eta\pi\tau\rho\omega\iota$, and we also discovered that the previous word was not $\tau\upsilon\rho\rho\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ but $\tau\upsilon\rho\rho\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omega\iota$: so then the lines now read

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς] εἰ χρὴ δοῦσθαι τυραννικῶι
σκηπτρῶι λυκὸς παρεστὶ σὺγγωμὴν φίλοι.

Even the front of the κ and the first half of the ω are visible.

Does it not follow from this that the chorus of 'Theban old men' must have been mountain peasants, to whom Lycus' appearance was unknown? Or is this too strict an inference?

In the first line of C $\beta\alpha\lambda\omega\nu$ has crept in by some curious error for $\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, which is plain in the MS., and now lies before me in my rough copy. This of course proves that I am quite unfit to decipher any MS., and that probably the whole discovery of the *Antiope Fragments* is a mare's nest.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

[Mr. Torr is at present engaged in topographical investigations in the neighbourhood of Carthage, and his reply to the above is necessarily deferred till his return.]

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

In a cave in Deepdale near Buxton the Rev. J. C. Cox has brought to light some pottery of most elaborate Italian make, and excellent specimens of Samian and Rhone Valley cream-coloured ware, also home-made samples from different parts of Roman Britain. Besides the pottery, some remarkable bronze fibulae were discovered, of various patterns, and very perfect, the most noticeable being two of circular shape, with six projecting cusps, moulded into the form of a buckler or target, apparently a unique pattern. It is not easy to see why such objects should have been deposited in a remote cavern, unless they formed part of a treasure hidden away there.¹

FRANCE.

Rheims.—A remarkable mosaic of the time of Nero has been found here, measuring five feet each way. In the middle of the field are two gladiators, equipped with helmet, sword, and shield, engaged in combat. This design is surrounded by a richly-coloured and well-preserved border. The mosaic

was somewhat damaged in excavation, but can be repaired.²

SWITZERLAND.

Avenches (Canton Vaud).—During the excavations carried out by the Society *pro Aventico*, a wall eight feet in thickness was unearthed at the east end of the theatre, and also traces of the pavement round the theatre; a restoration of the whole building will soon be possible. The grave of a young girl, whose skeleton was much damaged, has also been found, with a great quantity of vases, pots, and small lamps made of fine red clay. Near the supposed site of a temple were found a marble hand, part of a foot, and the fragments of an inscribed marble tablet.³

ITALY.

Pompeii.—Excavations have been recently conducted in Insula iv. of the fifth region, and, together with many domestic objects or utensils of bronze, such as vases, buckets, lamps, and candelabra, a bronze statuette of Silenus has been found.⁴

² *Antiquary*. March 1891.

³ *Athenaeum*. 7 March 1891.

⁴ *Antiquary*. March 1891.

¹ *Antiquary*. March 1891.

Venetia.—On the high table-land of Asiago, in the territory of Sette Comuni, near Vicenza, has been discovered the site of a large village of pre-Roman times, with remains of huts bearing traces of devastation and of fire. In one of the huts a *victoriatus* (or coin stamped with a figure of Victory, value half a denarius) was found; it seems therefore extremely probable that this was a *pagus* of the Alpine populations which was attacked and destroyed by the Roman legions.¹

Romagna.—Some discoveries in the territory of Castrocaro have led to the belief that a necropolis must be hidden beneath the surface like that of Villanova. The objects found consist of bronzes such as are usually found in tombs.

Rome.—On the Monte Testaccio an ancient ware-house has been discovered with remains of pillars, capitals, and other worked marbles. In the Via Merulana a Roman sword was found, together with a figure of Nero and a medallion of Trajanus Decius.

Amongst epigraphical discoveries, another terminal stone of the Tiber has been found, in which repairs are spoken of as having been carried out under the Emperors Trajan and Hadrian. Two other terminal *cippi* were found last December in the Prati di Castello quarter, one of the work of Augustus, the other of Trajan, though the inscription of the latter has apparently been effaced in ancient times.

In *Regio* I. of the city, a rare Latin inscription was found, on the banks of the Tiber, near Monte Brianzo. It is dedicated to Mercury and other divinities, and bears the consulship of A.U.C. 754. It appears to refer to the worship of the Lares in the urban *regiones*, which Augustus restored in the year of Rome 745.¹

Luni.—Within the boundaries of this ancient city, which is near Spezia, a portion of the forum was discovered, in which were found ten bases of statues with dedicatory inscriptions to various Roman Emperors.²

ASIA MINOR.

Hissarlik.—The last campaign of Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld was directed to the investigation of the successive fortification-walls on the hill of Pergamon, and especially of the second or Homeric city, of which several important strips were brought to light. On the east side is a piece of wall, two or three metres high and four metres wide, made of bricks, and raised on a foundation-ledge of stone and clay. On the side of the Acropolis, which is less steep and less capable of defence, the remains of several towers were discovered, at ten metres distance from one another. Dr. Dörpfeld has clearly proved that at the time of the second settlement the Pergamon had been enlarged twice on the southern side.

In the second city of Hissarlik were found the remains of many buildings, and the south-west fortification-wall, which in some places was preserved to a height of eight metres. This was completely cleared, and a sally-port was discovered, a little less than 1½ metres wide. In front of one of the buildings previously excavated, the existence of two parastades is now verified, which confirms the opinion that the building was really a propylæon, and as such presents great similarity to the buildings of Tiryns.

In the excavations on the west of the so-called south-west gate the excavators observed the ground-plans of many of the buildings raised upon the ruins of the second city, and were thus able to verify the existence of seven different strata lying one on the other, as Dr. Schliemann had already in part

observed. Amongst the fortifications could be seen traces of *opus reticulatum*, and likewise outside the walls fresh tombs were discovered reaching down to Byzantine times.

The most remarkable discovery relative to the later period is that of the small theatre, or Odeion, of which the lower steps and marble pavement of the orchestra, with the base of an altar or statue, are still preserved. Two Greek inscriptions discovered in the same place are of the time of Tiberius, and contain two dedications in his honour, one by a certain Melanippides, the other by the *Boulé* or *Demos*. Two imperial statues were also found in the same place.

Magnesia.—A singular inscription was discovered here by Dr. Humann. It records the finding, in an extraordinary way, of a small statue of Dionysos, and the institution in consequence of Bacchic rites conducted by foreign priestesses. The text is well preserved, and clearly says that in the year of the prytanis Akro demos, son of Diotimos, a violent storm having broken into pieces a large plane-tree, an image of Dionysos was found in the shattered trunk. The Magnesians were struck with fear, and forthwith sent envoys to Delphi, to ask for an explanation of the miraculous event. The oracle replied that they ought to found a temple to Dionysos, and obtain priestesses or maenads from Boeotia. Three women were granted them from Thebes, who established a *thiasos* called the *Παταυσταί*, in memory of the plane-tree.

The inscription is cut on a slab of marble, and once formed part of a marble altar; another inscription which it bears gives the name of the dedicator, Apollonius Mokolles, who styles himself *ἀρχαῖος μύστης*.³

CRETE.

Dr. Halbherr has found in this island many evidences of the reflex wave of Asian culture which, travelling from the eastern mainland, affected first the islands of the Mediterranean, and then, as his discoveries in the cave of Zeus on Mount Ida tend to prove, spread to Greece.

The most important of these results are numerous vases of the Mycenaean style, which have been illustrated by Dr. Orsi in the *Notizie dei Lincei*. They are of great size, and funereal, and by the novelty of their position and structure furnish us with new ideas on the sepulchral rites practised at so early a date. So far, the peculiar tombs in which these colossal urns have been found in Crete belong to an ordinary rank of life; but others may in all probability be found, belonging to chiefs or princes. The existence of such tombs and urns was hitherto unknown in Crete, and will bear out Adler's surmise that on this island, midway between Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, will be found the key that unlocks the mystery at present attending the first intermingling or conjunction of Oriental and Hellenic ideas of art.

These vases were found in 'Küppelgräber' (*θολοὶ τάφοι*) at Milatos and elsewhere, and show that Crete had at that date a population practising the same sepulchral rites and using the same decorative motives as their fellows on the Hellenic continent. Dr. Orsi attributes them to some Asian race, Phrygians or Carians, who can be shown to have influenced Greece in two separate streams: (1) through the islands of the Aegean, (2) through settlements in Crete.

The urns are so large as to resemble modern baths, and decorated with palmettes, fishes, and ducks, all of primitive design, the colours employed being dark

¹ *Antiquary*. March 1891.

² *Athenaeum*. 7 March 1891.

Antiquary. March 1891.

red and chestnut on a buff or cream-coloured ground. They are not large enough to contain the whole body of a man, although of sarcophagus-shape, and it is surmised that at the Mycenaean epoch such urns were made to receive either the bones alone, or else the half-burnt body. Hence partial combustion must have been practised, and this will be the most ancient known instance of an *ossilegium*, but an *ossilegium* without cremation. As for the style of the decorations, Dr. Orsi attributes it to the later stage of Mycenaean ornament, the third rather than the fourth period, when the artist, without knowledge of perspective or background, was endeavouring to represent a lake-scene in which plants, fishes, and ducks all appeared together.¹

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. 28 February.

O. A. Hoffmann, *Hermes und Kerykeion. Studie zur Urbedeutung des Hermes. Mit einer Tafel.* Marburg, 1890. [Review of, by W. H. Roscher.]

Hoffmann endeavours to prove that Hermes was originally a moon-god, and the caduceus a 'moon-sceptre.' The form of the caduceus, a full ring and

half-ring combined, is first seen on Phoenician monuments. This the author takes to denote the full and crescent-moon, and attributes it to the moon-goddess, Astarte. Unfortunately, as the reviewer points out, his arguments fail to show that the caduceus is really a moon-symbol; moreover in Greek art it is not peculiar to Hermes.

Mittheilungen über Versammlungen, p. 286.

At the fiftieth Winckelmann celebration at Berlin, Herr Furtwängler brought forward a list of extant works of art which he considered should be attributed to the comparatively little known sculptor Kresilas. The principal ones are: the terminal bust of Perikles; the wounded Amazon already ascribed to him by O. Jahn; a Diadumenos, whose head is preserved at Cassel and Berlin; a youthful helmeted head of Ares, the best replica of which is in the Louvre; a Diomedes (Munich. Glypt. 162); the Athena of Velletri, and the Medusa Rondanini; with three others. These works, he maintains, have distinct points of correspondence, e.g. in the proportions of the head, and certain peculiarities in the features. The sculptor seems to have been influenced by Polykleitos, though he more closely resembles Myron; and the works mentioned above seem to bear out what is known of him from literary sources.

¹ *Antiquary.* March 1891.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Journal of Philology. Vol. xix. no. 37, 1890.

R. C. Seaton. *Imitation of Homer by Apollonius Rhodius.* Defends the latter from the strictures of Buttmann.—C. A. M. Fennell. *The Iambic Trimeter.* Maintains his own theory in opposition to that put forward by A. Platt in no. 36.—A. Platt. *Homericæ.* A long and interesting discussion of various Homeric readings.—R. Ellis. *Notes on Propertius* iii. 18 and iv. 5.—T. W. Allen. *Palaeographica.* The date of the Townley Homer, and an ancient catalogue of Greek books belonging to a monastery.—D. G. Hogarth. *The Gerousia of Hierapolis* illustrated by twenty-six inscriptions. Takes Menadier's view of the functions of the Gerousia in opposition to Waddington and Mommsen.—H. Nettleship. *Notes on Latin Lexicography, and Adversaria* on Plautus, Vergil, Tacitus, the Latin Heptateuch.—*Notes on the Vatican Glossary* 3321.—H. Macnaghten. *On some passages of the Silvae of Statius.*—W. Ridgway. *Caesar's invasions of Britain.* Argues that Caesar started from Cape Grisez on both expeditions and landed at Pevensey Bay.—A. Platt. *The Iambic, a Reply.*—C. Taylor writes on the saying of the Didaché ἰδρωτῆτω ἢ ἐλεημοσύνη κ.τ.λ., showing how widely it is diffused.

No. 38. 1891. C. Taylor continues his paper on the saying in the Didaché.—R. Ellis. *Adversaria*, containing notes on various Greek and Latin authors.—H. Nettleship. *Notes on Glossary* 3321 continued.—*Caesar's two expeditions to Britain.* A discussion between H. E. Malden and W. Ridgway as to the place of Caesar's landing.—A. Platt. *The Augment in Homer.* Shows that the use of the augment was being gradually introduced at the time of the composition of the Homeric poems, and that it is regularly found with the gnomic and the perfect aorist; thus λαβόν means 'I took,' ἔλαβον 'I have taken.'—C. F. Haskins. *Homeric Fishing Tackle.*—J. M. Cotterill. *The Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Homilies of Antiochus Palaestinensis.* Adduces evidence to show that the former is spurious and borrowed

from the latter.—W. Headlam. *Notes on the Scholium of Aeschylus.*—J. P. Postgate. *Lucretius* v. 703, reads *qui faciunt solem certa de surgere parte.*—H. Nettleship. *Hor. A. P.* 90 and 172.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. Feb.—April, 1890.

ON THE LITERATURE OF CAESAR by RUDOLF SCHNEIDER.

In a further notice on Stoffel's *Guerre Civile* [*Classical Review* iii. 192] there are added notes on the fort on the river Sèvre and on the situation of Octogesa.

I. Editions. *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, Rudolf Menge, Vol. 2 Bks v.—vi. 2nd edition 1886. *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, I. Prammer, 3rd edition 1889. *Commentarii cum supplementis A. Hirtii et aliorum*, E. Hoffmann, 2nd edition. Vol. 2. comment. de bello Civili, Alexandrino, Africano, Hispaniensi. 1889. Since the 1st edition of 1857, the editor does not appear to have used any later information. *Belli civilis libri III.* 2nd edition, B. Dinter. 1888. The present Teubner text. *Commentarii de bello civili*, W. T. Paul ed. maj. 1889, and ed. min. 1889, 'every student of Caesar must study this edition which essentially furthers the text of the B.C.' Dübner more followed than Nipperdey.

II. Critical contributions. R. Richter, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Caesars Commentarius VII. de bello Gallico.* Progr. Stargund 1889. Shows the value of β which must be considered together with α in deciding the genuine tradition. J. Lange, *Caesars zweiter Zug nach Britannien* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1889. In B.G. v. 8 foll. L. puts chs. 12 – 14 after 8 and ch. 18 between 11 and 15. J. J. Cornelissen, *Mnemosyne* xvii. A number of conjectures on B.C., B. Alex. and B. Afr. which show much acuteness and dexterity. Peter Stamm, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 137. In B.G. v. 29. 2 venturos. *Sese non etc. for venturos esse. Non etc.* III. The language of Caesar. P. Hellwig, *Ueber*

don *Pleonasmus bei Caesar*. Progr. Berlin 1889. Three kinds of pleonasm are distinguished, grammatical, rhetorical, and logical. The first three parts treat of pleonastic words, the fourth of pleonastic sentences. Rudolf Menge, *Ueber das Relativum in der Sprache Caesars*. Progr. Halle 1889. Careful and well-arranged. W. Ehrenfried, *Qua ratione Caesar in commentariis legatorum relationes adhibuerit*. Diss. Würzburg 1888. Caesar has not incorporated the reports of his lieutenants but has put them into his own language.

IV. Geography. H. Kiepert, *Wandkarte von Alt-Gallien nebst Teilen von Britannien und Germanien*. 1888. Nine leaves, 'certain of a good reception in schools and studies.' B. Schöttler, *Ueber die Lage der geschichtlichen Orte Aduatuca Eburonum (Caes.), Ara Ubiorum (Tacit.) und Belgica (Itin. Anton.)*. Progr. Rheinbach 1889. Maintains that these three spots are one and the same and that it is to be recognized in the remains of a Roman camp at Rheinbach. H. E. Maldon (sic), *Caesar's Expeditions to Britain*. Journ. Phil. No. 34. If Maldon had studied Napoleon's History of Julius Caesar and Heller's remarks upon it he would not have come to the conclusion he has [*Classical Review* iii. 89]. H. Kiepert, *Manuel de Géographie ancienne*. Traduit par E. Ernault. 1887. The part of Kiepert's book referring to Gaul is somewhat expanded by A. Longnon. C. Fr. Meyer and A. Koch, *Atlas zu Caesars bellum Gallicum*. 1889. 2nd edition. The maps are rather better than in the 1st edition.

V. Historical discussions. D. Wilsdorf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Marseille in Altertum*. Progr. Zwickau 1889. Eug. Fovrer, *Éphémérides Caesariennes*. Diss. Bonn 1889. Deals with the dates from Oct. 47 to the end of the Spanish War. Unfortunately F. has been anticipated by Stoffel (*Guerre Civile*). A. Kloevekorn, *Die Kämpfe Caesars gegen die Helvetier im Jahre 58*. 1889. A criticism of B. G. i. 2—29.

VI. The Roman military system. F. Giesing, *Verstärkung und Ablösung in der Kohortenlegion*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. [*Classical Review* iii. 287.] E. Lammert, *Polybios und die römische Taktik*. Part i. Progr. Leipzig 1889. Concludes that while the Macedonian phalanx stood shoulder to shoulder the Roman was arranged with an interval of a man's breadth between each soldier. F. Fröhlich, *Das Kriegswesen Caesar*. Part i. 1889. In this first part to be followed by two others F. treats of the levy of the army, the arrangement of the various parts, the weapons and other equipment and the baggage, finally the fleet and the finances.

VII. The continuers of Caesar. O. Hirschfeld, *Hermes* xxiv. on B. G. viii. praef. § 2. By a slight alteration of the text H. refers *novissimumque imperfecum* to the Gallic war, comparing Suet. Caes. 56. [*Classical Review* iii. 240.] G. Landgraf, *Untersuchungen zu Caesar und seinen Fortsetzern*. 1888. Seeks to show from an examination of the language, without success in the rev.'s opinion, that the B. Afr. is the diary of Asinius Pollio and that the B. Alex., B. Civ. and B. G. viii. also show peculiarities of Pollio. E. Wölflin, *Ueber die Latinität des Asinius Pollio*. Archiv für lat. Lexik. und Gramm. 1889. Wölflin, C. *Asinius Pollio de bello Africo*. 1889. These two dissertations are closely connected and support the

theory of Landgraf just mentioned, but many of the so-called peculiarities of P. are found in other contemporary writers.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie.

15 Oct.—E. Fabricius, *Theben* (G. J. Schneider), topographical and historical, praised.—G. Wentzel, *De grammaticis Graecis I.* (H. Posnansky), a valuable piece of work, demonstrating that the later grammarians drew upon a common *σύλλαγή ἐπικλήσεων*, i.e. epithets applied in ritual to the gods.—J. Sasse, *De numero plurali qui voc. maiestatis* (G. Landgraf), 'thorough.'—Bieger, *De Persii cod. Pithocano* (-χ), shows conclusively that this is by far the best codex of Persius. 22 Oct.—O. Hoffmann, *D. Präsens d. indogerm. Grundsprache in Flexion und Stammbildung* (H. Ziemer), a most welcome compendium.—P. Stengel, *D. griech. Kultusaltertümer* (L. Friedlaender), warmly praised.—F. Greiff, *De l'origine du testament romain* (O. Schulthess), 'interesting but not conclusive.' 29 Oct.—Th. Bindseil, *Von Agrigent nach Syrakus* (B. Lupus), interesting account of the author's travels in Sicily.—C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum* ii. 1 (A. Milchhofer), thorough and detailed.—P. Trautwein, *De prol. Plautinorum indole atque natura* (M. Niemeyer), 'learned and acute.'

5 Nov.—E. Bötticher, *Hissarlik. 5 Sendschreiben über Schliemann's Troja* (G. J. Schneider), 'sets the whole question in dispute before you.'—O. Riemann, *Syntaxe Latine* (O. Weissenfels), 'a work of independent merit which may claim notice even in Germany.'—B. I. Wheeler, *Analogy* (M. Heynacher), 'an excellent treatise, deserves translating into German.' 12 Nov.—H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (K. Buresch), a long summary.—Tücking, *Taciti Germania. 7 Aufl.* (v. Zernial), reviewer discusses various readings. 19 Nov.—H. Usener, *Der heil. Theodosios* (Dräseke), a welcome work.—O. Staehlin, *Observationes crit. in Clementem Alex.* (Mezger), 'has laid a firm foundation for a final constitution of the text.'—G. Studemund, *Plauti fab. rel. Ambrosianae* (M. Niemeyer), 'epoch-making in Plautus criticism.' 26 Nov.—K. Wernicke, *Die griech. Vasen mit Lieblingsnamen* (Posnansky), 'exhaustive.'—A. Metlikovitz, *De Sophoclis cod. Laur. pl. xxxi.* 10 (Fr. Schubert), 'excellent and most serviceable.'—J. Bieler, *Ueber die Echtheit des Lucianischen Dialogs de Parasito* (A. Thimme), 'alike laborious and laudable.'

3 Dec.—A. Μηλιαράκης, *Νεοελληνική γεωγραφική φιλολογία* (E. Oberhammer), a valuable list of all the geographical works published in Greece this century.—J. E. Kirchner, *Prosopographiae Atticae Specimen* (H. Winther), 'will be warmly welcomed by all scholars.'—A. Bell, *De locativi in prisca latinitate vi et usu* (H. Ziemer), useful. 10 Dec.—W. Brandes, *Rusticius, de Christi Jesu beneficiis* (M. Manitius), praised.—W. G. Rutherford, *First Greek Syntax* (J. Sitzler), 'fully attains its object. Selection and arrangement of material good...linguistic phenomena are not only stated but explained.' 17 Dec.—A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und die Stoa* (O. Weissenfels), cannot be praised.—Nils Nilén, *Adnotationes Lucianae* (P. Schulze), 'provides a firm basis for critical research.' 24 Dec.—A. Boutkowski-Glinka, *Petit Mionnet* (A. P.), cannot be recommended, errors are too numerous.

The following announcements are made about the Constitution of Athens:—

Editions: by Kaibel and Wilamowitz-Möllendorf;

by Herwerden; by Diels (a supplement to the Berlin Aristotle); by F. G. Kenyon, ed. 3.

Translations: by Kaibel and Kiessling; by F. G. Kenyon.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

- Aristotle* on the Constitution of Athens. Facsimile of Papyrus CXXXI. in the British Museum. vi pp. 22 plates. £2 2s.
- Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes. With Introduction and Explanatory Notes. An Essay which obtained the Hare Prize in the year 1889. By A. C. Pearson, M.A., late Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Cr. 8vo. Cambridge Press. 10s.
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FOREIGN BOOKS.

- Acta Seminarii philologici Erlangensis. Ediderunt J. Müller et A. Luchs. Volumen V. 8vo. 284 pp. Leipzig, Deichert Nachfolger. 6 Mk.
- Aeschylus*. Les Suppliantes. Drame lyrique en deux tableaux et en vers. Traduit et adapté pour la scène par P. Abaur. 18mo. xi, 60 pp. Paris, Flammarion.
- Tragödien. Verdeutsch von B. Todt. Mit dem Brustbilde des Dichters. 8vo. x, 414 pp. Leipzig, Freytag. 8 Mk.
- Alaudae* (Zeitschrift in lateinischer Sprache.) Redakteur G. Tursini. Nos. 13-24. 12mo. Aquila. 2 Mk. 40.
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- Ἑλλάς. Περιοδικὸν τοῦ ἐν Ἀμστερδάμῃ φιλελληνικοῦ συλλόγου. Organe de la société philhellénique à Amsterdam. Rédacteurs: Madame M. Zwaanswijk, A. J. Flamant, et H. C. Muller. Troisième année. 4 livraisons. 8vo. Heft 1. 124 pp. Leiden, Brill. 8 Mk.
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- Florilegium Palatinum sententias continens ex poetis graecis collectas ed. T. Schmidt. Programm. 4to. 80 pp. Heidelberg.
- Fröhlich* (F.) Das Kriegswesen Caesars. Theil III. 3. (Schluss). Gebrauch und Führung der Kriegsmittel. 8vo. pp. 181-278. Zürich, Schulthess. 1 Mk. 20. (Complete, 4 Mk. 60).
- Galen* Pergameni, Claudii, scripta minora. Recensuerunt J. Marquardt, J. Müller, G. Helmreich. Vol. II. ex recensione J. Müller. 12mo. xciii, 124 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 Mk. 40.
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- I. Teil. Die rythmischen Verhältnisse in den daktylischen Parteeen der Chorlieder des Aischylos. Programm. 4to. 43 pp. Oberrheinheim.
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- Hermes. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie herausgegeben von G. Kaibel und C. Robert. Band 26. 4 Hefte. 8vo. (Heft I. 160 pp.) Berlin, Weidmann. 14 Mk.
- Herwerden (H. de). *Studia critica in epigrammata graeca. Adnotationes ad epigrammata in tertio volumine anthologiae Palatinae editionis Didotianae, cum appendice epigrammatum nondum collectorum.* 8vo. 158 pp. Leiden, Brill. 3 Mk.
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METAPHORS AND ALLUSIVE LANGUAGE IN GREEK LYRIC POETRY :

[With special reference to Mr. Bury's Ed. of the *Nemean Odes* of Pindar].

LITERARY reminiscence or association is a peculiar form of art, a form of which Virgil was the great master in ancient times, and which the present laureate has cultivated with perhaps greater success than any other modern poet. No better illustration could be found than a line which the latter addresses to the former—

I salute thee, *Mantovano*, I that loved thee
since my days began.

The Italian adjective 'Mantovano' raises up recollections of the 'anima cortese Mantovana' that was Dante's guide through the Inferno and Purgatory and all but obtained admission to Paradise itself.

Ancient poetry is full of reminiscences more or less resembling this: Greek poetry, because in its best period it was really popular, and a poet could rely upon the sensitiveness of his audience to such effects; Latin poetry, because it came after and imitated the great literature of Greece and was addressed to readers who were familiar with that literature. Böckh pointed out that the outcry of Clytemnestra in Sophocles recalls the words which her victim Agamemnon utters in the play of Aeschylus—*ὦ μοι πέπληγμαι*—and elsewhere in tragedy we find such facts as that approximation to Homer in subject brings with it suggestion of Homeric language. The *Rhesos* is the only extant play which comes directly from Homer and it contains phrases like 'Λυκίων ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν' as well as an imaginative amplification of what is heard of briefly and

without explanation in the Doloneia—the music of the shepherd's pipe (*Il. x. inīt. αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπήν*: *Rhesos*, l. 552 ἤδη δὲ νέμονται κατ' Ἴδαν ποίμνια νυκτιβρόμον σύριγγος ἰὰν κατακούω). In the *Ajax*—Trojan, though not Homeric, in subject—there are many echoes of the language of Homer—*ἔλικες βοῶς, αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ*, and the like. Homer was so familiar to the Greeks that it is not necessary to suppose that Sophocles took these particular phrases from the *Ἰλιάς Μικρά* in which the story of Ajax's death was treated: but even if he did, the case is not materially altered, for the 'cyclic' poet had first taken them from Homer.

The following passages in Pindar seem to be best accounted for by a passage in Homer:—

Ol. x. 9: ὀράτ' ὦν ψάφον ἐλισσομένην
ὅπα κῆμα κατακλύσσει ῥέον κ.τ.λ.

Nem. vii. 62: ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ'
ἄγων κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω.

In *Il. xxi. (l. 257 f.)* there is a simile drawn from irrigation:—

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ὀχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥέον ἡγεμονεύη. . .
τοῦ μὲν τε προρέοντος ὕπο ψῆφιδος ἅπασαι
ὀχλεῖνται, τὸ δέ τ' ὥκα κατειβόμενον κελαρύζει
χάρῳ ἐνὶ προαλῇ, φθάσει δέ τε καὶ τὸν ἄγωνα.

The *ψῆφιδος* and *ἄγοντα* of Homer recur in Pindar's *ψάφον ἐλισσομένην* and *ἄγων*: so that the picture in the latter passage also would seem to be that which Virgil has reproduced in the lines:—

illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
saxa ciet scatebrisque arentia temperat
arva.

The tribute of song is as welcome and as refreshing to the victor—or in this case the victor's father—as the rill of water to the thirsty fields: compare *Isthm.* v. 64, χαρίτων ἄρδοντι καλλίστῃ δρόσῳ. Mr. Bury interprets differently: he brings the ρόας into connection with the preceding words—

σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον
ὑδατος ὥτε ρόας φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ' ἄγων
κλέος ἐπήτυμον αἰνέσω—

and, laying stress on σκοτεινός, supposes that the streams are to reflect the glory of Sogenes. Against this, there is the argument from literary reminiscence, the fact that a rushing stream has usually a surface incapable of reflecting anything accurately, and the general character of Pindaric imagery. Mr. Bury says (intr. p. xvii.): 'Pindar does not mix images incongruously, though sometimes they follow in rapid succession.' But in practice he does not seem to act upon the latter clause. He either attempts to show—sometimes by rather desperate expedients—that the successive images are congruous, or he removes an incongruous one by emendation (for example, suggesting ingeniously ἁκύνος, ἀκύνος for ἀκόνας in the well-known passage, *Ol.* vi. 82, f. δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ ἀκόνας λυγρᾶς). In *Nem.* vii. 61-3, σκοτεινὸν is so familiar an image that the hearer's attention would not be arrested by it, and unless it was, he would not connect it closely with what followed. Another metaphor from a stream may be mentioned here:—

μελίφρον' αἰτίαν
ροαῖσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλεν (*Nem.* vii. 11).

The picture intended is that of throwing a stone into a torrent, when the water breaks into sparkling foam around it: or perhaps that of causing a fountain to 'play forth in joy from all its pipes,' to which Cratinus compared his own eloquence (*fr.* 186, ed. Koek):—

καναχοῦσι πηγαί, δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα,
Ἰλισσὸς ἐν τῇ φάρνυι.

It is not necessary to definitely connect μελίφρων—which is applied to the αἰτία—with this image. Nor again in *Isthm.* vi. 18:—

ὅτι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον
κλυταῖς ἐπέων ροαῖσιν ἐξικηται ζυγνέν—

is it very difficult to recognize three successive and distinct images. All are familiar (flower or crown—stream—yoke or car), and the more familiar an image is, the less difficulty is there in combining it with others. Mr. Bury not only tries to connect them, but seems to think that the same word could convey two distinct images *at once*: cf. his note on iii. 41.

Literary precedent is not sufficiently considered in his interpretation of the prediction of Tiresias in *Nem.* i. :—

καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ
ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα, τῶν ἐχθρότατον
φᾶσέ νιν δώσσειν μόνον (*Nem.* i. 64).

Here he suggests πώσσειν, a supposed Aeolic future of πιῖσκω (give him the draught of death to drink). This, to begin with, raises the question of the literary use of dialects. It is not obvious why Pindar should use an Aeolic form in writing for a Dorian victor. And since each department of literature in Greece had its own artistic canons, the fact that Alcaeus used πῶ (imper. = πῶθι) and πῶνω does not prove that Pindar would do so in an ode of victory. For the rest, the difficult construction may supply a ground for emendation: but it is useless to discuss the probability of the phrase δοῦναι μόνον without bringing into court the Homeric:—

πᾶρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω.

The genuineness of that line has been doubted, but even if interpolated it might be earlier than Pindar, and there is no very solid reason for rejecting it at all (see Ameis ad loc. —*Il.* viii. 166). In the same ode, l 13, it is useless to discuss the meaning of

σπείρε νυν ἀγλαίαν τινὰ νύσῳ,

without considering the passage quoted by Arist. from an unknown poet:—

σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα

(said of the sun). Later or earlier than Pindar, a Greek poet *did* use that metaphor, and it would be suitable here: 'Scatter bright (or fertilizing) rays of song upon the isle of Sicily,' irradiate it with the beams of poesy.

Apart from definite suggestion of some earlier passage, there are words which have permanently acquired a peculiar shade of meaning. Some of these are well dealt with by Mr. Bury. φέγγος for example has by connection with the mysteries come to mean a 'light that never was on sea or land'—

which he does not quote, nor the most unmistakable passage in the *Frogs*, where the mystae sing :—

μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἦλιος
καὶ φέγγος ἰλαρόν ἐστιν.

Another word of subtle meaning is ἄωτος (B. note on p. 33). Ζάθεος again was a favourite word with Greek lyric poets, though Pindar makes little use of it in the extant odes (*Ol.* iii. 22, ζαθέοις ἐπὶ κρημνοῖς Ἀλφειοῦ). It did not mean 'divine' but full of the presence of spirits, haunted, the idea expressed in Aeschylus, *Eumen.* :—

Κωρινκὶς πέτρα
κοίλη, φίλορnis δαίμωνων ἀναστροφῇ.

So Helicon is ζάθεος to Hesiod, as haunted by the Muses: so too Euripides speaks of the haunted caves of Pytho (ζάθεά τ' ἄντρα δράκοντος, *Phoen.* 232). (See v. Wilamowitz *Phil. Unt.* Isyllus, excursus I.)

A quite different question arises about words which are supposed to have some reference to definite historical or contemporary persons and facts. Of veiled allusions Mr. Bury finds a considerable number in Pindar, probably following Mr. Verrall's plausible suggestion that Korax and Tisias, the early Sicilian rhetors, are intended by the κόρακες of *Ol.* ii. 96. He finds for example in μαψυλάκας *Nem.* vii. 106 a parody of a rival poet's name Βακχυλίδας, supposing that Pindar coined the word for the occasion. It occurs all but certainly in Sappho (*fr.* 27, B⁴ μαψυλάκταν, where Hermann was probably right in restoring μαψυλάκταν). Apart from that objection, neither this nor Mr. Verrall's proposal is in itself incredible: because neither allusion interrupts or distracts the attention from a connected story or pic-

ture. But it is otherwise with an allusion found by Mr. Bury in *Nem.* i. 46 (Heraclēs strangling the snakes):—

ἀγχομένους δὲ χρόνος
ψυχὰς ἀπεπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων.

Here he accepts Schmidt's χρόμος (hissing, death-rattle) and believes that it was meant to suggest the victor's name Χρόμιος. Now, it is true that the Greeks were sensitive to the significance of names and often regarded them as revealing the working of a divine purpose. An utterance fraught with fate was a φήμη or κληδών: it was an omen or ὄρνις, as Aristophanes tells us. But the passages where the meaning of a name is undoubtedly discussed are more or less deliberate and more or less independent—they do not interrupt some other chain of thought or series of images. ψευδωνίμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθεά κ.τ.λ. and τίς ποτ' ὀνόμαζεν ὧδ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ θ' Ἐλέναν κ.τ.λ. are explicit and artistic. But a play upon words like χρόμος, χρόμιος, coming in the middle of an exciting story, is inartistic. Either the reader's imagination is suddenly arrested and he finds himself contemplating a mere verbal subtlety, or, interested in the story, he fails to perceive the allusion at all. And, in this particular passage, it is not so obvious why χρόνος should be changed. He killed the snakes instantaneously; there is no length of time, it is objected. But length of time is always relative: several seconds is a long time compared with a fraction of a second, and snakes do not die or cease to move as soon as their throats are seized. If Zeus had reduced the snakes to ashes instantaneously by a flash of lightning, 'χρόνος' would have been impossible in the description. But otherwise it is not impossible. W. R. HARDIE.

NOTES ON THUCYDIDES IV.

3: 3. τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν. This is usually explained as an unexampled causative use of δαπανᾶν = force to spend. So taken it deserves all that Dr. Rutherford says of it. But the phrase merely contains an extension of the use of πόλιν beyond its usual limits: 'to spend the state's substance.' I can quote no precisely similar use of πόλις, though it is used for 'civic rights' in Dem. *Mid.* 549. 10,

ὑβρίζειν.....ἐκεῖνά τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, τὴν πόλιν, τὸ γένος, τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, τὰς ἐλπίδας. *Adv. Steph.* 1126. 8, καὶ πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων κτησάμενος. So also c. 106. 1. Somewhat similar is Cicero's use of praedes vendere, e.g. *Phil.* ii. 78, where Mr. King has the note:—'praedes, properly the sureties themselves, is here used for their goods.' Dr. Rutherford considers τὴν πόλιν an adscript:

but it is not easy to see how it can have been inserted to explain *δαπανᾶν*, which is clearer without it.

60. 1. *διαλλακτᾶς* πολλῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἀναγκαιότερους περὶ τῶνδε Ἀθηναίους νομίσαι... It has not, I think, been noticed that the clause contains an ironical reference to some Athenian claim to act as arbitrators in Sicilian affairs. This is probable from 64. 4, *ἐνμαχούς* δὲ οὐδέποτε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπαξόμεθα οὐδὲ διαλλακτᾶς.

63. 1. καὶ νῦν τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε τούτου διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη, φοβεροὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους κατ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐκπλαγέντες... Thus punctuated the sentence is intelligible and regular, if not precisely ordinary Greek. There is no need either to suppose the interpolation of a gloss (Dr. Rutherford reads τὸ ἤδη φοβερὸν) or, with Classen, to view the use of the article τὸ as a means of closely combining the following four words into a single idea. (It is true that this startling hypothesis receives some confirmation from vi. 1. 2, *διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἡπειρος οὔσα*, which has not, so far as I have seen, been quoted in any edition. Hache (*De particip. Thuc.* 4) examines these two passages and also i. 2. 5; v. 7. 2; viii. 105. 2 and is strongly opposed to Classen, emending, or adopting readings of admittedly inferior authority, everywhere but in i. 2. 2. Stahl had suggested the comma at ἤδη, but had not observed that the accusatives are not in apposition to this phrase, but are governed by *ἐκπλαγέντες*. Such accusatives are common after verbs and phrases denoting fear, e.g. Dem. ii. (*Ol.* ii.) 5 (19), *τοὺς ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους... τὸν Φιλιππον*. The words following—τὸ ἑλλίπες τῆς γνώμης ὃν ἕκαστός τι ᾤθημεν πράξειν, ταῖς κολύμαις ταύταις ἰκανῶς νομίσαντες εἰρχθῆναι—have been much discussed. If τὸ ἑλλίπες τῆς γνώμης = 'the failure of our hopes,' when *εἰρχθῆναι* is added, the phrase can only mean 'the failure of our hopes is prevented' = our plans succeed, which is here absurdly out of place. No writer in any language could say 'the failure is prevented' for 'is prevented so as to fail.' But τὸ ἑλλίπες τῆς γνώμης means something quite different, namely, *the deficient element in our judgment* = 'the imperfection of our plans.' A writer like Thucydides could well say 'these obstacles are enough to hinder the imperfections of our plans from the attainment of our previous hopes' (taking ὃν...πράξειν with *εἰρχθῆναι*).

64. 5. *δοῖν ἀγαθὸν οὐ στερήσομεν τὴν Σικελίαν*. The negative goes closely with the verb. Hermocrates does not mean 'we shall not deprive Sicily of two good things,' i.e. we

shall leave her one, as would be the meaning in accordance with the principle laid down by Shilleto on Dem. xix. (*de F. L.*) § 167 = 151 (389). Such would be the sense here if we had οὐ *δοῖν ἀγαθὸν στερήσομεν*. But the position of οὐ immediately before the verb is not by itself decisive, as is shown by Isoc. Busir. 43 (229*d*). That in our passage neg. and vb. are to be taken closely together is indicated (apart from the general context) by the fact that we have in epexegetis of *δοῖν* not ἤ...ἢ (or equivalents), as in Dem. l. c., and passages quoted by Shilleto there, but τε...καί. The meaning is therefore, as the whole passage requires, 'we shall secure Sicily in the possession of two good things.' This throws considerable light on 106. 1, *πόλεως ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οὐ στερισκόμενοι* = being secured in the possession of their civic rights on fair terms (not 'being at the same time not deprived' as Classen), where we cannot give the natural sense to ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ unless we take the negative closely with verb. We may compare Dem. xviii. (*De Cor.*) 274 (317) οὐ κατῳρῶσεν μετὰ πάντων.

The same principle is seen in 67. 2, ἥσθετο οὐδείς...τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, where the accusative is only explicable on the view that ἥσθετο οὐδείς = all remained in ignorance, since an Acc. of duration of time can only be employed where either verb or tense imply continuance. Other exx. might readily be collected of a word with negative treated as equivalent to affirmative of corresponding meaning. Many, if not most or all, of the instances of an acc. of time with aor. of a verb not implying duration are to be explained by the presence of a negative in this way. In fact I believe it to be a general principle in Greek that *to express the contrary, as distinct from contradictory, of an imperfect, i.e. to denote the negative state, the neg. with the aorist is used, and this phrase may be treated as equivalent to a negative imperfect*. Thus οὐκ ἐκήρυξεν οὐδέν would mean 'he made not a single proclamation' = he remained silent. Illustrations of this very logical usage are (1) Dem. xviii. 107 πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον...οὐχ...ἔθηκε...οὐδείς, (2) Dem. xviii. 291 ὅτε...οὐχ...ἔσχε..., οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν οὐδ' ἔπαθε..., ἀλλ'...ᾤετο...δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε (where in parallel clauses we have affirmative imperfects and negatives (aorists)).

67. 3. διὰ τῆς τάφρου. Dobree, followed by Dr. Rutherford, objects to these words in the sense *along the canal*, and with reason. But no reason has been assigned why they should not have their natural meaning *across the trench*: it must be remembered that (1) the boat was on a waggon and they

would not be likely to take it down the trench, (2) the trench ran (in all probability), as a moat, along the wall and had to be crossed, (3) it was no part of the object to keep the boat 'under cover' of the trench to screen it from view (as is perhaps tacitly assumed by the ordinary view), since the whole operation took place by night. If we ask why the boat was taken outside the Long Walls at all, we have to answer (1) that the whole operation was a 'blind' having for its real object the opening of the gates in the Long Walls, so that it became essential to take the boat outside, (2) that it would be easy to represent that the Athenians were keeping a look-out for boats launched from the regular harbour and that some other place should therefore be chosen. Thus interpreted διὰ τῆς τάφρου becomes, not indeed *necessary* to the narrative, but a picturesque and natural touch.

73. 4. τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον κινδυνεύειν εἰκότως ἐθέλειν πολμᾶν. Nothing satisfactory can be made of the text as it stands. I propose τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ παρὸν τῶν ἐκάστων κινδυνεύειν εἰκότως πολμᾶν. The infinitives are governed by μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι above. I take τὸ παρὸν (to which μέρος would be a natural adscript) as the portion on the field: τῶν ἐκάστων as possessive gen. and ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως as partitive gen. (is it possible that δὲ ξυμ. may conceal δ' ἐκ ξυμ.?). τὸ παρὸν is then subj. to πολμᾶν, not obj. to κινδυνεύειν, which never takes an acc. except in quasi-cognate sense. ἐθέλειν is a fairly likely gloss on πολμᾶν (a rare word in later prose). After the insertion of μέρος between τῶν and ἐκάστων the corruption of the latter to ἕκαστον would be almost inevitable, as also that of τὸ τῶν. καὶ was, I imagine, inserted owing to the double genitive.¹

68. 3... κηρύξει τὸν βουλόμενον εἶναι Μεγαρέων μετὰ Ἀθηναίων θησόμενον τὰ ὅπλα. Μεγαρέων is a gloss, art. with βουλόμενος being common in such proclamations: εἶναι must go with θησόμενον, which otherwise has no construction and cannot be governed by βουλόμενον.

92. 2. οὐ γὰρ τὸ προμηθές, οἷς ἂν ἄλλος ἐπῆρ, περὶ τῆς σφετέρως ὁμοίως ἐνδέχεται λογισμόν,... Dr. Rutherford quotes with apparent approval Dobree's 'Bella mehercule providentia quae considerationem non patitur. Dele λογισμόν,, et verte Cautioni non aequae est

locus ubi etc.' It does not seem to have been noticed that Thucydides in two other passages in this book (10 and 108. 4) uses λογισμός in a somewhat depreciatory sense.

In the former Demosthenes urges his men:—...μηδεὶς ἡμῶν...ἐυνετὸς βουλέσθω δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐκ λογιζόμενος....ὅσα γὰρ...λογισμὸν ἥκιστα ἐνδεχόμενα.... In the latter we have τὸ πλεον βουλῆσει κρίνοντες ἀσαφεὶ ἢ προνοίᾳ ἀσφαλεῖ, εἰωθότες...ὃ μὴ προσίενται λογισμοῖς αὐτοκράτορι διωθεῖσθαι, where λογισμός is (implicitly) contrasted with πρόνοια as with προμηθές here. It will be seen that in all three passages the word has the sense of minute calculation where this is out of place; calculation about the dangers to be faced and chances of victory in c. 10, about the question of boundaries in the present passage, and so naturally contrasted with 'a wise fore-sight' from a wider standpoint. In 122. 3, ἐκ λογισμοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν, the word is used simply in a mathematical sense, without rhetorical colouring. Of the remaining passages in Thucydides where the word is used it means 'calculation' in a mathematical sense in iii. 20, v. 68: in a wider sense, neutral in tone in ii. 11, iii. 83 (where it has almost the invidious sense), vi. 34 (*bis*), viii. 57 (where it has almost a favourable sense, being combined with εὐνοίᾳ): it is implied that λογισμός is out of place in ii. 40 (*bis*), especially in the second passage καὶ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν. But there is everywhere present the notion of *reckoning up*, which makes it possible for a writer to either contrast or combine λογισμός with such a word as πρόνοια.

92. 5. If κατέχειν be right it cannot mean 'sustinere' (as Classen), but 'bring into subjection,' a sense which harmonizes equally well with this passage, and better with the normal usage of the word.

93. 1. οὐκ ἐθεώρουν. As has been seen such a sense of θεωρέω is quite un-Attic. Herwerden conjectured οὐ καθεώρων. My former pupil J. H. Stamp suggests οὐκ ἐθ' ἐώρων, which is nearer to the MS. reading and gives a better sense, if the topography permit. The meaning will be that as the Boeotians approached, they got behind rising ground, having been previously in sight.

93. 4. W. Vischer, *Schw. Mus.* 1. 403 (quoted by Classen), in stating that this is the first mention of πελτασταὶ in Greek warfare, has omitted to notice 32. 2,...τοξόται δὲ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσονες τούτων.

99. οὐδ' αὖ ἐσπένδοντο δῆθεν... The indicative

¹ I can find no instance of οἱ ἕκαστοι, though I think it is sufficiently defended by some of the instances of the article with numerals. If we read τὸ παρὸν ἐκάστων (with or without μέρος), we may suppose that τὸ, miswritten after παρὸν as well as before it, was wrongly read as the contracted sign for τῶν.

is out of place in the middle of *Oratio Obliqua*, and the use of *οὐδὲ* is objected to, not without considerable reason, by Dr. Rutherford, who marks the whole passage as corrupt. If we read *οὐ γὰρ* for *οὐδ'* *αὖ* (a change of two letters) and treat it as an explanatory remark of the writer, not part of the speech, both these difficulties disappear.

108. 4. *καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἄδεια ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς...κρίνοντες...εἰωθότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι...διδόναι*. The subject to *κρίνοντες* is the allies of Athens, implied in *ἄδεια ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς*, so that *οἱ ἄνθρωποι* becomes an unexampled instance of 'extending apposition,' *being accustomed, in fact men generally being accustomed*. No instance nearly parallel can be quoted, though examples of 'limiting apposition' are common. ii. 53. 4. *θεῶν δὲ φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπείργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες...* quoted by Classen is not similar, as the subject to *κρίνοντες* is the virtual subject of the preceding clause: examples of this are fairly frequent. Read *οἱ ἄνθρωποι, i.e. οἷα ἄνθ.*, with another former pupil of mine A. M. Johnson; the allies *being accustomed, as men naturally are...*

122. 5. The meaning of *οἱ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις ᾗδῃ ὄντες ἀξιοῦσι* has been generally mistaken. *ᾗδῃ* cannot be taken with *ἀξιοῦσι*, as is usually done, owing to order. Translate 'those who were now, by this time, islanders'; the

reference is to the Scioneans and Mendeans, who had become virtually islanders by the Athenian garrisoning of Potidaea, as contrasted with its previous semi-independence.

135. 1. *τοῦ γὰρ κώδωνος παρενεχθέντος, οὕτως ἐς τὸ διάκειναι, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν παραδιδόντα αὐτόν, ἢ πρόσθεσις ἐγένετο. οὕτως* sums up the circumstances implied in the previous participial clause, as often, and is to be taken with *ἢ πρόσθεσις ἐγένετο*. The present participle to which Cobet objects is quite in place of the sentinel who had gone to the end of his 'beat,' and was, at the time the ladder was placed in position, engaged in passing on the bell.¹ The ladder was planted, when the sentinel had carried the bell past the point of attack, before he could return. I assume that each sentinel received the bell at one end of his beat and carried it to the other. Whether bells were being passed round in both directions, and whether each sentinel always carried one, so that there were as many bells as beats, are, I imagine, insoluble questions.

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¹ Though of course such a phrase as *πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν παραδιδόντα τὸν ἄνδρα* would be impossible with the participle as *present*, since it would then be no longer attributive but adverbial, and therefore must express time in relation to *ἐπανελθεῖν*.

THE PASSIVE INFINITIVE IN LATIN.

AMARIER.—*Amarier* and similar formations seem to be explainable somewhat in the same way as Dr. Postgate explained the infinitival dicturum, which he supposes to be a compound of the Dative of the verbal stem in -tu, and an accusative infinitive esum, with rhotacism: it would mean 'to be for a saying,' the exact meaning required. Perhaps however it might be better to explain the dictu in dictu+esum as phonetically a Locative. A Dative it cannot be phonetically, for the Dative would end in -ui, while the Sanskrit Locative shews the meaning of a Locative to be not inappropriate. Or we might regard the form as a fossilised Ablative or Locative; but not as an ablative proper, dictu(d), which if retaining any original force, would be singularly inappropriate. *Amarier* seems to be from an original *amarī-es*, possibly the dative, the *i* of *amarī-es* being shortened before a vowel as in *fieri*, but more probably the Locative of

an abstract verbal combined with the pure verbal *es*. For the pure verbal without a case-suffix cp. *δομεν, λύνειν* [*λυε-Feν—λυσεν*]; grammarians call an somewhat similar suffixless form a Locative, e.g. *νυῶμαν* 'in the sky' (Vedic). The final -s might well become -r through the analogy of the rest of the passive system, when once the form had come to be regularly used with a passive and not merely a neutral signification. Quasi-intervocalic rhotacism (such as V. Henry suggests, § 267), and the analogy of intervocalic rhotacism may perhaps be suggested as other influences.

The form *amarī*, not different in origin from the infinitival *amare*, is the Locative of an abstract noun, like *genere*. The forms *uti-er*, *agi-er*, would be datives or locatives of the pure verbal base + *es*; the abstract noun *amarī* would have practically the same meaning as the pure verbal base *uti*, *agi*. If we regard *amarī* as a

fossilised Locative we shall translate *amarier* as originally meaning 'being a love' 'being a favourite, etc.'—*omnes mortales sese laudatier optant*, 'all mortals wish, or pray for, themselves being a praise, *i.e.* a theme of praise.' If we regard *amarī* as still a Locative in meaning, we must translate 'being for a theme of praise,' and compare the Sanskrit Locative of the purpose or object of action or motion, *e.g.* *patitive* in the *Mahā Bhārata*, where it means (choose them) 'for a marrying, for husbandship.' There are plenty of other instances, a few of which Whitney gives (303*a* and 304). Not unlike this use of the Locative, where a Dative might be used, is the Vedic *sá id devēṣu gacchati* 'of a truth that goeth to or for the gods.' The Locative is a case which, so far as concerns Sanskrit at least, and I am sure in Latin and Greek also, still labours under the thralldom of the local theory of the cases (from which the Ablative has the least right to be freed). The following, among others, are surviving forms of the Locative in Latin: Genitive and Dative of 1st Declension, Genitive of 2nd Declension and 'Ablative' of 3rd, and 4th, and 5th Declensions—of course other cases as well as the Locative may give the same form as the result of Phonetic Law—but that the forms are not Locatives cannot be proved as yet. So much for the form in Latin.

Turning to its meaning in Sanskrit we see how misleading is the almost universal definition of the Locative, as the case expressing the place where, the position—we find it used frequently where a dative, accusative, genitive, ablative, and especially instrumental-comitative might be used—the exact difference, where there was one, being that the Locatives expressed such relations originally by implication, the exact meaning being infused from the context (just as it had to be infused into the relation denoted by the genitive case); in later Sanskrit we see, however, that its use *e.g.* to express the object of an action, and the cause (especially in the Locative Absolute) has become 'usual.' Is it likely that, although the Dative undoubtedly expressed the object and purpose of action very clearly and unmistakably, Sanskrit often preferred to denote this relation by a case denoting position? To say that the Locative in Sanskrit still had for its fundamental meaning place where, and was extended

so as to frequently express time when, time after which, place or thing or person to or for or with which or whom, cause, instrument, thing in respect of which, object of emotion (*dayā sarvabhūteṣu*, 'compassion towards all creatures') and many other circumstances of action, and to suppose that the Indians had the power of drawing all these relations out of the relation of 'place where,' is surely to credit them with a power of conjuring unexcelled up to the present date, even in India.

It is probable that, whatever its original meaning may have been, no narrower definition will suit the Locative in later language than that it expressed the circumstances under which the predication was applicable; the nature of the circumstances could only be gathered from the context. Thus the Locative was liable to be used instead of, or to be superseded by, almost any oblique case. (Would not this partly explain the use of the Locative for the Genitive and Dative of the 1st and Genitive of the 2nd Declensions?) However certain circumstances, were regularly expressed by the Locative, such as, for instance, place where, and time when. But, that the Locative could hardly have been confined, at even an early period, to the expression of such circumstances only, is shewn almost indisputably by the forms quoted above as surviving in Latin (and Greek is not very far different), and by hosts of adverbs, and by the meanings of the Sanskrit Locative. If good scholars were given a number of simple sentences to translate into Sanskrit according to the ordinary conceptions of the original case as given in grammars, we should, apart from the guidance of metre, have a very different result from that which Sanskrit itself affords. There can, however, be no doubt as to which should be the proper criterion.

The meaning of the Locative *amarī* would not then be very different, in later language, from that of *amarī*, except as the result of late differentiation into active and passive. The case-relation expressed by the two forms would be practically the same. As to the small difference between *amarī-es* and *amarī* we may compare the small difference between *dictu-es-um ibat* (a possible construction at one time) and *dictum ibat* 'he was going to say.'

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APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

Z = ABCFMPV

I § 111. ²² carsiaepia V (cassiaep. P) || ²³ autem hanc B¹ haec autem V² || ²⁴ haufugiens A¹ aufugiens B¹ haud fugiens CP || ²⁵ huic aequus (corr. ex aequos A) AV¹ hui | cecus B¹ || quation B¹ || ²⁶ contigit C¹ || aluo corr. I ? ex aduo B || ²⁷ te*net (x) B || formans F¹ || ²⁸ connectere V² || ³¹ pices B¹ || paulum om. M¹ || § 112, ³³ androme A¹ andromedae B -des F andromede M¹ || persaeus B² || describitur P || ³⁴ summa regione AB¹PV summa ab regione B²FM summam regionem (ult. m del. 2) C || flamana B¹ famina P || ¹ cuius propter laeum (laeuum CPV²) genus (genu C²V²) uergilias ACPV et sic etiam B¹, ut ex spatio et erasarum litterarum vestigiis concluditur, nisi quod pro cuius verbum paulo longius videtur fuisse; At propter leuum genus (genu M) omni ex parte locatas paruas uergilias B (sed praeter giliias in ras. 2) et FM || ² tenui tum P tenuit tum V¹ || ³ fidis P || posita leuiter AB¹CPV || et in ras. B² del. A² || connexa C² || ⁴ teg*minae (fuit tegem.) B || ⁵ capite C || proximat aquari (-rii PV²) Z || *aquarius (t?) M || ⁷ semifere C¹ || ⁹ brummali B¹ || § 113, ¹⁰ hic Z || autem aspicitur del. B² om. FM (in A minutae lineolae superductae, incertum an delendi causa) || ¹¹ ut om. Z || scorpius BF scorpius CV² || ¹² flexum A³B²FM || ui] in C || ¹⁴ at supra ras. B² || propter corr. ex praeter A proptertur V¹ || se om. B¹ || aquilam V² || ¹⁵ dalfinus B¹ (delf. ACMPV delf. B²) || ¹⁶ obliquo C || § 114, ¹⁸ seruidus F¹ || ille] inde B (sed nde in ras. 2) F (eras. litt. II vestigia in B agnoscuntur) || ¹⁹ subsequitur in ras. scriptum videtur, sed a correctore priore, B || ²⁰ defesso, fesso spscr. 2, M || ²¹ sepens C || agro C¹ || ²² hac C || piscis P || ²³ tangentem pr. corr. in -es, sed restitut. B || ²⁴ quam BF || longem (I) B¹ || serpentem et manantem del. B² om. FM || aspices A¹ || ²⁶ caudarum parte B¹ || locata, I corr. ex u vel o, A || ²⁷ nepre B¹ (nepe ACMV¹) || cernens C¹ || fungentis A¹ || ³⁰ subingere A¹ || chelis] om. B¹ cetis A (sed s expunct.) PV caetis C || ¹ porgens bis scr. M¹ pergens A³ purgens B¹ || qua usta A¹FP quauista B¹V¹ qua iusta V² || ² truncul. C || ³ hic* A hinc V³ || sese] esse V¹ || infernis he A inferni de V² ex inf. V³ || ⁵ refulgens M¹ || cratera, pr. a in ras. 3, A cratera B¹M¹V¹ et ut vid. A¹ eratera C¹ || ⁶ corpore] corprae AV¹ corpore B¹ || ⁷ tendit AB¹CPV || ⁸ ante canis B²FM anticanem P || procyon ACPV procion BF prochion M || § 115, ⁹ descriptio (-pto B¹) BCMPV² || cantus C¹ || ¹⁰ casu temere A || ¹¹ sane BF || at uero V || alia quae] A¹B¹C²PV aliqua A²B²FMK alia quam (?) C¹ || expres

B¹ || ¹² potuis A¹ potuit, post. t spscr., C || ¹³ non possunt bis scr. A¹ || ¹⁵ stabiles B¹ || adque ita atque ita A¹ || ne cogitari C || ¹⁷ corpore A¹ || ¹⁸ uincta C || codam B¹ || ²⁰ mediam P || § 116, ²⁰ quo si M¹ || ²² ipsa eatque (?) per se inter B¹ corr. 2 (ipse A¹ [2] CFVK) ²³ immedium MV¹ || ²⁴ infinitum A¹ et infimum V³ || quod B¹C || ²⁵ contentio, pr. nt et o corr. 2, B (com*entia? B¹) || ²⁶ terrae*locum (I?) A || ²⁷ aequaliter C || § 117, ²⁸ sublimi Z || ³⁰ uinctus C¹ || ³² atheria A¹ aetherea V² || ³³ concretum, ex corr., A concretum P || ³⁵ globata (-to B¹) Z || continet M¹ || figura sua quae sua C¹ (figura quae AB¹M¹) || sustentat C || ³⁶ minime om. F¹ || § 118, ¹ naturae, om. flammeae—terrae, C naturae etiam K || flammae V¹ || ² his Z (A³ add. i.e. humoribus, cuius modi glossenata in sequentibus non notavi) || ³ exercitantur B¹ || saltae P (alte F¹) || renouataeque, que in ras. 3, A (-teque P) || aether (pr. e spscr. A¹) refundat (-it C) AB²CFMPVK aetherrefundat B¹ || ⁴ et om. C || rursum corr. ex rursus B || itidem A³ in idem M² || aut] A³B¹F²MK ut A¹B²C¹F¹PV || ⁵ paululum ZK || consumat ZK || ⁶ ut] aut M¹ || ⁷ ignosceret C || ⁸ remeare F² || exausta B¹ || ⁹ animantem B¹ || ¹⁰ renouatio, pr. o corr., C || oriretur B²C²FMV² || § 119, ¹¹ ratione corr. ex -em P || multus corr. ex -is B || maxime earum C || ¹² in centus A¹ || ex dissim.] et dissimis A¹ ex dissimili*** B¹ || ¹³ refrigeret, fr in ras. ampl. 3, A respigeret CV¹ || incedat C || is ACV¹ iis in ras. artiore B² his MK || interiecta, iec in ras. 3, A; post. i in ras. 2 B et V (intertexta? B¹) interiecta C || ¹⁶ maturitasque C¹ maturitat. V¹ || populatio B¹ copulato C¹ || ¹⁷ incolomit. ACM || coauement. B¹ coaugm. B²FM¹K coaem. V || ¹⁸ certe scio M || § 120, ¹⁹ ut caelest. A¹ (a suppl. A³) uita cael. P || ²⁰ non om. C || ²¹ stipes C || his quae (que C) sustententur ZK || ²² *e terra (fuit ae) B e terras C¹ || succum C || aluntur P || ²³ trunci om. P || ²⁴ coloribus C || ²⁵ atque—animantes om. P atque se ita er. ut amantes C || ²⁶ caulibus brassicis (brars. C) ZK || sippoter A¹V¹ si proter B¹ sippotet CP || satis CM¹ || ²⁷ ulla corr. 2 A || contingere V¹ || § 121, ²⁷ uero om. C || ²⁸ quanta*uar. BF (in B s eras.) || uis corr. 2 ex ius ? C || ut spscr. A¹ || ²⁹ aliae cor., iae in ras. unius litt. 2, A (alie B¹) || uellis P || ³⁰ spinnis A (sed alt. n spscr. 1), V¹ || pluma corr. ex plumas P || squama, squa in ras. 3, A seuama V¹ squamas, post. s del. 1, F || alias esse corn. armatas om. C¹ || pastus AB²FK || ¹ quicquid aptus P || ² enumerare, pr. e in ras. ampl. 2, B || partum CK || ³ descriptio ACMPV disscr. BF disscr. K || ⁴ quam-

121. qui C^1 || enim *om.* P || 5 conclusa C clausa M || atque locata, *om.* ita, FK || unihil A^1 || superuacuaneum $ABFPV$ superuacan., *sed can in ras.* 2, C || 6 cessarium C^1 || § 122, 7 autem *in ras.* A^3 || appetitum pastus ut C^1 (adpet. BF) || alterum C || quonatum ut *vid.* A^1 || 8 capefcendos B^1 || 9 saluta*ribus, *ri corr.*, A || serperdo V^1 || 10 partimoris, *supra pr. i lineola erasa*, A (p. horis V^1) || hiatum (?) C^1 || 11 i-
psis *om.* M^1 || capescunt V^{23} || partim—arri-
piunt *om.* P || adincitate A^1 || 12 alia carpunt
alia uorant alia mandunt ZK (al. uor. *errore om. ed.*) || 13 aliarum C || ea est] eas et APV ||
humilatas AV^2 humilatas PV^3 || 14 cyeni AP
cieni V^1 cigni $BCFV^2K$ || camelli $AB^1C^1V^1$ ||
adiuuatur A^1 (*corr. 3*) et V^1 adiuuiantur (?) C^1 ||
15 etiam elefanto data est C^1 || elefantos
quia AB^1V^1 elefanto quia B^2FMK elefantis
quia PV^2 || 16 propter et magn. C || § 123, 17
his cibus A || alius] F^2MV^2 aliis $ABC^1F^1V^1K$
alii C^2P || bestiis] P escis A (*sed cis in ras.*
3) et BCF^1MV^2K estis V^1 || 18 caeleritate B^1
(caeleritatem AB^2F^1M) celeritas V^2 || quibus
etiam B^1 et. quibusdam M || 20 rete textunt]
retextunt A^2K rexte texunt (?) B^1 *corr.* B^2
retae tex. C || inhaeresit (?) A^1 (inheser.
 B^1CPV^1K) || autem ex] V autem ut ex
 $ABCFMPK$ || opinato B^1K || 22 gradibus PV
(*sed corr. ut vid.* V^1) || cum pisciculi paruas
quilla A^1 (paruas quilla etiam P) || 23 quasi
om. A^1 || comparanda V^1 || pisciculi A || 24 hia-
tem C || innatauerint B^2FMV^3K || admonita
squilla (-tas qu. B^1P) Z , *sed adm. a squ.* M^2
|| pina morsus AB^1CPV^1 pinae morsu V^2 || 25
dissimilibus B^1 || § 124, 26 an iam *e corr.* C
(ani am B^1) || 27 naturae (-re B^1) ipsae (-se
 BF^1V) Z || sunt A^1C || 28 bestis B^1 || his quae
(quae AB^1C) Z || corcodili A^1V^1 corcodrilli
 A^3P corcodilli BFM^1 cocodrilli M^2 corcor-
dilli V^3 corcodilli K || flumialesque (-quae B^1)
 BFM || 30 noti C || anitum] AB^1V^1 anetum
 $B^2C^1FPV^2K$ anatum C^2M (A^3 *in mg. adnot.* :
quas anas uulgo uocamus, quae notae sine dubio
ad uerbum gallicum ane = ana spectat) || 1 sub-
ponimus $AMPK$ || al*untur, *pr. u corr.* 2, A ||
ab his ZK || 2 e quibus B^1 || foti fotique B^1
fo*tique F || [relinquunt AB^1 relinquit C^1 ||
4 potuerint B^2FMK || incenit A^1V^1 inseruit
 A^3 || 5 platelea C || 6 quare BF^1 (querere V)
|| aduoluntatem V^1 *corr.* 3-4 || aues $ACMPV$
|| 7 mengerent (?) A^1 || emersissent C || coepis-
sissent AMP || 8 earum *corr.* 1 ut *vid.* *ex eorum*
 B || (ille ACF^1V) || in quod] id quod Z || 9 i-
psam uaderet P || haec, *e corr.* 2, B (hoc P) ||
auis] cuis (?) C^1 || 10 eas (*om. que*) Z || cum bis
scr. B || calorem, *m del.* 1 ? , V || cum coxerit
 P^2 || euomere *om.* M^1 || eligere, *el corr.* 2, A
colligere B^1 || 11 his Z || § 125, 12 a*quam,
quam *in ras.* 2, A || quas] aquas C || 13 acces-
serunt P || consumii P || 14 ceruo V^1 || alter

om. B^1 || 15 nactus B^2FMV^2 || aristole B^1 ari-
stotile B^2FP || 16 pleraque quis, *post. q spscr.*
2 et s *in ras.* 2 vel 3, A pleraque uis BFM^1P
(*sed hic in ras.* 1) V plera quiuis C || potest
nominari BF || 17 transmittunt M || triangula
 C || effigere B^1 || forma C || 18 ab *in ras.* A^3 ||
iis] P , *sed ii in ras.* 1, is AMV^1 his $BCFV^3$ ||
19 lebatur A^1V^1 || bassis V^1 || quam Z || 20
effugiunt B^1 || aeeque A ea eque C ea aeeque
 V^1 -que V^2 || integro C^1P || 21 reponitur C ||
quod qua V^1 || 22 ubi nitatus B^1 || 23 ex his Z ||
adquirunt $ABCFM^1PV^1$ *corr.* M^2V^2 assequi-
tur *in mg.* V^{23} || § 126, 26 culibus B^1 cubiculis
 V^3 || delitescant M^2PV || 26 At quam] atque
(-quae B^1) Z || id est] idem C || saedis C (secl.
 B^1V^1) || purgante Z , *sed purgare corr.* V^2 || 1
aluo sibi AV^1 aluos ibis C aluo sibi BF^1 aluo
ibis F^2M aluos ibes PV^2 || curant Z || 2
benenata B^1 uenata C || carperentur A^1PV ||
temedium M^1 || 3 usse (?) B^1 || captas V^3 || in-
creata A^1V^1 || 4 uenatis C || dictamnos*, s *in*
ras. 2, A (-um ? A^1) dictamnos BF dictannus
(?) C^1 dictamus C^2 diptamnos V^1 || 5 cum *om.*
 P || exciderent C^1 || § 127, 5 ceruiceque M^1
(ceruicaequae C^1 cerueque P) || 6 ante paulo C^1
|| selis B^1 || 7 diffendat B^1 defendant V^2 et,
corr. 1 ex defendat, P || 8 morsu] V^2 cursu
 $ABCFMPV^1$ || 9 occult., o et *praeced.* e *corr.*
2, A || saepiae (-ie C) $ABCF$ || torpere C || 10
insectantes $ABCFM$ || 11 adhibet acura B^1 ||
12 prouidentia *corr.* ex prouet. A || 13 terrae CP
|| stirpibus C^1 *add.* V^{23} *in mg.* : quae altae
aut radicibus aut stirpibus || 14 habet C^1 ||
generetur F || 15 in *om.* P || intima $ACMPVK$
|| baccarum M^1 || 16 stirpe] forte C || fundan-
tur A || iisdemque B^2FV^2 (isdemquae B^1) || 17
renocatione, *sed pr. n ut vid.* ex u *corr.*, F ||
contempluntur (?) B^1 (complentur B^2CFPV) ||
§ 128, 17 quod A^1 || 18 ad perpetuum *om.* B^1 || 19
quod, uo *in ras.*, A || 20 causam B^1 || et ad pro-
creandum *om.* P || 21 concipiendum A^1V^1 || (ap-
tissime $ABFPV^1$) || mare B^2FMK || femina]
flumina (?) B^1 (faem. A) || commesc. M^1 || 22
corporum *om.* M^1 || 23 fugit M^1 || cum] eum C^1
|| 24 et lapsus A^1 || in his $BFMK$ || 25 latescere
 P (lactaesc. B) || 26 saturantur B^1 || 27 for-
tuitu BFK || opera *om.* M^1 || 28 foetus $BFMK$
|| procreant BFK || 29 his $BFMK$ || habent heae
 M (habente [?] ae B^1) || 30 gignuntur AB^1CV^1K
|| § 129, 31 educantes B^1 || custodisque A^1
(custodiendisquae B) || his $ACMPV$ is BF^1 ||
32 alunt $ABC(?)F^1MPV^1$ (*in C* 1 et i *vix di-*
gnosuntur) || 33 genuerint B^2FM || relinquunt
 B reliquunt C || aqua et] et et B^1 || 34 testitu-
dines P || concordilos $AB^1(?)V^1$ crocodillos
 B^2FM corcodrillos PV^2 || partum *corr.* ex par-
tunt C || 35 ediderunt B^1 || descendere B^1 || 1 per
se P || 2 relinquaе B^1 (relique A^1CV^1) || et quiē-
tum bis *scr.* A^1 || reliquerunt V^1 || 3 mollissime
 $ACMPV$ || subster] nunt, ter *extr. versui add.*

§ 129. 2; *supra post. s ras.*, B || facillime *ACMPV* || 4 excuderint *V*³, excluserunt *in mg. V*² *corr.* -int *V*³ || 5 apponant *C*¹ || 6 presequuntur *B*¹ prosecuntur *C* || reliquo *B*¹ || § 130, 7 accedit etiam ad *Z* || s terra] tamen *M*¹ || hominum *B*, *sed post. i spscr. ut vid. I, et F, sed ead. litt. erasa* || 10 homine *B*¹ || magnas *APV*¹ (?) magnas* *B*¹ magnae se *V*² (*se postea eras.*) || 11 habund. *BCFMPV*¹ || alis *B*¹ || 13 ad serend., *pr. d in ras. 2, C* || messopot. *C* memopotamitam, *sec. o ex a corr. et post. t del. 1, P* || 14 eufrates *ACFMPV*, *sed in F ras. supra t*; eufra-
trea *B* || quod annos *A*¹*B*¹*PV*¹ || 15 indos *AB*¹*V*¹ || 16 agros aqua solum *M*¹ (agros *corr. I ex annos P*) || mitigat] irrigat *C* || etiam eos *F* || 17 secum] secundum *ut vid. A* || simillimum *V*² || § 131, 20 tam uariae (-ie *BF*) tam *AB*²*FMPV*¹ tam uarietatem *B*¹ tam uaria tam *C* || 21 copla *V*¹ *et ut vid. B*¹ || 23 sed etiam] setiam *P* || iisdemque *A* iidemque *B*¹ isdemque *B*²*F* hisdemque *M* is denique *P* || qui || *oriuntur *B* quoriuntur *F* || et terra *B*¹ || 24 ethesias *B*¹*FV*² ethereos *corr. antiqua m. a consuetis correctoribus diversa in B* etiam esias *C*¹ || caloris *P* || 25 hisdem *M* iisdem *V*² || etiam] etiamiam *C*¹ *ut pro sequ. et* etiam *C*¹ *et sic in sequentibus usque ad 144 sexies etiamiam, ter etiam, quae singulari non notantur* || et certi *om. M*¹ || § 132, 26 e*numerari (t?) *B* || 28 recedentes *C*¹ || uestiti atque, i at m 2, at *in ras.*, *B* || siuestres *B*¹ || 29 plenissime (-ae 2) *B* plenissimae (-me 2) *F* plerissimae *V* || 30 artes, ar *in ras. 3, A* || denique, de 3 *in ras. trium vel quattuor litt.*, *A* || uictam *C*¹ || 32 quiscendi *B*¹ || 1 diuino, *post. i in ras. 2, A* || salute *C*¹ || hominum *C*³ || 2 admirabiliter *om. M*¹ || administrari. *Hic* administrari sin (-is *in B*) *Z* || § 133, 3 quaeret (quer. *V*¹) *ZK*, *sed in B* eret *in ras. 2, in C* t m. 2 *supra ras. 3 litterar.* || mollitio *C* || 4 quae] aquae *M*¹ (quae *corr. I ex quo P*) || 5 sustinentur, *post. n spscr.*, *C* || 6 tantum—igitur causa *om. C* || 7 raborasse *B*¹ || esse *in ras. B*² || s utantur *M*¹ || hii *M*¹ || 9 omnibus *om. B*¹ || 11 eo mundo sint *ZK*¹ (mundo sint *K*¹) || intellegitur (-ig. *AV*¹) *Z* || adhis *B*¹ (a diis *AB*²*FVP*²) || 13 profectio *C* || § 134, 14 potiones *B*¹ || 16 constrictis *V* || atque] atque ab iis *ACPV* atque ab his *BFMK* || extrenuatur *A*¹ extenatur *M* || molitur *Z* || 18 lingua *** | adiun. *A* || § 135, 19 accipit *A*¹ || 20 ore. Is] oris *Z*, *sed in V* fort. ex horis *corr.* || 21 tosillas, *pr. s corr. 2, B* tosillas *C* || his *AC*²³*MV* || 23 aeae quae *A*¹ ae-
quae *B*¹ eque *C* eaeque *F* heae quae *M* eae-
quae *K* || infra aquam id *B*¹ infra id *B*²*F**M*²*K* infra quam *om. M*¹ || 24 suprae *C* || § 136, 25 enim *om. M*¹ || 26 stamachus *C*¹ || 27 (ea quae ad *ACV*) dicta *C* || 28 est] sit *Z*, *sed V* totam sententiam sic habet: ea qua eductus it spiritus eademque; spiritus ead. etiam *C* (ean-

demquae *B*¹) || spir. a pulmonibusque eandem respiret *M* || ad pulm. *AB*¹ || te*gitur *V* || 29 eam] quam *V*² || ne si] nisi *A*¹*B*¹*V* || quid] quod *ABCFPV* (*de M nihil adnotari*) || in] si *in V*² || 30 incidisset *F*¹ || alui] alium *M*¹ || anatura *C*¹ || 31 pulmones, pul *in ras. 2, V* || 32 adducantur *PV*¹ adducant *V*² || in alio *P* || 33 constant *ABFMPVK* || 34 illum *C*¹ || recipit *ACPV* || ut id mutari *om. A*¹ || 35 concoqui, coqui *in ras. 3, A* || omnes *B*¹ || 36 accipit *B*²*CFM* (*corr. M*¹ *ex accep.*) || et calorem *A* (*sed corr. I ex -um*) *B*¹*PV*¹ ex calore *B*²*FMK* || multam *V*¹ || et terendo (eterendo *B*, *sed eter in ras. 2, et FK*) cibo et *Z* || 1 spiritu, u *in ras. 2, C* || 3 sfhongiiis *AV*¹ sphong. *M* || auriendum *BCF*¹ || aptissimum *C*¹ || 4 tum in spiritu *Z*, *sed tum se spir. corr. V*² || dilatantur *B*¹ || § 137, 6 autem] autem aluo *ABCF*¹*PV* autem et aluo *F*²*MK* || secretur aliquo *A*¹ || succus *B*¹ || his *BFM*¹*K* || permaneat, *post. e del.*, *P* || 7 a*medio *B* || intestino, no *spscr.*, *A* *pr. in spscr. C* || sic] si *A*¹ || s appellantur, ur *eras.*, *M* || adiecorique (-quae *V*¹) *AV*¹ adiecoraeque *B*¹ iecorique, *om. ad, P* || 9 aliae (-ie *K*) pertinentes *ZK* || 10 a] et *C* || 11 reliquas in *B*¹ || saaguine *C* || 12 confluus *A*¹ || ad, d *spscr. I* ? , *C* || uie eius *P* || quas* lapsus *F* || 13 ueniam *B*¹ || quae] qua *B* (*sed corr. I ex que*) et *F*¹ || 14 perquem (m *eras.*) *C* (perquae *B*¹*K*) || coactusque *ZK* || § 138, 16 reliquae *A*¹ (reliquie *CP*) || 17 astrigentibus *C*¹ || haud] aut *B*¹ || 18 dictum *C*¹ dittum, m *eras.*, *M* || 19 incredibiles *A*¹ || 21 spiritur, *post. r del.*, *A* || coagitatione *V* cogitatione *M*¹ || 22 quaddam *C*¹ || quam *ACF*²*MPV* et, *corr. I ex quem, B* qua *F*¹ || uenterculum *ACPV* uenterculam *K* || 23 sanguinis *P* || adiecore *B*¹ || ueniam *C*¹ || 24 ex iis *ACPV* || 26 quamdam *B*¹ || artificiosi* (o?) *B* || § 139, 28 finiendos et adcomm. *V*¹ (fin. acc. *B*²*CFV*²*K*) || 31 toto *spscr. I P* || a] ad *A*¹ || tractae (-te *B*¹) et profectae (-te *M*) *Z* || 32 dicuntur *A*¹ || § 140, 33 diligenter *C* || 1 quanta *V*¹ (quante *B*¹) || adhys *B*¹ (a diis *A*¹*B*²*CFV*²) || 2 qui *ZK* || et rectos *V* || constituerunt *C*²*M*² || deorum, eo *corr. 2-3, A* || 3 possent *corr. I ex* possunt *A* || hominis *B*¹ || 4 habitatores *A* || sed quasi spectatores *om. B*¹ || spectatores] peccatores (?) *C*¹ || 5 rerum, rer *in ras. 2, B* || animantum *C* || 7 in arce] marce *P* (in arcae *B*¹) || 9 suum munere *B*¹ || § 141, 10 in sublime (*corr. ex -ae F*) *ZK* || 11 nares eo quod *C*²*M*² || 12 refertur *P* || rursum *C* || 13 causam, m *del. I* ? , *B* || (uicinitate mc-
ris *A*¹*C*¹*PV*¹) || iamque *V*²³ || gustus, st *corr. 2, C* || 14 deberet *ZK* || parte] apate *A*¹ aparte *MPV*¹ || 15 quae escul. *B*²*FK* (qua aesc. *CM*) || po*tulentis (s?) *B* || naruta *AV*¹ *natura (i *eras.*; tura *in ras. 2*) *B* || 16 pr. omnes *spscr. I A* || nimios *ZK* || 17 possimum *B*¹ || atque in *C*¹ utque in *C*² (in *spscr. I P*) || 18 profluenti *P*

41. || 19 tetri *in ras.* B^2 (tetri etiam $CFMPV$) || res similes $ABCFPV^3$ similes res M || 20 amandauit V^{23} uel amouit *spscr.* A^3 || § 142, 20 praeeter P (pret. V^1) || 21 potuisset] potius sed C^1 || 22 uestiuit B || 23 cerne B^1 || possit BFK || post. ut om. C^1 || 24 cos oculos fecit et om. B^1 || 25 si quid noceret om. C^1 (si quit noc. B^1) || 26 quaj quae C^1 || popula B^1C^1 || 27 possunt C || palpaebraeque quae A (sed sec. e *in ras.* 2) B^2 palpebraeque quae B^1V^1 palpebrae quaeque C || tecta B^1 || 28 mollissima et actu C (me tactu V^1) || (aptissimae $ACFMPV^1$) || 29 populares C^1 || et aperiendas C || idantidem B^1 idem itidem M || § 143, 31 si quit et B^1 (si quit A) || 32 coniuuentibus] M^2 et *in ras.* m. 1 ut uid. V conluentibus $ABCFMPV$ || non negeremus V^1 || 33 ut qui] utque C^2 || 34 et om. C^1 || 35 et a fronte B^2 (sed a *rurs. del.*) F || 36 part A || leuiterque ZK || nasus itaque (ita V^2) locatus est A (sed as *in ras.* 2) B^2FMPVK nasus** || est B^1 || § 144, 1 seper V || 2 a om. B^1 || etiam *in ras.* F^2 || a somno C || 3 et om. B^1 || 5 sordius A^1V^1 corr. A^3V^{23} || 6 causa, u *supra ras.*, A || fautae A (facte V^1 facta etutandi quae ut uid. B^1) || 7 ab his ZK || 8 multisque conflexibus AM || 9 relatus, l *in ras.* 2, B || amplificatus B^1 || quicirca in C || 10 corni C || et ex] aut ex V^1 || inclusi C || soni om. ZK || § 145, 12 utilitatis AM^1 || putent V^1 || contractionis C || 13 euadere C et ut uid. B^1 || 14 non utilem C || 15 incolomitatis AMP || 16 omnesque $A^1(?)BFMPV^1K$ omnis qui C^1 || multo cellum (?) B^1 multo antecellunt B^2FMK || 17 in his ZK || 19 cernit A^1 || figuram C^1 || 21 uirtute A^1 || § 146, 23 artificiosumque, s corr. ex r, A || idicium C^1 || 24 tibiurumque M^1 || uacarietas B^1 || 25 distincta C^1 || fusum C || 27 gustandi et parte (arte V^2) tangendi magna $ABFMPVK$ gustandi magnam (post. in *eras.*) C || 28 perfluendos B^1 || plure A^1 || quem B^1 || 29 composiones B^1 compo*sit. C (composit. B^2FMPVK) || (30 condiciones $BCPV^1$) || § 147, 32 perspicit] uel percipit *spscr.* V^4 || is om. $BCFK$ del. A^2M^2 || 33 disputarem] spicua rem C || tua C || 34 dare V || uelim Z || cottam C^1 cocta P cottae (?) V^1 || eloquentiam cotta M || illam C || 35 intellegentiam B^1 (intelligentia AV^1) || 36 conpraessio B^1 (conpraehensio A^2B^2 conpraeh. $CFPV$) || uidemus quid (quit B^1) B^2FMK || 37 rationem $AMPPV$ || re C || diffinimus V^4 || 1 (circumscripetaeque $A^2B^2CF^1M^1PV^1$) || completetur A^1 completetur V^1 (complectimur $CFPV^2$) || 2 qua] quia C || ne om. C || 3 illa] nulla A^1 || infirmitatis (?) B^1 || 4 ea qua C (ea que A) || percimus A^1 || conprehend. B conpraeh. M conpraeh. CP conpreh. F comprehend. V || § 148, 7 uis] ius C^1 || s qua ei ign. P || 9 cohartamur P || hac persuademus *sqg.* quinquies ac V^1 *prim.* hac, deinde quater ac A^1 corr. A^3V^3 || 10 afflictas C (adflitos BF) || a timore] amore P || 11

gestientes, pr. s *in ras* 2-3, A || restringimus C^1P restringimus C^2 || 12 uiris C^1 || legum, um corr. 2, B (legis ? B^1) legium V^1 || deuixit C^1 et B , sed *in hoc* n *spscr.* I || § 149, 13 ora*tionis (e ?) B || in*credibile (ae ?) A || si] nisi ZK || 15 arterias C || 16 mante V^1 || et***funditur (pro ?) P || ore, e *in ras.* 2, C || sita est lingua P || 17 terminat quae ZK || sonos, nos *spscr.* 1, B || 18 et post cum om. CP || pr. ad om. $A^1BFM^1V^1K$ add. A^3V^2 || post. ad om. BFK || 19 plectricae C^1 || soli dicerent C^1 || 20 his qui ZK || § 150, 22 quam, qua *in ras.* 3, A || 23 facilis om. C || facitisque B^1 || 24 nulla C^1 || im || motu F || 25 ad pingendum fingendum ZK || adcalpendum B^1 || 26 ac] ad ZK , sed corr. ac V^2 || admotione] B^2FK admotionem $ACMPV^1$ et, corr. ead. m. ex admonitionem, B^1 || 27 oblationis C^1 || acrorum B^1 || 28 tegimenta V^2 || aeris, a del., C aaeris, pr. a del. 2, V || 29 ad inuenta, post. a corr. 1 ex o, B aduenta FK || 30 opificium A || 31 possimus A (sed corr. 1 ? ex possumus) $BFMPVK$ || urbes, es *in ras.* 3, A || urbes domos muros delubra M || § 151, 32 opibus B^1 operibus *in ras.* 1 P || id est] deest B^1 idem C^1P || et copia *in ras.* B^2 || 33 consummantur BFP^1V^1 || 35 uolatilibus M || capiando...alando, sed corr. alaendo, A || 36 quadrupedum M || uectionis C || 1 uiga B^1 || acutissimis $ACPV$ || 2 nosseter*rae ut uid. B^1 (nos aeterrae A^1CP) || 3 aeris, a del., C || argenti* B || argenti et auri C^1 || 4 additas C^1 || 5 confectionem $ACPV^1$ confectione BFM || omnique et materia BF || culta corr. ex cultu V || 6 calfaciendum BF calefaciendum M || 7 partim et ad $ACMPV$ || frigora pellamus et calores M || pelamus B^1 pellam P || § 152, 9 subpeditantur A supped. $BCFMP$ et, corr. 1 ex subp., V (in ed. typogr. err.) || 10 modorationem B^1 || 11 praeter C || nautigarum A nauti earum V^1 || maritimis B || 14 ammes (?) A^1 || indoctionibus A^1 || 15 fecunditatem ** $Damus$ B || derigimus B^1 || 16 auertimur V^1 corr. 2-3 || denique nostris M || in om. C || § 153, 18 in**caelum A || 19 ortus, o *in ras.* 2, C || 20 finitus] fontus C || mensus (?) A^1 || 21 solus A^1 || praedicataeque AB^2CMPV (sed di *spscr.* C^1) praedicaeque B^1 predicateque (-taeque ?) F || 22 accipit ad $A^1B^2CFMPV^1K$ accipit ad C^1 accipit, del. ad, A^2 accipit ab iis V^2 || 23 est om. B^1 || 24 par || ***et, r et t m. 2, B || similibus B^1 || 25 cedes C^1 (caedens B) || 29 fortuna, na *in ras.* 3, C || § 154, 29 aliquanto P || peiorem C^1 30 munmundo, sed pr. mun *eras.*, P || 32 ipse C^3 *in ras.* octo litt. || 33 sunt omnia parata P || 35 urbis, i *eras.*, B urs C || 36 Lacedaemonem Atheniensium om. C (lacedemonem AMV lacedem. BCF ; *in sequ.* lacedem. MV lacedem. $ABCF$) || -que causa] quae causa, cau *spscr.* 1, || 37 omnia quae, om. que, B^1 || 38 sunt om. C (sunt corr. 1 ex sint F) || omni] uel hoc *spscr.* V^3 || § 155, 1 circuitus M || 3 tamen ad spect.

§ 155. (ad *del.*) *M* || 5 praestantior eorum, ior *in ras.* 2 et eorum *spscr.* 2, *B* (prest. *FPV*¹) || demetati *V*¹ || *maturit. *B* || uarietatis *AB¹MPV¹* || 6 nata *B¹* || 7 hominum causa facta esse *M* || § 156, 7 foeta *CP* || 8 et uario *bis scr.* *A¹* || quae cum maxima etenim si di (dii) (§ 16, 30) *ACPV* quae cum maxima (maxima *M*) tam multarum rerum (§ 15, 20) *BFM cf. supra ad § 15, 20* || largitate *sqq.*] *P deest*—§ 162, 27.

Z = ABCFMV

largitate—uidetur *bis exhibent AB²CM* (*cf. ad l. l.*), *B² priore, M posteriore loco deleta* || 10 uberrimi *CFMV et B, sed berrimi in ras.* 2 || laetissimique *BF* letissimique *C* || 12 condendi] *V¹* uel colendi *spscr.* *V³* || 13 hominum] omnium *A* || est et] esset *AFMV¹* || § 157, 15 utipso- sent *A¹V¹* uti possunt *V²* || dixi iis] *CF²V²* dixi is *A¹BF¹V¹* dixi his *A²M* || 16 ex his *BF* ex hiis *M* || 17 ne enim *B¹* || 18 murium *Z* || aut] atque *C* (*corr. fuit ut vid. aut, sed atque restit.*) || 19 furtum *C¹* || § 158, 21 nisi *B²CFM* || ubertas uarietas (uariet. *A*) *ABFMV* || 22 etiam aetas pectus *M¹* || 23 quin] qui in *M¹* || 24 ut ipsas, ut *corr.* 2, *A* ut ipsa *B¹* || 25 cratia *A¹V¹* || 26 uillis] uiuis *V¹* || confectus *A¹V¹* || 29 taque *A¹M¹* *corr.* *A³M²* tanque *C* || 31 cummoditates *A¹* comod. *C* commoditates *in ras.*, *sed m.* 1 *ut vid.*, *V* || 32 generatas *C¹* || § 159, 32 bobus *B²F* || quarum *C¹V* || 33 nete *A¹* nate *A²V¹* || 34 humerorum *BFMV* || arara *V¹* || 35 subigeren- tur, *ge corr.* 2, *B* || poetae, *p spscr.*, *A* pote *C* (poete *F¹*) || 36 loquuntur *A* locuntur *B²F* || 37 exortae *pente *A¹* exortarii (?) pente *A²* *corr.* *A³* || est *A³ supra ras. unius litt.* sunt *B¹* *del.* *B² om.* *F* || 1 funestum, *e corr.* 1 *ex i, V* finem tum *C¹* || primast] *V¹* prima est *A* (*sed est in ras.* 2) *B¹V³* prima, *om.* est, *B²FM* prima sunt *C* || fabricarier ensem] *A³M²* fabricari feren- sem *A¹B¹C* *et ut vid.* *V¹* fabricari ferre ensem *B²FM¹* fabricari (*spscr.* uel ier) ferro ensem *V³* || 2 gestare *B²FM* || iunctum *Z* (*in A n spscr.* *I*) || iumentum *C* || 3 percipue bubus *BF* prae- cipue bubus *A²* || 4 mulorum persequi] *B*, *sed lo in ras.* 2 (lho ? *I*) ***mulorum persequi *AV* (si *eras. in A, ut vid. etiam in V*) si mulorum persequar (-or *M*) *B²FM* || asinorum, *i corr.* *ex e vel o, V* || § 160, 5 quid] qui *F¹* || 6 pute- scere *F¹* putresceret *M* || datam**dicit *A* || 10 pronoea *Z* || eae] heae *in ras.* *A³* aeae *B¹MPV¹* aeae (?) *C¹* haec *C²* || ne, *n in ras.* 2, *B* || capa- rentur *V¹* || 11 aues *C* || 12 oscine *B¹* || appellant *corr.* 1 *ex -ent B* || 13 natas esse *C* || § 161, 14 nasciscimur *A* nancissimur *B¹* et *F*, *sed in hoc corr.* 1 || his *BFM* || et ante exerc. *om.* *B¹V¹* || 15 cumdocefactis ut *BF* condocefacti sint *V* || 17 eligamus *Z* || stirpibus, *post. i in ras. ampl.*, *F* || erbis *AB¹* || 18 periclitatatione *B* peridita- tione *C¹* *et ut vid.* *A¹* pericli[clatatione *M* || percipimus *ABFMV* || 19 cernens *V¹* cerneres *V²* || § 162, 22 intimis *C* || plurim., 1 *supra ras.*

(*r ?*), *A* || 23 utilitas *A* || solis *corr. ex solus B* || 24 reprehend. *BF* repreh. *C²* || 25 libenter *BF corr. ex lubenter C* || uelleius] uellet *C¹* || 26 inridit *AB¹* inridit *V¹* inridet *V²* || praedica- tionem *ABC¹FMV* || 27 maxime *C* (maximae *A*) || deorum] duorum *B¹* Incipit rursus *P* :

Z = ABCFMPV

prudencia *ABCFMPV¹* || 29 cum] tum *C* || maxime *BCFV* || in *om.* *Z* || puplicis *B¹* || § 163, 30 oracis *ABCFMV* || 31 uatinat. *BF* || 32 ex *om.* *Z* || *utilitate *A* || 33 siue ars siue uis *C* (siue ars, *e spscr.* 1, *A*) || scientia *C¹* (scienciam *A*) || 1 alicuiquam *ABCFM¹PV¹* ab aliquo *M²* ab alio *V³* || 2 mouent, *ue in ras.* 3, *A* mobent *V¹* || tam *B¹* || 3 connexa *V²* || coniuncta *B¹* iuncta *C* || debebunt *B²CFMV²* debeant *P* || § 164, 4 adhis *B¹* (a diis *V²*; *in A quoque alt.* i *superscr. huius, sed eras.*) || 6 singulos *corr. ex -as C* || 8 huiusce *M* || 9 destancium *AB¹* de- stantium *V¹* distanc. *B²* || ob eas] obas *A¹V¹* ob has *A²BCFMPV²* || 10 has... terras, *h et pos- tea s spscr.* 1 ? , *A* || § 165, 11 iis *om.* *Z* || quan- dam magnam *P* || 12 colunt *C* || 13 affricam *M* || 14 romani *P* || 15 separati *A* || onirhi (?) *B¹* (phyrrī *B²F* phirri *P*) || 16 corumcanium *BCF* || 17 metellium *F* || lutacium *ABM* || maximum *CP* || africanos *B¹* || 18 graccum *B¹P* || memo- riam *BF* || scippionem *C* || 20 ueros *V¹* || § 166, 21 poetas] pietas *F¹* || maximeque *CP* (ma- xumaeque *AV¹*) || 22 herohum *AV¹* heroum**, um *m.* 2, *B* || ulixi, xi *in ras.* 2, *B* || ulixi achilli agamennoni achilli *P* || diomedii *V²* || agamemnoni*** *B* agamemoni *V¹* agamennoni *PV²* || acilli *B¹* || 24 praesentiae *B¹* (presentie *F¹*—iae *F²* praesentie *M¹*) || supera *B²* || ab is *A¹* ab his *BF¹* ab hiis *M* || et in ciuitatibus *AB¹MPV¹* || 25 quidem] quid est *M¹* || 26 por- dentuntur *B¹* protend. *P* || 27 multa in extis (exstis *B¹*) *ABC²FMPV¹* m. inentis *C¹* || 28 affi- ceret *C* || § 167, 29 adflato *B¹* afflatu *B²FMVK* adstatu *C* || 30 id *om.* *ZK* || sis seget. *B¹* || 31 e *in ras.* *A³* (ae *V¹*) || uitae, *i spscr.* 3, *A*, a *in ras.* 2 *B* || comotis *B¹* || abstulerit casus *P* || 32 neglegctum *B¹* negl. *F* (*sed c del.* 1) et *K* || *iudicemus (quidic. ? *I*) *B* || 33 magna** *A* || prospere *BFVK* eueniunt *add. in mg.* *V³* || 34 si *om.* *C* || filoso filiae *BF* (filosofae *A*) || 35 dignum *B¹* || § 168, 1 ferre *B¹* || mente *C* || 2 utarem *B¹* || de, *d in ras. ampl.* 2-3, *V* || eun- dem *V¹* || 3 ciuem putes et *P* || cogitas *C* || 4 utraque partem *C¹* utraque parte *C²* || uouis *A¹B¹V¹* quouis *V²* uobis *V³* || desputarae, ta *spscr.*, *A* desputare *BF¹V¹* -ri *V²* uel -e *V³* || 5 archetoricis *A* (a rethor. *FP*) || exerc. accep- tam *ampl.* *Z* (acc. *in editione excidit*) || acade- mi*a (e) *B* (achad. *CP*) || putius *V¹* || huc (hunc *C¹*) conferas (-es *B¹*) *ABCFMV* conferas huc *P* || etiam pia *ABFPV¹* (*sed tiam in ras.* *P¹*) || 7 contra eos disputant *B¹* || simulate.] *in ABV ante subscriptionem eastabant prima III. libri*

38. *verba quaecum balbus—cotta, sed postea crasa sunt* || M. Tullii (Tulli B, T. *PM*) Ciceronis (C. *M*) de deorum natura explicit (explicitus B) lib. II. (lib. II. explicit *V*) incipit liber (liber om. *AM*) III. *ABFMV*; subscriptione carent *CP*. P. SCHWENKE.

(Continuabitur.)

SONNENSCHN'S NEW EDITION OF THE *RUDENS*.

T. Macci Plauti Rudens, edited with critical and explanatory notes by EDWARD A. SONNENSCHN, M.A., professor of Greek and Latin in the Mason College, Birmingham. Clarendon Press, 1891. 8s. 6d.

THIS is the third play of Plautus which Prof. Sonnenschein has edited for the English public. His first, the *Captivi*, was a translation from the German of Brix, with only occasional notes of his own and some emendations of Bentley. The *Mostellaria* (1884), uniform with W. Wagner's small edition of the *Aulularia*, *Menaechmi* and *Trinummus*, but on a much more elaborate scale, showed the editor's complete competence in a more independent way; for, though based on the edition of Lorenz, Prof. Sonnenschein has throughout followed his own judgment both in the constitution of the text and in the explanation of the language. The interval of seven years which has elapsed between the *Mostellaria* and the volume just issued by the Clarendon Press has greatly matured the editor's powers and increased his command of all the resources required now-a-days in an editor of Plautus. In preparing it, Prof. Sonnenschein has deviated from his plan in the *Mostellaria*, by taking into counsel, and submitting his opinion very largely to the suggestions of, a Berlin scholar, Prof. Otto Seyffert—with some advantages, perhaps, yet not without leaving an occasional impression of undue submission to a clever but certainly not always convincing authority. Comparing the size of the later with the earlier work, I incline to pronounce the *Mostellaria* superior in handiness and convenience for most readers; the notes are printed beneath the *app. crit.* and in the same page with the text; in the *Rudens*, which is in the octavo form and printed with more luxury of type, the text and *app. crit.* are in the same page, and the commentary, which is longer perhaps than in the *Mostellaria*, is placed at the end. This plan, while it improves the book for teaching Plautus to schoolboys, make it less convenient for the ordinary reader. There is an

appendix of conjectures on some of the obscurer passages in the play, and excursus on *ecce, eccum, eccam*, on *em, hem, ehem*, on *eu, euge, eugepue*, on *heu, cheu*. A copious index is added.

In a work so full of matured and carefully digested learning as this edition of the *Rudens* it is difficult to single out points of excellence. It is an easier and perhaps more profitable course to indicate the chief points in which among English editions of Plautine plays this seems to the present writer to be the most important, always excepting W. Wagner's larger edition of the *Aulularia*, which was, at the time it appeared, a revelation to most English scholars, especially as regards the metre of Plautus.

First in its illustration of Plautus's language from Plautus himself, it is, so far as I have observed, without a parallel. Prof. Sonnenschein here shows how largely his reading has been concentrated on his author, how thoughtfully he has assimilated what the earlier editors, Lambinus, Taubmann, Gronovius, as well as what the later critics have written, the Ritschelians, with Brix, Lorenz, Ussing, and particularly the excellent studies of Langen, whose book ought to be in the hand of every Plautine student. Nor has he omitted American scholars or our own, notably the lamented Onions, in whom Oxford lost, at nearly the same age, a second and perhaps hardly inferior Gulielmus. Examples of this wealth of illustration of Plautine diction will be found throughout the volume: I mention the following, on the use of *non* in surprised questions (341); on *orbis* with genitive, and similar adjectives (349); on *bellambelle* (426); on neuter adjectives used substantively, e.g. *impudenti* shamelessness, *inhumanum* inhumanity (620); on the pres. indicative with a future or deliberative sense (687); on repetition of a word, to mark a question (799); on *uolup* (892); on *hasce gratias* = 'thanks for this' (906); on *igitur demum* (930); on *pol qui, hercle qui* &c. (946); on *ne* interjection (1040); on *equidem* (1077); on *papae* (1320); on abstracts in *-io* (1371).

Secondly, in no commentary will be found clearer or preciser explanations of certain recurring Plautine formulae: e.g. *tua isthaec sunt*, 'you are another' (752); *at scinquomodo* (797); *non audes*, 'won't you?' (870); the note on *ex proclivum planum*, showing the more than probability of this happy conjecture of Gulielmus (1132); on *hoc habet* (1143); on *noster Daemones*; on *os frigatefactas* (1326); on *quid istic?* 'for ought I care' (1331); on *mirum quin* (1393); on *ni* used in *sponsiones* and *stipulationes* (1381).

Thirdly, the *text* is edited with the utmost care. Studemund's apographon of the *Rudens* portion of the Ambrosian palimpsest is carefully reproduced, though alas the remains are scanty indeed! Schöll's elaborate edition has always been before our editor, and largely utilized, though scarcely enough, I think, in comparison with Seyffert. But then Seyffert will be as new to Schöll as to Tyrrell, Palmer, and the English public, and it is perhaps only just to a scholar who has contributed so much to make the book not only good but new, that his emendations and suggestions should not be placed on a level with the indiscriminate remarks of other critics. Whatever the ultimate verdict pronounced on the Berlin scholar, it will be allowed that he is careful to follow not only the MS. indications but the general style of Plautus' language.

The elaboration with which this play is edited is not, in my opinion, quite in proportion to its dramatic goodness. The last scenes of the *Rudens* are heavy and tedious: both the *Captivi* and the *Mostellaria* are more interesting. In comic humour it falls far short of the *Miles Gloriosus*, the *Menaechmi*; in sustained dramatic interest it cannot compare with the *Truculentus* or the *Asinaria*, both, unfortunately, turning on subjects which make them undesirable for youth. It is perhaps some association of this kind which has debarred Prof. Sonnenschein from noticing the numerous Plautine criticisms of that extraordinary critic Schopp

(Scioppius), who to his other literary many-sidedness added a profound love and constant study of Plautus. The *Suspectae Lectiones* of Scioppius well deserve perusal and quotation: and on the *Rudens* he has left not less than a dozen notes.

The following points appear to me open to criticism. 930 *instruam* 'lay out': 987 *philosophe* vocative. Is it not adverb? 998 *Sunt alii puniceo corio, magni autem* (Seyffert) *atque atri* for *magni item* of MSS. which is certainly right: 997 *Quo colorest* 'considering the colour which it is.' Surely it is a question: 1018 the passage of A. Gellius does not prove the existence of a neuter substantive *sequestrum*, and the explanation of *sequestro* as a dative like *pignori dare* is uncertain: 1178 *Gripi scelera* cannot be 'the misfortunes of Gripius': 344 *certe* is rightly explained by Langen 'at any rate.' Perhaps too the frequent 'Correct Lewis and Short' might be omitted with advantage: and the discovery of the mistakes which in a great lexicon are all but unavoidable be communicated to the lexicographers privately.

The following suggestions on the text are my own. 194 for *sibigni* read *sibi indigni*: 419 *qui te inanem munerem*: 468 *commodule meliust*, cf. 1274 *An sic potius placide?* Scepharnio is represented as not only expecting Ampeliscia to appear, but realizing the scene between himself and her: 'Are you going to take this pitcher? Best do it gently.' 1102 *uerum hinc* † *ibi testimonium* perhaps is a remnant of *u. h. cibisis testimonium*; *κίβισις* is a kind of wallet. Hesych. *κίβισις. πηρα. Κίπριοι*. 1248 *Ego mihi quom lusi nil moror ullum lucrum*, perhaps *Ego mihi conclusi*, 'I am not in collusion with my slaves, the only party I am in collusion with is myself.'

Prof. Sonnenschein has the full reverence of his countrymen for everything that comes from Bentley. Nothing short of such a feeling could accept Bentley's impossible correction of 1114.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

GOETZ'S MILES GLORIOSUS.

Miles Gloriosus. Editio altera a Georgio Goetz recognita. Comoediarum Plautinarum Tom. IV. Fasc. II. Lipsic: Teubner. 1890. 6 Mk.

In a work so purely and entirely dogmatic as the recensions by Loewe, Goetz, and Schoell

of Ritschl's Plautus, the appearance of a second edition even of a play so fascinating as the *Miles Gloriosus* is not a matter of much interest, and I have not taken the trouble to go through the two editions side by side to look for modifications of the former text. In all the test passages presenting recognized

textual difficulties their views appear to be but little altered. This very fact might, of course, be highly instructive if we had even a word or two in defence of the reading presented, but there is hardly a line of *criticism* from the beginning to the end of the edition. The *instrumentum criticum* of the first edition is repeated and enlarged with subsequent conjectures, but on these no judgment is expressed. There is no discourtesy, for this edition is by Goetz not by Schoell, but there is a tacit assumption that the text of the first edition must be right—or at least that no one may alter it but themselves—and that there is no reason why it should be defended, however vigorously it has been impugned. For instance, in the eighth verse Ritschl read *stragem*, which he took from a glossary in which *strages* is explained as σωπὸς νεκρῶν. There is not a vestige of MS. authority for this, and all the MSS. give something approximating more or less to the *fartum* of Lambinus or the *fartum* of Muretus. Ussing really proved the inappropriateness of *stragem* by pointing out that if Plautus had used that word he would not have written *stragem facere ex hostibus*, but *stragem facere hostium*. To this just criticism we find not a word of answer, but *stragem facere ex hostibus* stands as before in the text. There does not seem to be much chance of progress in the formation of a standard text of Plautus unless objections against certain readings put forward by responsible persons and maintained by argument are acknowledged to be just or shown to be groundless. I have taken this case merely because it comes at the very beginning of the play, but there are others as strong and stronger. For instance, when the MSS. give

quoi facietarum corpusque sit plenum et doli,
we should like to know why the un-rhythmical *cor corpusque* of Camerarius still holds the field against the *corpus usque* of Ussing and Palmer. The phrase *usque plenum*, 'full to the brim,' is admirably appropriate, the error of the MSS. assumed is of the most normal kind, and as against *cor corpusque* we read three lines further on

nam cor non potest quod nulla habet.

Goetz points out this fact, and mentions the reading which had occurred independently to Ussing and Palmer, but reads *cor corpusque* in the text.

Again, on 779,

edepol qui te de isto multi cupiunt non
mentirier,

I should have been glad to know why the *nunc* of Acidalius is preferred to the *non* of the MSS., in which Dr. Brix (2nd ed. 1882) acquiesced.

Goetz rightly introduces Prof. Minton Warren's non-interrogative enclitic *-ne* in 309, *hocine si miles sciat*; and in 685 he accepts Studemund's beautiful reading,

nam bona uxor suave ductust si sit usquam
gentium,

adding *multo probabilius esse quam Loewii LUDUS DURUST ipse vidi*. Studemund's reading is certainly much prettier than Loewe's, but it is strange that each editor should have persuaded himself that he *saw* in the Ambrosian palimpsest such a very different set of letters. It looks as if each formed a judgment as to what the poet should have written, and then persuaded himself that he saw it in the palimpsest. In the *locus desperatus* 438 Goetz gives the extraordinary verse: *abi, picra's tu, non elucidata* ('you are bitter not sweetened'), *et meo ero facis iniuriam*, mentioning among other conjectures in the *apparatus criticus* Hasper's ἀγλυκεῖς *es tu, non γλυκεῖα*, Spengel's ἄδικος *et tu, non δικάια*, and Bergk's

abi Circa es tu noenu Dirca,

which latter is perhaps better than any reading which has yet been proposed; none, however, of the suggested corrections are at all probable. Perhaps a simpler correction than any yet made would be

Aglycera es tu noenu Glycera, et meo ero
facis iniuriam;

Sceledrus says she is not *Glycera* (γλυκερά), 'sweet,' but the opposite, to express which he coins the word ἀγλυκερά. In 883 he reads with Gulielmus,

postquam addibere aures meae tuae oram
orationis,

which is perhaps, on the whole, the best suggestion which has yet been made. Verse 1028 is given to Milphidippa, and *habeo* of the MSS. is restored; the *hiatus* involved in Brix's reading *rem habe* is impossible, as the last syllable of an anapaest is the syllable in arsis.

It is curious how little the edition has to show for the fact that it is the first published since Studemund's recension of A. One of the most important announcements about A in the present edition is that on verse 8 it presents '*nec fartum nec fartum nec fractum nec fratres nec frusta nec offam nec stragem sed velut fretis vel fritis vel minus*

probabiliter *fretum* vel similes aliquas literas.' So that *stragem* has no MS. authority whatever, while *fatrum* and *fratrem* have some countenance from A, and strong support from the other MSS. In 69 Studemund gives as from A

Molestae sunt orant, ambiunt, exobsecrant.

In the Preface pp. xxi.-xxiv. a number of conjectures on the *Miles* by German critics are brought together. None of them are either interesting or probable. Perhaps the

worst of them is Schoell's *da qui faciam compito atque* in 692.

I take this opportunity of withdrawing note on 112 in my edition of the *Miles*. It is not certain that in Plautus *clam* can take any case except the accusative; the genitive rests on the wrong interpretation of *clam patris*, Merc. I. 1. 43, the dative on a wrong reading in Mil. III. 3. 9, and even the ablative has been generally corrected by the best modern editors.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

BENOIST'S VIRGIL.

Œuvres de Virgile avec un commentaire critique et explicatif, par E. BENOIST Professeur de Poésie latine à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Vol. i. 3rd ed. 1884; vol. ii. 3rd ed. 1882; vol. iii. 4th ed. 1890, each vol. 7 fr. 50 c. Hachette et Cie.

THIS is a most pleasant book. Paper and printing are admirable, while the notes, which are placed beneath the text, are of reasonable length, are eminently clear, and contain on the whole just such information as the great majority of readers desire. It would not be easy to find an edition which any one, wishing to read Virgil for enjoyment some years after leaving off special classical study, would find more acceptable.

The edition is not a critical one; but a good account of the MSS and the Scholiasts is given (vol. I. xii.—xxv., and needlessly repeated vol. II. ix.—xx.). The most important readings are indicated in the notes, and the chief variations in the MSS and principal editions are tabulated up to the end of the *Georgics* but not beyond (I. 295–326). M. Benoist reviews the more important editions (I. xxv.—l.) and his judgment is sufficiently indicated by his words '*Heinsius, Heyne, et Wagner restent les savants qui jusqu'ici méritent le premier rang*' (p. xlii.), while he also clearly indicates his own aim, '*c'est justement Heyne que j'ai voulu remplacer en France*' (III. xi.). Ribbeck must be the basis of all critical study of the text, but, though he has used him, he dare not himself introduce too much critical matter, as it is necessary at present to deal gently with a public, which will only accept critical study '*si elle ne présente pas un appareil trop hérissé*.' He speaks highly of Conington but does not make any

practical use of him and, except Henry, the only other English works he refers to are '*le Virgile de Yonghe à l'usage d'Éton*' and '*le singulier Virgile du professor Jarrett de l'Université de Cambridge*' (II. ix); but, lest bibliophiles should immediately begin to search for this rare work of the Cambridge Professor, it may be added that he describes it as *un livre de l'aspect typographique le plus désagréable*.

His orthography is old-fashioned (e.g. he prints *jactat, humida, causando*), but he gives a very useful summary of the true principles of spelling, taken from Brambach, and a list of the chief Latin words in which the old orthography needs revision (I. lix.—lxxxiv.). The list is a very useful one, and it may be remarked, in passing, that the question of Latin orthography is one that much needs dealing with: at present the diversities of spelling exhibited by texts and dictionaries are a perpetual source of perplexity to boys learning Latin, and the adoption of some uniform system in all but critical editions is eminently to be desired.

The discussion of Virgil's life and writings (I. lxxxv.—cxxvii.) is, as might be expected, a finished piece of literary criticism. The editor agrees with Heyne that the *Eclogues* would not place Virgil in the first rank of poets: they exhibit only undeveloped genius, are wanting in freedom and originality, and even the style is '*obscur quelquefois et forcé*.' Surely this is a juster judgment than to quote with approval, as Sellar does, Macaulay's astounding criticism that he preferred the *Georgics* to the *Aeneid*, the *Eclogues* to the *Georgics*, and the second and tenth *Eclogues* to the rest. In the tenth *Eclogue* a Roman soldier, on active service, having been jilted by an actress, is

represented as pining away among Arcadian shepherds or as seeking distraction by hunting 'amid Parthenian glades and hurling Cydonian arrows with Parthian bow'! The technical skill exhibited in treating such a subject may be the highest possible, but can such a poem in sober truth be the crown and completion of an undying fame? The art indeed of the *Eclogues* is no more to be compared with the masculine power of the *Georgics* than the shepherds and shepherdesses of French art in the time of Louis XVI. are to be compared with such masterly representations of country life as *The Gleaners* or *The Angelus* of Millet. We are however parting company with M. Benoist, who only regards the *Georgics* as *une œuvre de transition entre des essais juveniles et un monument que Virgile veut rendre sublime*, and whose admiration for the *Aeneid* is unbounded. To discuss his views would demand too much space, but two observations which he makes on Virgil's style give food for reflection: one is—*plus d'une fois chez lui l'expression s'exagère, et l'effet est dans le mot plus que dans la chose*. Hertzberg a remarqué que dans son poème épique il a employé cent cinquante-deux fois l'adjectif ingens, quarante-trois fois l'épithète immanis; the other is simpler but more profound—*il ne dit jamais panis pour le pain*.

The most important part however of the introduction is the criticism it contains of French editions and French classical teaching. The editions used are absolutely antiquated; the Delphin edition is still the chief authority; *les pires leçons, abandonnées depuis deux siècles, les interprétations fautivees, absolument condamnées, persistent dans nos écoles* (I. xlix.); there is not, for example, a single text even the most recent which does not print in *Georg.* 1. 4 *sit pecori atque apibus*. The editor reverts to the subject in the Introduction to vol. III. where, in reply to a criticism of St. Beuve on the want of more literary discussions in his notes, he re-asserts that what is wanted in France is not literary discussion but a sound knowledge of the texts, the study of its exact grammatical meaning, and some acquaintance with the facts of history and antiquity which illustrate it. On these things true classical study must, he asserts, be based, and the absence of them is the fatal defect in French teaching. Instead of examining the exact meaning of an author, instead of even reading him (III. xxiii. *nous ne lisons pas les auteurs, ou du moins nous ne les lisons guère*), boys are taught to fill note-books with rhetorical phrases and

'purple patches' to be reproduced in Latin essays and Latin verses—*les écoliers sont saturés de tours de phrase, de mouvements, de transitions, de prosopopées*. *Pite-Live est épluché pour qu'on en puisse extraire tout ce qui est susceptible d'entrer dans quelque récit que ce soit*. (III. xxv.). The Latin which results is a language to itself: here is the description of it—*Que l'on s'imagine l'aspect que produirait une page de français formée de fragments de Joinville, de Rabelais, de Montaigne, de Bossuet, de Voltaire, de Châteaubriand, et de Victor Hugo*. Voilà l'image de notre Latin. The ultimate goal of the study of Latin is to be able to write *Essais* or *Études* on Latin literature, which are for the most part mere rhetoric, so that it is by no means necessary for a writer to have read the book he criticizes (III. xxx.). For this deplorable condition of things the remedy is to reduce Latin composition to its true secondary rank and to start reading the Latin writers seriously. With a view to this the provision of good grammars, dictionaries, and histories is a first necessity and for the means to this end recourse must be had to German assistance. In fact in classical study Germany has left France far behind and France must bestir herself if she means to overtake her.

The Introduction in which M. Benoist expresses these views is dated Nancy, June 20, 1870. The printing of it was stopped by the war, but the editor's views were not altered, and in a most sensible postscript, dated July, 1871, he writes—*Une haine mal éclairée de l'Allemagne ne doit pas nous faire méconnaître ce qu'il y a d'utile dans ses travaux*. Il faut, au contraire, étudier les procédés et la science de ceux qui nous ont vaincus pour nous les approprier, et, si nous le pouvons, atteindre leur niveau et le dépasser.

The above remarks excuse and account for many things which otherwise would seem strange in the notes. For instance, throughout proper names are explained in what to us seems a most needless manner: thus *Ecl.* 6. 42 there is a long note on Prometheus, *Georg.* 1. 34 on Erigone, 3. 38 on Coeytus, Ixion, and Sisyphus. Again *Ecl.* 5. 5 *sub incertis Zephyris motantibus umbras* has a note '*Motare est un fréquentatif de movere, avec lequel on peut ici sous-entendre eas*,' and similar grammatical notes abound, some of which are absolutely wrong e.g. *Ecl.* 9. 45 *numeros meminì si verba tenerem*, where *si* is said to be=*utinam*. Similarly, whenever there is *hiatus* or lengthening of a short syllable by *ictus*, the

reader gets tired of seeing the same note repeated calling attention to the remarkable phenomenon and invariably ending 'cf. Lucien Müller *de re metr.* Lat. p. 326.' Nor do such derivations as *buris* from *βοῦς οὐρά* (*Georg.* 1. 170) or *triones* for *teriones* from *terra* show much knowledge of philology. None the less it would be an error to judge the edition from such indications as these, and it will be fairer to compare M. Benoist with Conington in some interesting passages. Their names will be indicated by B. and C. respectively.

Ecl. 1. 28. *Libertas*. C. has nothing; B. probably rightly gives—*la Liberté*. *On explique ordinairement par studium obtinendae libertatis; mais comment à cette idée abstraite rattacher respexit et venit. Virgile pensait assurément à la déesse de la liberté, à laquelle les esclaves adressaient leurs vœux.*

Ecl. 1. 29. *longo post tempore*. C. has nothing; B. shows from Cic. *Phil.* 8. 2 that six years was considered a long time for a slave to wait before securing his liberty.

Ecl. 1. 43; *Georg.* 1. 500. *juvenem*. C. has nothing important; B. hits the truth, '*les héros et les dieux auxquels Octave aime toujours à se faire comparer, sont représentés comme doués d'une éternelle jeunesse.*' It was not by accident that Horace and Virgil both call the Emperor *juvenis*. Moreover M. Benoist's remark shows the light in which we ought to look at the famous bust of the young Augustus: it is an ideal not a representation of the reality.

Ecl. 1. 48. *quamvis lapis omnia nudus...* C. speaks of the farm as 'all covered with stones'; B. is excellent, '*situé entre la colline et le fleuve, il était enveloppé d'un côté par des roches que les pluies avaient mises à nu et qu'aucune végétation ne recouvrait, de l'autre par le marécage que formaient les inondations du Mincio, et où le jonc tenait la place de l'herbe. Sur les bords de nos ruisseaux, on peut voir bien des prairies qui offrent un pareil aspect. Mais je comprends que Virgile l'aimât.*'

Ecl. 2. 28. *sordida rura*. C. 'merely coarse, opp. to the elegance and refinement of the city'; B. = *quae tibi sordent* 'which you, Alexis, think mean.' C. is nearly right but the best reference for *sordidus* is Friedlander on Mart. 1. 49. 27, who shows that the epithet is commonly applied to the country and 'implies no disparagement.'

Ecl. 2. 30. *viridi compellere hibisco*. Both explain 'drive to the green hibiscus' and B. adds, without citing any authority, '*l'hibiscus est une sorte de mauve dont les chèvres sont*

friandes. C. cites for the construction Hor. *Od.* 1. 24. 18 *quam . . . nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi*, but surely there is a difference between driving a sheep to join the flock (*nigro compellere gregi*) and driving a flock down to the hibiscus (*viridi compellere hibisco*). Nor will such expressions as *descensus Averno*, 'hell-wards,' *it caelo* 'goes heavenwards,' justify *viridi hibisco* = *ad viridem hibiscum*. Moreover, if C. had given the quotation from Horace in full, it would have told against him, but he omits the words *virga aurea* which are exactly parallel to *viridi hibisco*. Surely, as we know that the hibiscus was used for basket-making (*Ecl.* 10. 71), we are bound to render here 'drive together the flock (= collect the stragglers) with a green hibiscus-switch.'

Ecl. 3. 27. *miserum disperdere carmen*. C. 'to play a vile and wretched strain'; B. more elegantly '*un chant d'ailleurs bon, mais qui a le malheur d'être répété par toi.*'

Ecl. 6. 34. *omnia et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis*. C. hesitatingly following Munro gives *mundus* = the æther; B. most inadequately simply has '*mundi orbis, le ciel.*' It is difficult to see how anything but the earth can be so truly a central object as to be so strongly contrasted with all other things, for *omnia et ipse* = *τά τε ἅλλα πάντα καὶ αὐτός*. How also can *concreverit* apply to the 'elastic' (*tener*) æther?

Ecl. 6. 37. *stupeant lucescere solem altius atque*. C. rightly places the comma after *altius* but explains 'higher than before its elements were separated from the earth,' which is really making *altius* meaningless; B. places comma after *solem*, though he says that *atque* is never elsewhere second word in Virgil, and explains *altius* as = *ex alto*. Surely *altius* goes with *lucescere* = 'shine as he mounts on high': two points awe the earth, (1) the light of the sun, (2) his movement higher and higher.

Georg. 1. 77. *urit enim lini...* C. is very vague and does not specially mention this difficult *enim*: B. says *enim* is = *sans doute* and that its sense is determined by *sed tamen* which follows! *Enim* in fact simply means 'for': Virgil says 'instead of leaving land fallow you may alternate corn with beans or vetches (not with flax) for flax exhausts the soil, but even (*sed tamen*) flax may be ventured on if you do not stint manure.' Reckless translations of *enim* are however so common that attention must also be called to *Georg.* 3. 70 *semper enim refice*, where C. says vaguely '*enim* seems here to be added for the sake of emphasis,' B. boldly writes '*enim* a ici le sens de: en

conséquence, et équivant à peu près à igitur, Sidgwick is silent, and Kennedy has 'enim = *ἀπα* accordingly, see *Georg.* 2. 509.' To explain *enim* as = 'therefore' or 'accordingly' is certainly a miraculous feat. It must be wrong, if words have any meaning at all, and in this passage is hopelessly wrong. According to the commentators Virgil says to the breeder 'There will always be some cattle in your herd which you will wish to change (as unfit for breeding) ; *accordingly* ever renew &c.' What Virgil really says is, 'You will always find some cattle in your herd whom you will wish to change, *for* ever renew your stock &c.' *i.e.* you will want to change them *because* constant renewal is the law of success; in prose Virgil would have written *semper enim reficiendae sunt* or *quod s. ref. sunt*, but in verse he gives the rule as a command—'for' or 'because' "ever renew" is the breeder's rule.'

Georg. 2. 93. *tenuisque Lageos*. C. wrongly says that *tenuis* 'seems to mean thin and light'; B. remarks '*dont le vin subtil s'insinue rapidement dans les veines et produit l'ivresse*,' which is clearly right as the next line *temptatura pedes olim...* demonstrates.

Georg. 2. 285. *non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem*. C. says on *inanem* 'the epithet seems to be transferred from *prospectus* to *animum*.' B. rightly explains *animum inanem* as '*un esprit inoccupé et qui se laisse aller aux impressions qu'il reçoit de tout ce que l'entoure, comme le mens vacua du iii^e livre*, v. 3.

Georg. 3. 76. *altius ingreditur et mollia crura reponit*. The way in which this line has been dealt with in notes will suggest to some antiquary of the future that the horse was unknown in England. C. writes '*Reponit*—the meaning of this word is very doubtful.' Kennedy has 'moves lithe his alternating legs.' Benoist is simple and sure—*Reponit, il replace sur le sol après les avoir élevées de terre*: the colt is highly bred and walks like a gentleman (*altius ingreditur*) picking his feet well off the ground and then putting them down so gently and softly that he would hardly crush a daisy. Let the commentators watch a young thoroughbred.

Aeneid. 3. 510. *sortiti remos*. A well known difficulty, for why should they draw lots for the oars *when landing*? C. is perfectly vague; B. gives 'drawing lots for those who should stay on board.' The real explanation seems to be that Virgil, knowing that he is going to make them start again suddenly and unexpectedly at midnight, here describes them as 'drawing lots

for the oars' on landing, so that in case of a sudden start there would be no confusion.

Aeneid. 3. 533. *portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus*. C. says 'the action of the E. wind on the water is said to have hollowed out the harbour' but gives no note on the strange use of *ab*; B. has '*l'ouverture est dans la direction du flot qu'amène l'Eurus*' but no note on *ab*. It seems certain that the rendering 'hollowed by the waves' is wrong, for apart from the grammar, the harbour is described by Virgil himself as *protected from* the waves by a natural breakwater and therefore it could not have been hollowed out by their action. Virgil probably means 'curving away from the Eurus-driven waves' *i.e.* so as to afford shelter from them, cf. l. 570 *portus ab accessu ventorum inmotus*.

Aeneid. 3. 684. *contra jussa monent...* Both in C. and B. this passage is buried beneath a mass of commentary which certainly makes the original difficulties of the passage twice as great as they were. It is surely time that some protest were made against such wanton additions to the difficulties of reading Virgil as Madvig's emendation *contra ac jussa monent*—an emendation which Nettleship calls 'most ingenious and successful' in one volume and 'rejects' in a later one. Whether the emendation be most successful or most absurd is a question of taste, but it is certain that there is not a shred of evidence to show that it is what Virgil wrote.

Leave the text as it stands, and assume that the 'command' of Helenus is given in oblique narration. His words would be *Scyllam atque Charybdin inter utraque via (est) leti discrimine parvo, ni tenetis cursum* 'between S. and C. the road on either side is within a hair's breath of death unless ye hold your course (absolutely straight).' Put these words obliquely and you have Virgil's exact lines and at any rate respectable sense: moreover the cause of 'they' appearing as the nom. to *teneant* instead of 'we' is made clear.

Aeneid. 6. 704. *virgulta sonantia silvis*: so C. wrongly and against the MSS. comparing *Averna sonantia silvis* and *virgulta sonantia lauro*; but 'Avernus echoing with woods' and 'thickets rustling with laurel' are just as natural and right as 'thickets rustling with forests' is unnatural and absurd. B. correctly prints *silvae*—'*la leçon du Sangallensis, du Palatinus, du Romanus, de Servius, enfin la première leçon du Medicus. Le Vaticanus seul donne silvis, reminiscence probablement du livre iii. v. 442.*'

Aeneid. 6. 882. *heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas! tu Marcellus eris.* So B. rightly prints, remarking 'avec Dübner, Wagner, Forbiger et Ladewig je trouve bien faible cette idée: si tu échappes à la destinée, tu seras Marcellus.' C. prints a comma after *rumpas* and dismisses Wagner's view that *si—rumpas* is a wish with the remark that "the sense clearly is 'if you can overcome your destiny you shall be Marcellus,'" and afterwards adds that this means 'a true Marcellus.' I have pointed out fully in an edition of *Aeneid* 6 the objections to Conington's view, (1) the strange form of conditional sentence *si rumpas, eris* instead of *si ruperis, eris*, (2) the fact that Marcellus was one of the souls *destined* to be born

again, so that the words 'if any way thou mayest break the bars of fate' have no meaning, (3) that *si qua rumpas* expresses almost despair of a result happening, whereas Marcellus had actually been born, (4) that the 'cruel fate' of Marcellus can only refer to his early death, (5) that to speak of the heir of empire in the presence of Augustus and his mother as '*a* Marcellus' is an antithesis amounting to bathos, (6) that the words *tu Marcellus eris* are infinitely more powerful rhetorically when made a separate sentence. '*Tu Marcellus eris—ce mot dit tout,*' says M. Benoist, and no better instance of his judgment could be given than this terse comment.

T. E. PAGE.

JACOBS' FABLES OF AESOP.

The Fables of Aesop as first printed by William Caxton in 1484 with those of Avian, Alfonso and Poggio, now again edited and induced by JOSEPH JACOBS. London. Published by David Nutt in the Strand. MDCCLXXXIX. (Bibliothèque de Carabas Series.)

As there are indications that the early history of the Fable is about to be pressed into the service of those who maintain the thesis that the (ancient) Greeks borrowed all they possessed from the Jews, it is very desirable that both supporters and adversaries of that thesis should study what the editor of *Folk-Lore* has to say on the history of the Aesopic fable. What Mr. Jacobs has to say is briefly as follows:—"Most nations develop the Beast-Tale as part of their folk-lore, some go further and apply it to satiric purposes, and a few nations afford isolated examples of the shaping of the Beast-Tale to teach some moral truth by means of the fable properly so called. But only two peoples—independently—made this a general practice. Both in Greece and in India we find in the earliest literature such casual and frequent mention of Fables as seems to imply a body of Folk-Fables current among the people. And in both countries special circumstances raised the Fable from folk-lore into literature' (211). In Greece the circumstances were political, in India religious. 'In Greece during the epoch of the Tyrants, when free speech was dangerous, the Fable was largely used for

political purposes. The inventor of this application or the most prominent user of it was one Aesop, a slave at Samos whose name has ever since been connected with the Fable.....About 300 B.C. Demetrius Phalereus, whilom tyrant of Athens and founder of the Alexandria Library, collected together all he could find under the title of *Assemblies of Aesopic Tales*. This collection.....was turned into neat Latin Iambics by Phaedrus, a Greek freedman of Augustus, in the early years of the Christian era' (212). Now let us turn to India. 'In India the great ethical reformer Sakyamuni initiated (or adopted from the Brahmins) the habit of using the Beast-Tale for moral purposes, or in other words, transformed it into the Fable proper.' (213). These fables were carried to Ceylon, and thence were conveyed by a Cingalese embassy to Alexandria about A.D. 50. In the Roman world the two collections, the Greek and the Indian, 'were brought together by Nicostratus, a rhetor attached to the court of Marcus Aurelius. In the earlier part of the next century (c. 230 A.D.) this *Corpus* of the ancient fable.....was done into Greek verse with Latin accentuation (choliambics) by Valerius Babrius, tutor to the young son of Alexander Severus.'

Thus far all is clear: there are two streams of fable, Greek and Indian, having their confluence at Rome, but having quite separate and native sources—neither is derived from the other. But thus far we have not come to the interesting point, i.e. the difficulties. Let us look at the difficulties. There are

certain Greek fables, occurring in or referred to by Solon and Theognis, which bear a resemblance to fables in India that can only be accounted for on the supposition that borrowing has been going on. Now obviously Solon and Theognis could not have borrowed from the Buddha: the dates forbid. Did, then, the Buddha borrow? 'It is not so, nor 'twas not so, but, indeed, God forbid it should be so,' in effect says Mr. Jacobs. As early as Aeschylus, the Greeks were conscious that some of the fables current amongst them were of foreign origin; and they called these immigrant fables 'Libyan.' Mr. Jacobs identifies the fables in Solon and Theognis as 'Libyan' = foreign. In order to take the further step and make 'foreign' = 'Indian,' he modifies his outline theory, and assumes that the fable existed in India before the Buddha. This assumption is in its turn based on a conjecture, viz. that before the Buddha there existed a collection of fables attributed to a sage named Kāsyapa. Some of Kāsyapa's fables percolated, probably through Persia, into Greece and appear in Solon, Theognis and elsewhere.

But with the exception of these 'Libyan' fables of Kāsyapa, Mr. Jacobs does not postulate borrowing between Greece and India. On the whole and in the main the two countries were independent: some fables may have been borrowed, but the development of the Beast-Tale into the Beast-Fable was effected by each country without any hint or assistance from the other.

And now about Jewish fables. The majority of those Jewish fables which resemble Indian fables were derived from the same Cingalese embassy as brought Indian fables (ultimately) to Rome. Some few, very few, there are which were carried probably from (possibly to) Ophir, *i.e.* Abhira at the mouth of the Indus, along with the peacocks, monkeys and almug trees mentioned in I. Kings x. 22. Finally there are one or two native Hebrew fables (those of Jotham and Joaz), which from their isolation are to be regarded as sporadic, and not as indicating that the fable ever became an ordinary form of apologue amongst the Hebrews.

This outline of Mr. Jacob's theory is unjust to him, inasmuch as it gives no intimation of the wide erudition, the patient labour, the masterly control of facts, the lucidity, light and lightness which pervade his volume. But the merits of his theory of the ancient history of the Fable will become apparent, I think, if it is compared with another theory on the same subject,

which was not known to Mr. Jacobs when he wrote his work. It is Gruppe's theory—which I give, premising that only the outlines can be given as Gruppe has not yet given his evidence for it to the world.

Gruppe writes as follows. 'As early as the second millennium before Christ, we find a richly developed literature in the shape of tales in Egypt. These tales contain a large number of the typical features of the later *Märchen*: like the *Märchen* they introduce plants and animals behaving and speaking like men and interfering with the fortunes of men. This body of tales spread to Asia Minor and thence on the one hand to India (where we find the poets of the Rigveda already acquainted with it), and on the other to Greece. In the latter however it was overshadowed by the growth of a higher form of literature, Epic poetry, and finally, as far as we know, completely crowded out by it; so that we can only infer its existence from its after-effects on Epic. In the blossoming literature of the Semites of Asia Minor two new forms of literature were evolved out of the tales above mentioned, neither of which occurs, at any rate as far as we know, in ancient Egypt: they are, first, the Beast-Tale in the narrower sense, in which animals appear by the side of and in the place of men, with characters of a fixed type; and, second, the Beast-Fable, of which, with the exception of some dubious traces in Greek writers (*e.g.* Hdt. ii. 68, cf. Grimm *Reinh. Fuchs*, p. cclxxxi.), the only representative from Egypt is a specimen, probably borrowed, that occurs in a very late papyrus—a poor version of the fable of the Mouse and the Lion. Of Beast-Tales scattered fragments only occasionally found their way into Greek literature. The Beast-Fable on the other hand became known to the Greeks through a large collection of fables, probably a Phœnician compilation, about 600 B.C., and was improved by them. Eastwards the Beast-Tale, like the Beast-Fable, spread to India probably through the mediation of Syrian—the heir to Assyrian—literature. From India it returned, metamorphosed by Buddhism, to Asia Minor, whence it travelled by its familiar path to the West.'

With regard to Jewish fables, Gruppe says: 'From at least the seventh century B.C. a body of Beast-Tales and Beast-Fables can be traced in the literature of the peoples of Asia Minor. Amongst the Hebrews they were so current that it was frequently merely necessary for a Biblical writer to make the slightest allusion to them, in order

to be understood. The Cuneiform inscriptions have given us some fragments (incompletely translated in Smith-Delitzsch *Chald. Genes.* 133 ff.). And finally: 'That Semitic collections formed the basis of both Indian and Greek Beast-Tales and Fables, is the less open to doubt, inasmuch as in every case in which we can compare both the Indian and the Greek version with a West-Asiatic version, the West-Asiatic is closer to the Greek than to the Indian. Thus for example Greek Beast-Tales differ, as is well known, from Indian, in the fact that the cunning beast of the former is the fox, of the latter the jackal. On the one hand the Semitic languages agree most with the Indian in giving the jackal the purely general name of the 'shouter'; but on the other hand, like the Greek, they attribute cunning to the fox and not to the jackal. In this case we have a definite indication to mark Greek literature as the borrower: O. Schrader is quite right in calling attention, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* 1889, p. 465, to the fact that the fox is not yet known to Homer as the cunning beast.'

This is a theory of very different quality from Mr. Jacobs'; and every one will, I think, admit that the sobriety is all on the side of the Englishman. In his application of the borrowing theory, Gruppe is absolutely intemperate: he will not even allow the Greeks and Indians to have spontaneously conceived the idea of animals talking—they must have applied for a loan of this advanced conception to a Jew—and even he had not the moneys himself but had to borrow them from a friend, an unconscionable dog, in Egypt. Mr. Jacobs on the other hand temperately admits that 'the tendency to use the Beast-Tale for that purpose [*i.e.* as an apologue] and the origin of the Beast-Tale itself as a "survival" of Animism may be explained on the hypothesis' that resemblances in the folk-tales of different nations 'are due to the identity of the human mind at similar stages of culture: the tales are similar because the minds producing them were alike.'

As regards the Beast-Tale, all the probabilities and all the analogies are on the side of Mr. Jacobs, and against the theory that M. Maspero's *Contes Egyptiens* circulated in prehistoric Greece. And when we proceed from the Beast-Tale to the Fable, we have again to admire the moderation and judgment displayed by Mr. Jacobs: he is willing to admit that, as the Beast-Tale is widespread, so the tendency to develop the Fable out of it may have manifested itself in more than

one place. Whether it did manifest itself in more than one place is a question of fact; and Mr. Jacobs has evidently based his theory on the facts and not made his theory first and his facts afterwards. The facts appear to him to indicate that the tendency in question did manifest itself effectively in two places—Greece and India—and sporadically in a third. But this conclusion, which seems to be the reasonable conclusion, is not inconsistent with the supposition that some exchange took place between the two (or three) places of production. Again we have a question of fact. And again Mr. Jacobs seems to have been guided by his facts and not by his theory. Now this is a very different mode of procedure from that followed by most inquirers into the early history of fable. They have assumed, without investigation, that there could only be one place of production, and that the whole history is one of borrowing. But as between Greek and Indian there could have been no wholesale borrowing; for, as Mr. Jacobs says with his usual admirable common sense, 'it is idle to talk of a body of literature amounting to 300 numbers being derived from another running also to 300, when they have only a dozen items in common.'

With regard to the Jewish fables, wholesale lending on the part of the Hebrews to the Greeks is quite impossible. It is out of the question to maintain 'the derivation of a body of 300 [Greek] fables, some of which can be traced back to the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., from some 25 to 30 fables, the earliest of which is of the beginning of the second century A.D.' Nor can the Hebrews have lent in large quantities to India, for there are 300 Indian fables 'of which not more than a score or so can be traced elsewhere, whereas the Jewish list runs to about thirty, of which all but six, or perhaps four, can be traced either to India or Greece, or both.' Indeed, Mr. Jacobs is right in refusing to make the Indians or the Greeks, amongst whom the fable is normal, borrow the Fable from the Jews, amongst whom it was but sporadic. The Jews must have been the borrowers on this occasion; the only question is—From whom? Mr. Jacobs says from the Indians, on the ground that 'where the Greek and Indian forms of the fables common to the three differ, the Jewish form agrees with the Indian, not the Grecian.' Thus, there is a fable in the Talmud in which a bird removes a bone that has stuck in an animal's throat. A similar fable occurs in Greece and in India; and the question, which of the two

countries the Talmudic fable comes from, is answered at once when we find that the animal (which is a lion in the Talmud) is a lion in the Indian fable, but a wolf in the Greek. On the other hand, Gruppe, it will be remembered, maintains that the Jewish form agrees with the Greek and not with the Indian; and, although the facts seem (at present) against him as regards those fables common to the three nations which are already known, still there remains in his favour the fact that the type of cunning with the Greeks and Semites is the fox, with the Indians the jackal. But unfortunately for Gruppe this fact affords no support to his main thesis, when we have once recognized the impossibility of deriving a *corpus* of 300 fables from one of 30. If the Semites borrowed—and Mr. Jacobs seems to me to be confining himself to his proved facts when he affirms that they did borrow some fables from India—then it is obvious that they borrowed the idea of the fox as the type of cunning from the Greeks and not from the Indians; nor does this seem to be improbable, in spite of Mr. Jacobs' remark that 'the smallness of the total number [of Jewish fables] precludes the possibility of the Jews having had access to more than one collection.'

Having noted the points of difference between the theories of Gruppe and Mr.

Jacobs, we ought also to observe the points in which they agree. They both reject the Egyptian or African origin of the Fable; and we ought to hear no more of it. They both put the appearance of a body of fable amongst the Greeks at about 600 B.C. They agree in admitting that some fables in the Roman collections have come from India, through the mediation of Buddhism (though they differ as to the route). Finally, they both postulate early communication between the Semites and India.

The tendency of the whole discussion is, I think, to confirm the principle that when similar tales are widely spread the similarities are not greater than may be accounted for by the independent action of similar minds. This is illustrated by the Beast-Tale and even by such a fable as that of the Belly and Members. On the other hand, when the similarities are so great that they can only be accounted for by the borrowing theory (which is only the case with a small percentage of Beast-Fables), the area over which the tales are distributed is limited, either in actual extent or by facility of communication. Or we may put it: unless the area of distribution is thus limited, the presumption is against the borrowing theory.

F. B. JEVONS.

HILGARD'S GREEK GRAMMARIANS.

Grammatici Graeci Recogniti et Apparatu Critico Instructi. Partis quartae volumen prius. THEODOSII ALEXANDRINI Canones et CHOEROBOSCI Scholia in Canones Nominales. Leipzig, 1889. Teubner. 14 Mk.

THIS volume, edited by Alf. Hilgard and belonging to the monumental series of Greek Grammarians under the general direction of Uhlig, lacks an introduction. The last modern editions of these grammatical treatises, as quoted by Hilgard, were contained in Vol. III. of Bekker's *Anecdota* (Berlin, 1821), and the edition of Choeroboscus's Scholia by Gaisford (Oxford, 1842). Apart from the undoubted statement that Theodosius was older than Georgius 'Choeroboscus,' the exact date of both remains in abeyance. Schoell, in his chronological tables, and the writers in Pauly do not agree. The oldest MS. used by Hilgard is one of

Munich (310) of the ninth or tenth century. Most of the others are of the fourteenth and fifteenth.

The 'Introductory Rules' of Theodosius on the inflexion of nouns are really a long series of lexical articles on special words, presenting however a vastly greater amount of casuistry than analogy; and, for modern purposes, probably more useful to the lexicographer than to the grammarian. The radical point is that there is absolutely no perception of stems as yet. The *Rules* are crudely empirical. Αἶας, Αἶαντος is followed by κοχλίας, a vowel-stem. Then follow Λάχης, Χρύσης, Δημοσθένης, Ἡρακλῆς, Πάρις. ὄψεως, μάντρεως are noted as Attic, ὄφις, ὄφεις being treated as the normal inflexion. 'Κανών' ὃ, on χαρίεις, in discussing the vocative, says (and this may serve as a type of the treatment): 'the vocative of these is given in two ways: ὦ χαρίει because the words

ending in σ with a diphthong make the vocative by dropping s — δ παῖς, $\tilde{\omega}$ παῖ, δ Πηλεῖς, $\tilde{\omega}$ Πηλεῖ—and $\tilde{\omega}$ χαρίεν, because every neuter adjective, if it be inflected parasyllabically, is identical in sound with the accus. masculine, τὸ σοφὸν and τὸν σοφόν, τὸ εὐγερὼν and τὸν εὐγερὼν, but if it has an increase of syllables, is identical with the vocative masculine, e.g. τὸ ἄρσεν, $\tilde{\omega}$ ἄρσεν, τὸ σῶφρον, $\tilde{\omega}$ σῶφρον; thus then the vocative will be $\tilde{\omega}$ χαρίεν IN ORDER THAT IT MAY BE IDENTICAL WITH THE NEUTER (ἵνα ὁμοφωνήσῃ τῷ οὐδετέρῳ).’ The deviation from the Attic (treating the latter as a dialect merely) may be observed also on p. 13, where πήχεος and πελέκεος are given. In rule 14 πλοῦς is placed in juxtaposition with πλακοῦς. Copious comments on accent and quantity, make us realize the growing divergence between Byzantine utterance and classic usage. The nominative case is the basis of treatment throughout, and the grammarian fails to perceive how the inflectional ς of that case often veils or modifies the real stem of the nouns. ‘Rules’ are given e.g. for finding the gen. of πέρδιξ and that of τέττιξ, of μύρμηξ and βούπληξ, of λουτήρ and αἰθήρ. The inflexion of feminines follows, p. 25 sqq., where at the outset the ‘a pure’ is introduced: μαῖα, σφαῖρα, but Μοῖσα, -ης, etc. The feminine dual article τὰ, ταῖν, is used throughout, and the vocative dual regularly given; mere ballast, but probably old tradition. After the treatment of neuters there is a series of observations on accent, case for case, useful even now. Under the accent of gen. plural of monosyllabic words (of the third declension, as we should say) Theodosius enumerates nine exceptions: τίνων, πάντων, Τρώων, δμῶν, παίδων, θώων (jackals), κράτων, δαδῶν, λάων (stones). Of the gen. plur. (of the α stems, as we say) there are exceptions: χλοῦνων, χρῆστων, ἐτήσιων of masculines, and of feminines ἀφῶν. Theodosius observes also that feminines when identical in form with masculines share the accent of the latter in gen. plural: ‘Ροδίων, δούλων, φίλων, but ταχειῶν. In the case of πορνῶν, fem., masc. πόρνων, πετρῶν, πέτρων, the feminine was the original word. [In this paragraph Aristarchus and Ammonius are quoted.] Of neuter exceptions he quotes ὥτων, φώτων, γοῦνων, δούρων.

In his treatment of verb-inflexion $-\omega$ and $-\mu$ verbs are made the two chief classes, the former in the school practice being called ‘the great verb,’ p. 82, τέλος τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήματος. The verb τύπτω being the paradigm is subjected to all and every kind of

inflexion, possible and impossible: τύπτω, ἐτυπτον, τέτυφα (τέτυπα is termed perf. middle), ἐτετύφην (middle pluperf. ἐτετύπειν), and 2nd aor. ἐτυπον. After τύπω there is given τυπῶ as ‘2nd future,’ τύπτομαι, ἐτυπτόμην, τέτυμμαι, ἐτετύμμην, ἐτύφθην, ἐτύπην, ἐτυψάμην, ἐτυπόμην, τυφθήσομαι, τυπήσομαι, τύψομαι, τυποῖμαι (‘2nd fut.’), τετύσομαι. The aim of this Procrustean performance is obvious. ‘Unity’ of treatment at the cost of everything else. The ‘first dual,’ -μεθον, is regularly given. The close observation of accent is one of the few features which even now endow the *Rules* with some value. Consciousness of phonetic factors is rarely shown, e.g. p. 66, τύφθητι, not τύφθηθι: διὰ τὸ κακόφωνον. But dropping that which time and the advance of science has indeed long since discarded, we may perhaps do a slight service to the general reader by presenting briefly a conspectus of terminology.

The cases: nom. generally ἡ εὐθεῖα (πρώσις) or ὀρθή [Theodosius never uses the prototype of ‘nominative,’ ὀνομαστική, cf. Choeroboscus, p. iii.], gen. γενική, dat. δοτική, acc. αἰτιατική, voc. κλητική. Numbers: ἐνικά, δυνικά, πληθυντικά. Genders (γένη): ἀρσενικόν, θηλυκόν, οὐδέτερον: μονογενής, of one gender. Other technical terms are: λήγειν, to have the ultima so or so; παραλήγειν, to have the penultima so or so; φωνήεντα, vowels; σύμφωνα, consonants; ἀμετάβολα, liquids; ἀπλά, simple; σύνθετα, compound; σεσημειῶσθαι (rarely ὑπεξηρησθαι) to be an exception to a κανὼν; κλίνειν, κλίσιν, to inflect, inflexion; συναίρειν, συναίρεισι, to contract, contraction; χρόνος, quantity; μακρός, long; βραχύς, short. The terminology of accent (τάσις, generally τόνος) has reached us virtually without change; ἀναβιβάζειν, to make the accent recessive, the opposite being καταβιβάζειν. Iota subscript is ἱ ἀνεκφώνητον. The verb (ῥήμα): 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, πρῶτον &c. πρόσωπον; voices (διαθέσεις): ἐνέργεια, πάθος, μεσότης. Tenses (χρόνοι): present, ὁ ἐνεστώς χρόνος; imperf., ὁ παρατατικός (more felicitous than the Latin); perf., παρακείμενος; pluperf., ὑπερσυντέλικος; pret., ἀόριστος; fut., μέλλον; fut. perf., μετ’ ὀλίγον μέλλον, or Attic future. Moods (ἐγκλίσεις): ὀριστική (ind.), ὑποτακτική (subj.), ἐντική (opt.), προστακτική (imperat.), ἀπαρέμφατον (inf.), μετοχή (part.). The subj. was regularly drilled in conjunction with εἰν: εἰν τύπτω, εἰν τύπτῃς, εἰν τύπτῃ, κ.τ.λ., not a bad way of coupling one of the chief functions with the inflexion.

In the $-\mu$ verbs the familiar usage of Aeolic is noted at the outset. τιθεῖσι is given for τιθέασι. τέθεικα: the $-\epsilonι-$ is called a

Boeotian formation. *ἔθνη* is inflected in all persons.

The commentaries of Choeroboscus are too discursive and academic to admit of a concise abstract.

The strongest general impression carried away from these pages is that of the substantial immutability of grammatical ter-

minology on the one hand, and the *à priori* dogmatic attitude of grammatical *τέχνη* in those Byzantine times, as if the human body had been created according to the canons of the anatomist.

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PRONUNCIATION OF ANCIENT GREEK BY F. BLASS.

Pronunciation of Ancient Greek, by F. BLASS.

Translated from the Third German edition with the author's sanction by W. J. PURTON, B.A. Cambridge University Press, 1890.

THIS is a good translation of an excellent book. Whatever may be the opinion of teachers as to what is pedagogically desirable or practicable in the pronunciation of Greek, there can be no doubt as to the importance of knowing the phonetic value of the alphabetic symbols in their ancient use. To those who seek such a knowledge this book is the one safe resort.

It is the purpose of this notice to call attention however to the English edition rather than to the original, and it is therefore with the translation that it must busy itself. This is, as we have said, on the whole a good one. The English idiom has in most cases asserted the mastery, but the German *schon*, *noch* and *wohl aber* are no easy prey, and here and there have maintained themselves; witness such expressions as, 'It appears then, that *already* in the Roman period etc.' (p. 63); 'This was in the course of the fourth century *already* employed for the short sound *also*.' A clumsy and even misleading translation of *wohl aber* occurs on p. 89: 'Modern Greek has in such cases no nasal, omission on the other hand occurs as in *γίνονται: πρῶτα*.' The original is: 'Das Neugr. hat in solchen Fällen keinen Nasal,

wohl aber Tilgung wie in etc.' It seems hardly possible that the translator could have understood his author here.

Certain renderings strike us too as somewhat forced; thus (p. 8): 'So shifting is pronunciation, and so stable writing, juggling away (*über — hinwegtäuschen*) as it does the most important changes. But the enquirer must not allow himself to be jugged with (*sich täuschen lassen*) etc.' So (p. 42) 'Every one knew by the light of nature (*wusste ohne weiteres*) that *oikos* and *hypós* were, etc.' 'Falls foul of' (e. g. p. 12) is repeatedly employed as the equivalent of 'steht im Gegensatz zu.'

On page 53, line 11, 'inscriptions of the third century' should read 'of the fourth to the first century.' In the preface, p. vi., are given the phonetic value of the letters used in transliteration; thus 'ā must be pronounced as in *father*, ā as in *man*, ī as in second syllable of *quinine*, ĭ as in first syllable of *quinine*, etc.' What more unfortunate illustration could be chosen than this Protean *quinine*?

It seems to us furthermore a serious impairment of the usefulness of the book that the pagination of the original edition has not been, as it easily might have been, preserved in the margin, and most especially, that the current numbering of the foot-notes has been changed to a numbering by pages.

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WHARTON'S ETYMA LATINA.

Etyma Latina, by E. R. WHARTON, M.A.
Pp. xxxiv. and 152. Rivingtons, 1890.
7s. 6d.

THIS book consists of a Preface, a note on Hidden Quantities, list of Abbreviations, a

select list of Authorities, Introduction, Etymological Lexicon, and Comparative Etymology.

We are inclined to regret that Mr. Wharton has brought his peculiar views on classical philology before the public in a

form which lays him specially open to criticism. As far as we can gather from a study of his work Mr. Wharton seems to belong to an entirely different school from the writer of this article, and might justly reply ὅπως δὲ μὴ τὰδ' ἐστὶν ἐν γνώμῃ φίλα | κείνός τ' ἐκείνα στεργέτω κάγδ' ἰτάδε. Since however his methods bear a dangerous similarity to those of the modern science inaugurated in Germany and not without exponents in England, we feel compelled for the purposes of review to assume that Mr. Wharton belongs to that school, hoping that, if he intends to revolutionize the science once again, he will accept our apologies and disclose his methods in a more definite and tangible form.

Assuming then, as we are bound to do in default of other evidence, that Mr. Wharton accepts the methods of Brugmann, Paul, Osthoff and other names which will be found in the list of authorities, what are we to say of this book? It undoubtedly shows much labour; contains useful hints, not few even brilliant derivations; and yet it must be condemned.

The difficulty which meets the uninitiated at the outset in studying modern philology is its technical symbolism; people are unduly frightened by the appearance of -iinn and a 'non-labialised velar' is regarded with dismay. Under these circumstances and just when the accepted signs are beginning to be handled with more familiarity, it is surely unwise to add to the confusion by appearing before the public with a rival system, especially when no explanation is afforded, and with the aggravation of colloquialisms which may be exemplified by the following quotation.

'anser, goose = **hansis* Mlr. *gēis* swan, Lit. *žāsīs* goose O. Slav. *gaši* (with *g-* from Teutonic), cf. (1) GHANS- Ags. *gōs*, Sk. *hānsas*, GHĀNS- χήν; (2) GHAN- Ags. *gandra* gander E., *ganot* gannet E.

Not add Arm. *say* goose quasi = **gas*: as soon make *dog* the Classical form whence Teutonic *cat* quasi = *tac*.¹

Another essential which ought to be borne in mind is that the non-technical world should be given whole truths only and not conjectures. The belief that in philology every man does what is right in his own eyes has not yet vanished, and assuredly this book will not do much towards dispersing it. Not only are all the modern methods of getting round a difficulty employed without scruple, but most of the

ancient ones are also used, and if all else fails the word is either 'borrowed' or 'dialectic.' The frequent use of the latter term can only be justified by a subversal or renegation of Paul's position, which, as it is not forthcoming, need not be discussed.

These objections are taken from the point of view of the untechnical reader and, to sum up, we fear that he will only derive advantage from the isolated facts on other subjects which are found in the book, although he may by careful study pick up sufficient jargon to disguise ignorance.

If on the other hand we regard the work not as a popular manual but as a contribution to the literature of the science, it contains, as was said above, many brilliant conjectures. But here also many objections must be taken. The form of the work is unhappy. Latin is and always will be the despair of scientific philology for reasons which are obvious: in the first place what we are told of the origin of Rome is strongly against any original purity of stock, so that, as Mr. Wharton would put it, they must all have begun by talking 'dialectically'; and in the second place, our records are doubly imperfect—imperfect in that we have, comparatively speaking, *no* archaic records, and in that the literature on which we mainly rely is as far from representing the spoken language of the people as any literature could well be. If then—provided that no new storehouse of information becomes accessible—the rules of scientific philology ever reduce to order all the words in the Latin dictionary, it will mean that the rules themselves are so elastic as to be valueless. The extent of our ignorance could not be more clearly exposed than by adopting the dictionary form, and consequently the temptation to wild conjecture is great. We are told in the Preface that 3055 out of the 4320 Latin words which do not 'sufficiently explain their own formation' are 'treated' in this work; there could not be a better illustration of our remarks above than the fact that with all Mr. Wharton's ingenuity, of which specimens will be given below, over 10 per cent. of these 3055 have to be 'treated' in silence. About 450 are derived from Greek—many of which seem to us 'sufficiently to express their own formation,' e.g. '† *philyra* lime-tree: *φιλύρα*'—under 50 with some plausibility from other languages, and about 100 on the assertion of Roman grammarians (which counts for nil on such a point) or with a mere pretence at reason, as when *buxus* is traced (through *πύξος*) to Paphlagonia because Catullus has *Cytore buxifer*: and *rosa* is given as Os-

¹ This is not meant seriously. It is either a joke to relieve the dry study of linguistics, or a self-congratulatory 'How much taller I am than Papa.'

can because Vergil has *rosaria Paesti*. So *Gallicis cantheriis* relegates *cantherius* to Gaul, *Maurorum attegias* makes the latter word Moorish, and the Celtic origin of *petorritum* assigns all names of wheeled vehicles to the same language. Nay, we have to go to 'some Celtic dialect' (which is scientific but vague) for *quadru-* and *quadra*, the reason being that they conflict with a rule of Mr. Wharton's that *d* before *r* becomes *t*. Parenthetically we may here observe that most of the derivations by which this rule is supported may be considered matters of opinion, but not when we find *nutrio* ascribed to a root NED in *νήδυμος* (!): we think most readers will prefer the normal analysis *νη-δυ-μος* from the root of *δύη* &c. with the negative prefixed. The testimony of grammarians to the origin of a word is accepted or not according to the urgency of the case: thus under *lanista* (of which we may in passing notice the brilliant identification with *danista*) we find

'Isid. calls it Etruscan, only because the use of gladiators came from Etruria'; but under *andabata*, 'Gaulish (cf. *Gallus* for *mirmillo* Fest.)?', while as to Isidore's reasoning it may be paralleled by numerous instances such as '*cantharis* beetle: Egyptian (the beetle worshipped in Egypt)?' Other conclusions are reached on grounds which are even more extraordinary: thus it is suggested that *gingiva* is Gaulish 'as first in Catullus': the derivation of *carbo* from *corbis* a basket is quaintly supported by 'Ar. Ach. 333 *λάρκος* charcoal-burner's basket'; after this, no one will be surprised to find that *cortina* is from *curtus* because Lucretius speaks of *dolia curta*.

Perhaps however most discredit will be cast on philological method by Mr. Wharton's toolively imagination both on the treacherous ground of analogy and in tracing connexions in sense. As regards the former it may be possible to believe that *posca* owes its termination to *esca*, but who can credit the statements that *marmor* has the ending of *aequor*, *celox* (= *κῆλξ*) of *velox*, *autem* of *septem*, *spinter* of *tuber*, that *caepe* is 'quasi Adj. Neut. (like *turpe*)' and the like? This dangerous weapon is even employed without necessity, as when *facilis* is pressed in to account for *dapsilis* which, like *facilis* itself, is 'only another example of the absorbing power of *i-* adjectives in Latin as a class. As for the unexplored region which rejoices in the name of semasiology, we fear that any system will fail to take in the following flights. *Norma* a square is derived from *nonus* 'ninth' as being 'shaped like L the

9th letter in the Etruscan and Faliscan alphabets.' Now, to begin with, the essential part of a 'square' is its right angle: the angle of an Etruscan L is anything but a right angle. Nevertheless a Roman preferred to use it as a simile, and, lest he should make himself too clear, he simply described the letter by its numerical order in a foreign abecedarium, leaving it to the hearer's ingenuity to work out the connexion. Astounding as this is, it is still more astoundingly paralleled by 'Rev. 22, 13 ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος.' There is no other example to vie with this, but one or two others are worth quoting: *parra* 'a bird' (surely a misleading translation) is from **parsa* 'a companion' and goes with *parricida* which is thus reduced to an infraction of the game-laws: as it was important to have as many original derivations as possible (the Preface contains a list) no mention is made of Fröhde's convincing equation of the first element in *pāri-cida* with the Homeric *παῖροι* 'kinsfolk.' Sometimes a needlessly tortuous sense-connexion is traced, as when *†bracchium* is accounted for as being 'shorter than the leg': it of course denotes the fore-arm which is shorter than *lacertus*, the upper arm. Again the derivation of *pater* from *pater* (which we had independently formulated) is detracted from by the far-fetched explanation of *pater patratu* 'the father who acts as such.' It really means the *pater* who had a *pater* and so excluded all but free-born citizens (of two generations, if *pater* be taken = senator).

The reader who has been trained on the exact methods will find many severe shocks awaiting him. Words are attributed to the *Ursprache* such as ὦ-ν-εομ, σομ-λός, τῆ-ν, and even σμ-λο-. For this he will be partly prepared by the statement in the Preface that the same symbol (fr.) means both 'from' and 'connected with'; i.e. it signifies alike the relation which *mors* bears to *morior* and that which *δίκη* bears to *δικᾶν*. After this we need not be surprised to find three stems given under *aevum* (we use Mr. Wharton's orthography throughout) in this order ΑΙΒΟΣ, ΑΙΒόν, ΑΙΒΕ- although the first and third are connected by Ablaut, and the second has a quite different formative suffix corresponding to ai-uen in the Gk. αἰέν. Amid these heresies smaller transgressions like *δαρίς* = *δῆρ-ύς* pass almost unobserved, but we cannot leave unnoticed the assertion in the Preface that the older Iguvine Tables are written in the Etruscan alphabet. The appendix on Comparative

Etymology we are compelled to leave untouched, merely noting that Mr. Wharton is to be added to the number of those who confuse *πρόθεσις* and *πρόσθεσις* (p. 133).¹

Before concluding this notice it may be well to explain why we condemn this attempt, when no better is forthcoming and when scientific methods confessedly yield so imperfect results. The reason is that making etymologies is no more the end of scientific philology than making new fossils is the end of geology. New etymologies, if sound, are welcomed, but it is not for themselves, nor even for the laws to which they lead, but for the proof of those laws, *i.e.* the reason which underlies them. Mr. Wharton, by many of his ingenious derivations, does give

¹ The latter at least ought to be written in English characters as to the best of our belief it is not used by any Greek grammarian.

Telegraphing among the Ancients.—This monograph, by Mr. Augustus C. Merriam, is No. 1 of the Classical Series iii. of the *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*. Mr. Merriam begins by a collection of passages from poets and prosewriters in which any system of telegraphy, by beacons, shields, mirrors or torches, is alluded to or described. The collection, however, is incomplete, for the best and simplest system of transmitting actual words is omitted. It is described by Sextus Julius Africanus in *Κεστοί* c. lxxvi., and is an obvious improvement on the method invented by Cleoxenus and Democlitus (Polyb. x. 45). In the latter method, each party of signallers has a board, showing the alphabet in five columns, and the operator, by the number of torches in his right and left hands, indicates what letter of what column is to be read. Africanus says that his system was used by the Romans, though it is founded on the Greek numerical alphabet. Set up three posts, one for units, one for tens, and one for hundreds. The number of torches attached to each post will indicate a numeral of which the symbol is a letter of the alphabet. Clearly this system could be employed more rapidly, and for much greater distances, than the other.

But Mr. Merriam's chief concern is with the famous passage in the *Agamemnon*, 272–307, where the fall of Troy is said to be telegraphed to Argos by beacon-fires on the following points, viz: Ida, Lemnos, Athos, Euboea, Messapium, Cithaeron, the Megarid (Aegiplanctus), Arachnaeus. Mr. Merriam suggests that this line was selected in order to convey the news to many Greek peoples engaged in the common enterprise, and, though no contingent seems to have been sent to Troy from the neighbourhood of Athos, still the inhabitants of that mountain may have been paid to furnish a beacon, especially as there were Ciconians and Paeonians in the Greek host. It is a more serious question whether such telegraphy was possible. *Solvitur navigando et ambulando*. From Mt. Chigri (1648 feet), on the mainland opposite Tenedos, both Lemnos, 60 miles away, and Athos, 109 miles away, are distinctly visible. The highest point of Lemnos is at the N.W. corner (1,410 feet). Hence Athos (6,500 feet) is very conspicuous indeed. From Athos

some new laws, but without any attempt at proof and in the republic of science ipse dixit even backed by the highest reputation are not current coin. Thus the rule that original 'pretonic' *e* becomes *a* in Latin has a very good *prima facie* case made out for it by the examples, but no proof, and we must moreover take it, on Mr. Wharton's assertion, that the accent was pitch, despite all current theories upon Latin accentuation.

All this, as well as his statement (also *ex cathedra*) that the *Ursprache* had a *ü* (short and long) and that the *Ursprache* was once spoken, bears out the hypothesis which we mentioned at first, that Mr. Wharton belongs to, or is founding, a different school from that of Brugmann and Paul. If this be so, we can only apologise once more for treating his book according to our lights.

H. D. DARBISHIRE.

to Macistus (probably Kandili, 'a long line of precipitous cliffs' above Chalcis in Euboea) is 110 miles. Could a beacon be seen at this distance? Mr. Merriam cites evidence, from the officers of the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, of which the following extract is typical. Mr. Assistant Colonna writes: 'I have seen from the top of Snow Mountain, in the Coast Range, fires burning on the summit of the Sierra Nevada, where certainly no light was of an intensity equal to what an ordinary ten by twelve framehouse would give if set on fire; yet the whole was plainly visible to the naked eye at a distance of about 160 miles. I think if you were to take a cord of well-seasoned pine wood, and pile it into pensos that it would burn with a good draught, you would have a blaze that could be seen at night, in fair-seeing weather, with the naked eye, 200 miles or over, provided the wind did not blow from the fire to you.' The evidence from mirror-flashing is still more precise and convincing. The ensuing stages are easier. From Macistus to Messapium (3,392 feet) is fifteen miles: thence to Cithaeron (4,620 feet) is twenty-six miles. Mr. Merriam identifies the Gorgopian lake with a small lake called Marrolimné 'on the coast exactly between Bisa and Cithaeron' (Meliarakes, *Geogr. of Argolis and Corinthia*, p. 133, is cited as authority), but he is uncertain whether Aegiplanctus ought to be identified with Mt. Bisa (3,465 feet) or with Mt. Geranea (4,490 feet). From hence to Arachnaeus is twenty-six miles, with very high cliffs between, and from Arachnaeus to Argos fifteen miles. It is suggested that the zigzag line from Cithaeron to Argos was that actually used by the Athenians in B.C. 459 when they were in alliance with Argos but hostile to Corinth, so that the latter country could not be used.

J. G.

Ferguson's Aid to Greek at Sight. Pp. 360. Chicago, 1890.

THE author gives long lists of words to be committed to memory. Such a method is cumbersome, mechanical, and of questionable helpfulness. The second part of the book groups related words, and would be more useful to a student than the first part. The work could be used to advantage by those who have

already acquired a vocabulary, but would be of little service to beginners, for whom it seems primarily intended.

Thurber's Vocabulary to the First Six Books of Homer's Iliad. Pp. 159. Boston, 1890.

THIS book is too helpful, and yet not helpful enough. It should assume that the student knows where ἑστé is made; it should state clearly what words are not Attic, and should mark the ἀπαξ εἰρημένα. The student needs a Homeric Dictionary like the 'Wörterbuch zu Homer und der Homeriden' of Seiler-Capelle.

White's Passages for Practice in Translation at Sight. Part iv. Pp. 181. Boston, 1889.

AN admirable selection of passages from ten authors, giving a great variety of subjects and styles of writing, while each passage is complete enough to be interesting. The directions for the use of the book are clear and sensible. Professor White has been more successful than any other American in teaching his students to read large masses of Greek, and all who know of his achievements in this direction will welcome a work which will aid others to follow in his footsteps.

NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.

THE DECELEAN INSCRIPTION¹ AND ATTIC PHRATRIES.

I RECENTLY had a little controversy with Mr. Tarbell on this subject in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (September, 1890). With some of his comments on my own criticisms I agree, with others I do not. I am not going to transfer this controversy to these pages, but I wish to say a few words on those points which receive illustration from our new *Respublica Atheniensium*.

First with regard to Demosthenes *Or.* lvii. I had inferred, from the order in which the witnesses are there called, that the γεννήται were more distant from the individual than the φράτρες. No such inference is justifiable. The order is dictated by the order of the questions in the formula used at the anacrisis of the nine archons. Aristotle now gives us this formula in full (p. 138). I still think that the order in which the two bodies are referred to in sections 24, 25 of this speech is in favour of my view.

On the other hand, it is perfectly evident that the Demotionidae of the inscription are not the same as the phratry. The procedure there ordered is modelled on, or is at least parallel to, the procedure at the διαφήσις of a deme thus described by Aristotle (p. 108): ἔπειτα ἂν μὲν ἀποψηφίσωνται (sc. οἱ δημόται) μὴ ἐλευθερον εἶναι, ὃ μὲν ἐφήσιν ἐς δικαστήριον, οἱ δὲ δημόται κατηγοροῦντες αἰροῦνται πέντε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. It is evident that the Δεκελείων οἶκος of the inscription is equivalent to the φράτρες, and that the Demotionidae are a more authoritative body. Who then are the Demotionidae? I should answer γεννήται.

I had carefully avoided before, and have avoided here, the use of the word γένος or gens as equivalent to γεννήται, and I should not have used 'phratry' as equivalent to

φράτρες. But certainly the γεννήται were so called because they belonged to a γένος; the φράτρες because they belonged to a phratry. How is the relative position here assigned to γεννήται and φράτρες reconcilable with the relative position of γένος and phratry? The question is one which will continue to be discussed, happily now with a narrower range for hypothesis.

Cleisthenes, as we now know for certain, left the γένη and phratries as he found them. τὰ δὲ γένη καὶ τὰς φρατρίας καὶ τὰς ἱερωσύνας εἶασεν ἔχειν ἐκάστους κατὰ τὰ πάτρια (*Resp. Ath.* p. 56).² There is no indication or suggestion that they were touched by any later constitutional reform. What changes did occur in their organization must have come from within, not from without; must have been adaptative, not radical. Before attempting to surmise what these changes were, it is necessary to examine the statements on the subject of the institution and constitution of γένος and phratry derived from Aristotle, Philochorus and other historians, and transmitted to us by the lexicographers. Aristotle, in describing the institution of the four tribes and their divisions, says that the original members of each of the thirty γένη which composed a phratry were thirty in number, and were called γεννήται; these thirty members drew lots for the priestly offices (the fragment, from the still missing early chapters of the *Politeia*, is reprinted in Mr. Kenyon's edition, p. 173). He cannot have had any documentary evidence of this; it must therefore be an inference from the fact that, in times of which record did exist, each γένος contained thirty privileged members called γεννήται. Philochorus probably gave a similar but more detailed account of

² It is better to suppose that in *Politics* vi. 4 φρατρίαι refers to Cyrene, than to find there a contradiction of this plain statement.

¹ *C.I.A.* 841 b, and *Eph. Arch.* 1888, p. 1.

the institution of the tribes, &c. According to him the thirty original members of each γένος were called ὁμογάλακτες, and afterwards γεννήται (*frs.* 92 and 93 in Müller, from Suidas *s.v.* γεννήται and ὁμογάλακτες). In other words, he knew of the existence in each γένος of thirty privileged members, called in old times ὁμογάλακτες, in later times γεννήται. He also knew of the existence in old times—times when the thirty were still called ὁμογάλακτες—of a class of members of γένη called ὀργεῶνες (*fr.* 94 in Müller, from Photius and Suidas *s.v.* ὀργεῶνες).¹ His account of the institution of the tribes, &c., must then have been more or less as follows (both he and Aristotle regarded it as a constitutional change—the first of the eleven μεταβολαί—see *Resp. Ath.* p. 140): 360 bodies, each consisting of thirty individuals, were formed and called γένη; thirty of these γένη were united to form a phratry; and three phratries were united to form a tribe. The thirty members assigned to each γένος belonged to two generations, hence they were called ὁμογάλακτες. The word can bear no other sense than that which it bears in Aristotle, *Politics* i. 1, παῖδες καὶ παίδων παῖδες, *i.e.* those whom it is possible for the same woman to suckle (it is no uncommon thing in Greece now-a-days to see a grandmother suckling her grandchild). As sons inherited their father's status, and as the population did not remain stationary, the number of members in a γένος could not be limited to thirty. The fiction that a γένος consisted of thirty members was however prolonged, I suppose by filling up vacancies from the eldest sons of members; and these thirty continued, like the original thirty, to call themselves ὁμογάλακτες or γεννήται. They alone were allowed to draw lots for the priestly offices.² The younger sons and their descendants, who did not succeed to the privileged position of ὁμογάλακτες, and therefore could not participate in the priesthoods of the γένος, although they were still members of it, founded among themselves distinct societies for purposes of worship, and hence were known as ὀργεῶνες.³

¹ Cf. Pollux iii. 52, a too brief summary of Philochorus, which, while it wrongly includes the ὀργεῶνες in the thirty, proves that Philochorus regarded them as members of γένη.

² See the fragment of Aristotle referred to above—ὦν αἱ ἱερῶνάωναι ἐκάστοις προσηκούσαι ἐκκληροῦντο. In this limited sense we should understand Hesychius, ἔξω τριακάδος : οἱ μὴ μεταλαμβάνοντες παῖδες, ἢ ἀγχιστεῖς, κλήρος τελευτήσαντος πατρός. κλήρος does not here mean 'property,' but 'the right to draw lots for the priesthoods.'

³ This suits the strict meaning of ὀργεῶν and ὄργια. Cf. Suidas ὀργεῶνες : οἱ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ ἀφιδρυμένοις θεοῖς ὀργιάζοντες.

This may be taken to represent the substance of the detailed account given by Philochorus of the origin and history of the γένη. His testimony, while valueless for the remote period when the γένη were instituted, is good for later periods. The γένη, as he knew them, each contained thirty privileged members, now called γεννήται, but formerly called ὁμογάλακτες, and a number of other members, with worships other than those of the γεννήται, and called ὀργεῶνες. Further, these ὀργεῶνες existed already at that early period when the privileged thirty were still called ὁμογάλακτες.

I will now submit the following hypothetical account of the changes which must have taken place in the organization of the γένη and phratries after the revolution of Cleisthenes, changes which explain the position in which the φράτερες of the Δεκελείων οἶκος stand to the Demotionidae, whom I identify with the γεννήται. The deme was the basis of the state from the time of Cleisthenes onwards. Membership of a phratry, however, carried with it religious and social privileges (political privileges only in so far as it was a necessary qualification for certain high offices): it was also legal evidence of citizenship and, as such, may have had more convincing power, in so far as phratries were, in practice, stricter than demes. The phratries were twelve in number, each consisting of thirty γένη. When Cleisthenes divided Attica into residential districts and made membership of a deme the sufficient condition of citizenship, the phratries and γένη were for a time dislocated and degraded: a large class of new citizens (νεοπολῖται) did not belong to them. They found it necessary for their continued existence that they should adapt themselves to the new conditions and assimilate the new element. The νεοπολῖται could not be received into the γένη, all the members of which, both γεννήται and ὀργεῶνες, were allied, or supposed to be allied, by blood. The phratries, each of which was a group of γένη not claiming a blood-relationship with each other, were more elastic, and the new citizens were received into them, not singly but in groups organized on the model of the gentile ὀργεῶνες,⁴ but called θίασοι. The members of each phratry found themselves, after the revolution, distributed either among all the demes, or among a certain number. A further step in the process of adaptation to the new order was the subdivision of each phratry into a number of local sub-centres,

⁴ It may be gathered from Athenaeus 185C, although the passage is corrupt, that the θιασῶται were distinct from the ὀργεῶνες.

called *οἴκοι*, and named after the most important of the demes over which they extended. This division may indeed have preceded the reception of the *νεοπολῖται*, and have supplied a principle on which they were distributed among the phratries. Each of these local subdivisions of the original phratry had a phratriarch, and acted to a certain extent as an independent corporation. The *κοινὸν Δυναλέων* (*C.I.A.* ii. 600) is a union of two such small corporations, made probably to save expense in the management of property. The old phratry of which these *οἴκοι* were dependants, acknowledging the authority of its laws, still continued to exist, and held its meetings at its traditional sanctuary. The administration of this central phratry was in the hands of the *γεννήται*, i.e. the thirty privileged members of each of its *γένη*. Thus while the members of the *οἴκοι* were spoken of as *φράτερες*,¹ the members of the central phratry were spoken of as *γεννήται*. The members of any one *γένος* were of course also called *γεννήται*. There were therefore three different senses in which the term could be used: (1) the members of a *γένος*, (2) the thirty privileged members of a *γένος*, (3) the nine hundred privileged members of the thirty *γένη* which composed a phratry.

W. R. PATON.

THE AUTHORSHIP.

It is doubtless premature to hazard hypotheses on the authorship of the work on the Athenian Constitution. At the same time two points seem to be established: the date at which the work was composed can be assigned on satisfactory evidence to the last few years of Aristotle's life, and the work can be safely identified with that which was quoted in the ancient world under Aristotle's name. As the work has always carried the weight of Aristotle's authority, it is probable that it was written either by the philosopher himself, or by one of his pupils under his direction. But the style is so different from the other works attributed to Aristotle, that, as Mr. Newman says, 'there seem to be many chances against the view that the treatise is from his pen.' If then we may assume, as the more probable theory, that the work was written in Aristotle's school under his supervision, it is likely that the philosopher corrected his pupil's work in some places, and it is possible, perhaps, that we may detect in the

treatise some traces of Aristotle's hand. Such traces, faint and uncertain as they may be, I think may be discovered in the earlier part of the work. In the first nine chapters there are four passages introduced by *οὐ μὴν ἀλλά*, particles which would naturally be used by a master revising his disciple's work, and it does not seem extravagant to recognize indications of Aristotle's corrections in these passages. In two of them (p. 3, l. 10; p. 27, l. 2) a previous statement is qualified and corrected; in two others (p. 16, l. 9; p. 20, l. 6), after alternative theories have been proposed, one is rejected and the other approved. Moreover all the clauses are parenthetical and the sentences which follow them are connected in sense and in construction with the passages preceding the parentheses. Lastly one of the clauses, *διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι καθόλου περιλαβεῖν τὸ βέλτιστον* (at the end of ch. 9), contrasts in style with the rest of the work and distinctly suggests the difficult brevity of the *Politics*.

L. WHIBLEY.

P. 3, l. 15.—The note here hardly sufficiently recognizes that a certain elective character must belong to primitive monarchy; a point nowhere brought out more clearly than by Professor Freeman in his *Growth of the English Constitution*. Pure hereditary monarchy demands not only elaborate rules of succession, but also (a greater difficulty) provision for a regency. It is not difficult to see how the elective right, confined at first to merely recognizing the representative of the kingly house, may have extended gradually to free choice first within that house and later within a class defined partly by birth and partly by wealth.

P. 10.—*οὐκ ἐλάττω δέκα μῶν ἐλευθέραν*. That the property classification in some form is at least as old as Draco is put beyond doubt. It was indeed probably older, as is shown by *πλουτίην* page 3 line 15. The words *καθάπερ δηρήτο καὶ πρότερον* (p. 18, line 1) so far from being an interpolation are most important. Nor need we trouble much over the fact that Harpocration represents Aristotle as referring the institution of the four classes to Solon. The remodelling of the classes, and the characteristic name of the new first class (*πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι*) we may with confidence attribute to Solon; and if our author (p. 13 line 1) uses the name in relation to the earlier classes of Draco's time the anachronism need not much surprise us. It seems clear that Solon's classes were based on *revenue*, while the earlier classes were

¹ Cf. Pollux iii. 52, *φράτωρ, ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ φρατριάζων καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ δημοτευόμενος*.

based on *capital value*. If we compare the two systems, we see (putting a drachma for a medimnus) that Solon's first class means a revenue of 5 minas a year. What would be the value of a property yielding 5 minas a year in Solon's time we can only roughly estimate. Certainly it would be more than 10 minas. If then we accept the reading δέκα μνῶν in this passage we must suppose that Solon considerably raised the qualification for the archonship. This is extremely unlikely. We should rather suppose him to have somewhat lowered it. I have little doubt that we should read here οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑκα<τὸν> μνῶν ἐλευθέραν. We are expressly told (p. 22, cf. p. 119) that the principle that the ταμίαι should be appointed from the first property class was recognized, at least nominally, in all ages of the constitution. A property of ten minas would not even gain admission to the third Solonian class. On p. 11, line 3 perhaps we may leave out ἡ after ἔλαττον, as Ἡ and ἑκατὸν may be a dittography.

E. S. THOMPSON.

P. 5, l. 2. This theory as to the origin of the office of Polemarch is alluded to in Schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* 235 D ὁ πολέμαρχος ἐστὶν ἄρχων ᾧ κατηγογῶν τοὺς ξένους· ἐστὶ δ' ὥσπερ λοχαγὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅς καὶ ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελείται τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μυστηρίων προνοεῖται καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς πατρίους διοικεῖ. ἄρχων δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπώνυμος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· οἷς πᾶσι καὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ θεοὶ οἷς θύουσι καὶ δίκαι τινας ἀπονέμονται. οἱ δὲ θεσμοθεταὶ ἕξ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ τύπος ὅπου συνήεσαν καὶ ἐσιτοῦντο θεμιστίον (θεσμοθετεῖον) ἐκαλεῖτο.

P. 10, l. 2, p. 11, l. 3. The ten minae and one hundred minae must stand in some relation to the division into classes. According to Boeckh's explanation of the Solonian property schedule (*Staatshaushaltung* I³, p. 579 sqq.), a man with an estate of 'not less than one hundred minae' would belong to the Pentakosiomedimni. That generals and hipparchs should be drawn from the wealthier members of the first class seems appropriate

enough. But there is a difficulty about the 'ten minae.' According to Boeckh's theory persons whose estate was only ten minae would be θῆτες: he takes 150 drachmas as the lowest income of a ζευγίτης, multiplies by twelve to get the capital that such an income would represent and supposes that of this sum, i.e. of eighteen minae, only five-ninths was taxable so that the scheduled capital of the poorest ζευγίτης was ten minae. That there was some definite relation between the lowest income of a ζευγίτης and the sum of ten minae is clear from Pollux 8, 130, οἱ δὲ τὸ ζευγίσιον τελούντες ἀπὸ διακοσίων μέτρων κατελέγοντο ἀνάλυσκον δὲ μνᾶς δέκα, but the present passage is a strong confirmation of Grote's criticism (II. p. 490) of Boeckh's 'rather complicated' calculations: the ten minae in the text must surely be real capital, not taxable capital. If then we are at liberty to conclude from the obscure phrase of Pollux that a man possessing an estate of ten minae would be enrolled in the third class, we find ourselves confronted with the startling result that under this Draconian constitution the first three classes were eligible to the places of the nine archons and the treasurers!

W. WYSE.

C. 52. The explanation of ὁμολογῶσι (p. 127, l. 16) given in the *Saturday Review* seems very doubtful when we compare Aesch. in *Tim.* § 113, οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τῶν κλεπτῶν τοὺς μὲν ὁμολογοῦντας θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀρνούμενους κρίνεσθαι.

H. RICHARDS.

See also Demosth. 24, 65, ὥσπερ τοίνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν περὶ τὰλλα κακούργων τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας ἀνεῖν κρίσεως κολάζειν οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὕτω δίκαιον καὶ τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς νόμους κακούργων εἰληπται, μὴ δόντας λόγον μηδ' ἐθελήσαντας ἀκοῦσαι καταψηφίσασθαι ὡμολόγηκε γὰρ [θατέρῳ] τῷ προτέρῳ νόμῳ ἐναντίον τόνδε τιθεῖς ἀδικεῖν. κακούργοι ἐστὶν ὁ technical term for κλέπται, τοιχωρύχοι, λωποδύται, βαλαντιοτόμοι, ἀνδραποδισταί. Cf. Meier and Schomann, *Att. Proc.*² p. 85 sqq.

W. WYSE.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

The following list contains the emendations received by the Editors between March 21 and April 18, excepting those which had been anticipated in former numbers. Each emendation is assigned to its author as follows:—

J. van Leeuwen* (L.), T. Nicklin (TN.), W. R. Paton (WRP.), E. Poste (EP.), H. Richards† (HR.), E. S. Thompson (EST.), W. Wyse (W.). The notes signed K. have

* *Mnemosyne* xix. Pt. 2, pp. 169—190,

† Partly in *Academy*, April 18.

been added by Mr. Kenyon, who has kindly compared the emendations with the papyrus.

Reviews have appeared in *Mnemosyne* xix. Pt. 2, in the *Athenaeum* for April 4, and in the April numbers of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly*. The first three lay stress on the historical difficulties of the treatise, the last argues mainly on the ground of language that it cannot have assumed its present shape before the first century B.C. The translation by Kaibel and Kiessling has appeared. Van Herwerden has abandoned his intention of bringing out an edition.

P. 2, l. 1. If νεκροί is right, it needs an article. **HR.**

P. 7, l. 8. θεσμοθέται needs an article. **HR.**

P. 9, l. 10. αὐτή. Perhaps αὐτοῦ. **HR.** The MS. apparently has αὐτ' (i.e. αὐτης). **K.**

P. 10, l. 14. For δέκα μῶν read ἑκα<τὸν> μῶν. **EST.** See note above, p. 224 a.

P. 11, ll. 5—8. Read τοιοῦτους δὲ δεῖ[ν εἶναι καὶ] τοὺς πρυτάνεις <καὶ τοῦτους> καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους <ἄρχειν ἡρημένους ἑκασ>του ἔτους μέχρι εὐθυνῶν λογιστὰς δέκα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους δεχομένους. The πρυτάνεις here we may assume to be the πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκραριῶν (so Stein rightly for ναυκράρων), Herod. v. 71, cf. p. 23. The higher officials are not, as with Solon, responsible to the poorer classes. **EST.**

P. 13, l. 7. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν, κ.τ.λ. These words have so little in common with the rest of the chapter that I doubt their genuineness. l. 10 is not in their favour. **HR.**

P. 14, l. 5. For καὶ γὰρ ἐπήλυνεν read καὶ προῖον καταπραΐνει. **EP.** The MS. will not admit of this. **K.**

P. 16, ll. 11—12. For [ἄμα]τ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ [τ]οὺς [νόμ]ους ὑποποιήσαντες τυραννεῖν, read (with Blass) ὥστ' ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐτέρους κ.τ.λ. τοὺς ἐτέρους prepares for the following ἀμφοτέροις, and gives a suitable object to ὑποποιήσαντες. **EP.**

P. 16, l. 13. Surely ἀπέχ[θ]εσθαι is not at all certain. I do not think the passage on p. 28 is parallel. Here ἀμφοτέροις must be τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει, and βοηθήσαι is the word required. After the hole in the papyrus cannot οἰσθῆσαι be read? If so, it remains to determine what the word beginning with α is, **WRP.** οἰσθῆσαι cannot be read. I think απε and θαι are quite certain, and there is not much doubt about the χ and σ. **K.**

P. 16, l. 15. συμκροῖς καὶ βασι[αῦ]σο[ι]ς. **WRP.** Not impossible. **K.**

P. 19, l. 2. There is room for μὲν after πεντακοσιομεδίων, and it would be an im-

provement. **WRP.** There is not room for μὲν. The termination of πεντακοσιομεδίων is quite traceable in the original. **K.**

p. 20, line 2.—εἰκὼν Διφίλου. Instead of inserting Ἀνθεμίονος perhaps it is simpler to strike out Διφίλου. The first line of the epigram may have been Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίον τὴνδ' <εἰκόνα> θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε. We may assume that the citation in Pollux is taken from this place, and not copied independently from the inscription. Against such an ending as τὸνδ' ἵππον θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε there is (besides the spondaic word in the 4th foot) the fact that it was not a statue of a horse, but a statue of a man with a horse by him (παρέστηκεν). **EST.**

P. 24, l. 3. Is οἶον certain? I seem to make out π[ο]λλαχ[ό]θι. **WRP.** Not impossible, but the αχ in particular is extremely problematical. **K.**

P. 24, l. 7. There is room for ἐ[πὶ] { τὸ } or { τῷ }

νομοφυλακεῖν. **WRP.** I doubt if there is room for τῷ, but τό is perhaps possible. **K.**

P. 24, l. 8. [ῆ]ς τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐφέωρα καὶ τὰ μέγιστα. Can this be read? In any case it would appear that in this passage δίκαια should be restored between καὶ and τὰ. It might easily, if written Δκα, have dropped out. **WRP.** I do not think this can be read, and I think τὰ πλείστα can be made out. δίκαια (if contracted) would be written ΔΙΚ'Α. **K.**

P. 24, l. 10. κυρί[α] οὐ[σ]α μετὰ νεῖ ἄνευ τοῦ] δήμον κολάζειν? **WRP.**

P. 26, l. 2. τῷ βουλομένῳ τιμωρ[εῖν]. **WRP.** τιμωρεῖν or τιμωρεισθ is possible. **K.**

P. 26, l. 8. τὰς is surely wrong, the τ cannot be read. πολ[λ]ὰς? **WRP., HR.** Possible. **K.**

P. 27, l. 12. παρα[πλίσ]ον is most doubtful. I seem to see καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, and τρεῖς καὶ is required here. **WRP.** I cannot see καὶ, and π seems clear, though the rest of the word is very doubtful. **K.**

P. 28, l. 2. μερίδες instead of μυαῖ. **WRP.** I think not, though μυαῖ is not certain. **K.**

P. 28, l. 4. πάντες is wrong, there is no π. Is the word αἰέ? **WRP.** The word is, I think, αὐτῷ. **K.**

P. 28, l. 5. ἐπιτιμῶντες seems very doubtful. Is not μεταρ[ρ]υθμ[ί] ζ[ι]οντες possible? It would suit the parallel passage in Plutarch. **WRP.** ἐπιτιμῶντες is traceable in the original. μεταρρυθμίζοντες is not possible. **K.**

P. 28, l. 17. ἡγούμε[ο]ς δ' ἄρα φεύξ[ε]σθαι τὴν] δια[βολή]ν [ἀμ]φοτέροις ἡλλοτρώθη. This seems to me to give the right sense, and to be nearer the MS. than the printed text.

WRP. I think this is too long, and παραλλάξ seems to me clear, and also ἡναντιώθη. **K.**

P. 29, l. 14. For οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀρπαγαῖσιν ἦλθον ἐλπιδ' εἶχον ἀφνεάν, κἀδόκου, read οἱ δ' ἐφ' ἀρπαγαῖσιν ἄλλως, κ.τ.λ., 'downright plunder.' **EP.**

P. 30, l. 1. αὐτῶν. Perhaps αὐτός. **HR.**

P. 30, l. 6. For ἄλλα δ' αὖ μάτην ἔερδον, read ἄλλα δ' ἂν μάτην ἔερδον. **EP.**

P. 30, l. 11. ἐλευθερωθέντων δὲ διὰ τὴν σεισαχθείαν. Ought not διὰ here to take the genitive? Cf. note on p. 91, l. 7. **HR.**

P. 30, l. 12. Read

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκ' ἐξανήγαγον
δῆμον, τοιούτων πρὶν τυχῶν ἐπανασάμην,

ἔ.

ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν μὲν οὐνεκ' οὐ ἐξνήλατον
δῆμόν τι τούτων πρὶν τυχεῖν ἐπανασάμην,

I leave τι τούτων alone as conceivably right, though doubtful; οὐ of course goes with ἐπανασάμην. **EST.**

P. 31, ll. 1—2. For

συμμαρτυροῖη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ χρόνον
μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων [ν' Ὀλυμπίων

read

συμμαρτυροῖη ταῦτ' ἂν ἐν δίκῃ Κρόνου
μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων τ' Ὀλυμπίων. **EP.**

P. 31, l. 3. For ποτε read τότε. **HR.**

P. 34, l. 2. ἐξηλάσθη is as barbarous as ἀπεχθεσθῆναι (p. 28, l. 20). **HR.**

P. 36, l. 6. Read προσκεκόλλητο. **ἔ.**

P. 39, 2. For ἐξαράμενος read ἐξαρτη-
σάμενος, 'having hung up.' **HR.**

P. 39, last line but one. Perhaps δὲ δωδεκάτῳ was a mistake for δὲ δεκάτῳ, and δεκάτῳ itself a mistake for τετάρτῳ owing to the two numerical meanings of Δ. **EST.**

P. 41, l. 4. κατήγαγεν. As this word is not very applicable to Phye, perhaps we ought to read εἰσήγαγε. **HR.** I think the word begins with σ'. ? συνεισήγαγεν. **K.**

P. 41, l. 7. Omit θανμάζοντες. **HR.**

P. 42, l. 5. λαβὼν ? ἀναλαβὼν. So perhaps p. 45, l. 1. **HR.**

P. 44, l. 7. For τὸν πᾶ[τταλον] ἐκέλευεν [ἐρ]εσθαι, read τὸν παῖδα κ.τ.λ. **ἔ.** Not impossible. **K.**

P. 44, l. 18. διὰ τὸν φόβον would be better than διὰ τῆς ὕβρεως. Cf. ἐπεξαιρούμενοι τὸν φόβον, p. 25, l. 12. **HR.**

P. 45, l. 4. προσηγάγετο would be better than ὠφέλησεν. Pisistratus did not 'benefit' people by friendly intercourse; he conciliated them: cf. p. 52, l. 7. **HR.** προσήγετο seems to be the MS. reading, but προσηγάγετο is perhaps possible. **K.**

P. 45, l. 22. For προαγαγόντες read παρα-
λαβόντες. **HR.**

P. 46, l. 2. Herodotus (5. 94) calls Hegesistratus παῖδα νόθον γεγονότα ἐξ Ἀργείης γυναικός, because after the middle of the fifth century (cp. p. 74, l. 4), women of foreign blood certainly could not occupy at Athens the position of a lawful wife: the children of a ξένη were both νόθοι and ξένοι. The same distinction is present to the writer: he contrasts 'the wedded wife' of Athenian birth with the 'Argive woman.' The reading need not be altered. Thucydides on the other hand (6. 55) seems to include Thessalus among the legitimate sons of Pisistratus (τῶν γνησίων ἀδελφῶν). **W.**

P. 46, l. 2. Ἠγησίστρατος ᾧ παρωνύμιον ἦν Θετταλός. παρωνύμιον = ἐπωνυμία (cf. p. 117, l. 10) is cited by L. and S. from Plutarch only, and the words ᾧ...Θετταλός are not unlikely to be an adscript. **HR.**

P. 46, l. 4. ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Γόργυλος is perhaps an adscript. It can hardly stand between θυγατέρα and Τιμωνάσσαν. ἐξ Ἀργους seems superfluous, like ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, p. 94, l. 7. **HR.**

P. 47, l. 8. For μετὰ πολιτῶν πολλῶν, read μετ' ὀλίγων ἄλλων. Cf. p. 52, l. 2. **HR.**

P. 48, l. 17. τοῦ τυράννου. We want τῶν τυράννων, not only because the plural is always used (p. 48, l. 11; p. 52, l. 5; p. 59, l. 3; p. 61, l. 1); but for the sake of the plural verbs following. **HR.** Is not the singular used to avoid the awkwardness of τῶν τῶν τυράννων φίλων? **K.**

P. 49, l. 22. δι' αὐτῶν. Read δι' αὐτῶν. **HR.**

P. 50, ll. 15—16. For εἰς τοῦτ' εὐθέως προὔτρεψε, read εἰς δ' (οὐ ἔστε) τελευτῶσα προὔτρεψε. **EP.**

P. 55, l. 2. οὐ συνέπιπτεν. The sense requires οὐκ ἂν συνέπιπτεν. **HR.**

P. 59, l. 4. For ὅσοι μὴ συνεξαμάρτανον ἐν ταῖς παραχαῖς, read ὅσοι μὴ συνεξαμάρτοιεν κ.τ.λ. **EP.**

P. 60, l. 1. Read (nearly agreeing with **LW.** and **JWH.**) ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ πεντακοσιο-
μεδίων τὸτε. **ἔ.**

P. 61, l. 7. ὡς ἐφάνη τὰ μέταλλα τὰ ἐν Μαρωνείᾳ. This statement is altogether at variance with that of Xen. *de Vect.* 4. § 2, that the mines were of immemorial antiquity, and the word ἐφάνη, as Mr. Wyse has pointed out, is oddly used. Perhaps we should read something like ὡς <λυσυτελέστερα> ἐφάνη τὰ μέταλλα. Cf. Xenophon's words 4 § 4, πολλαπλασία ἡ ἀργυρίτις ἀναφαίνεται; § 6, ἀργυρίτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων φαίνεται; § 31, δῆλον ὅτι λυσυτελέστερα ἂν τὰ ἔργα γίνοιτο. **HR.**

P. 65, l. 1. For τότε μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου read τὸ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τούτου. **EP.**

P. 65, l. 7. *ἐξαπορησάντων*. Perhaps *διαπορησάντων*. 'Vidi ἐξ et δι confusa in plerisque omnibus scriptoribus Graecis . . . In [Plutarchi] Alcibiade 5, pro *ἐξαπορήθησαν* scribe *διαπορήθησαν*.' Cobet, *V. L.* pp. 219—220. **HR.**

P. 66, l. 5. For *πολέμια ἀσκήων* read *πολεμικά δοκῶν*, which will make it unnecessary to insert *δοκῶν* afterwards. **HR., EST.**

P. 67, l. 14. Omit *καὶ* before *τῶν συμμάχων*. **Λ.**

P. 68, l. 5. *συνέστησαν* for *-σαντο*. **Λ.**

P. 69, l. 11. *περιείλε* ? *περιείλετο*, as in p. 72, l. 6 ; p. 75, l. 3. **HR.** Compare, however, p. 42, where we find *παρελόμενος*, l. 6, and *παρέιλεν*, l. 8. **JBM.** I do not think *παρέιλεν* is certain: it might be *παρέιλε[το]*; the termination is very faint. **K.**

P. 70, l. 3. For *γενομένου* read *γινομένου*. **HR.**

P. 71, l. 7. *τοὺς ἀφαιρεθέντας τῆς βουλῆς*. The genitive seems hardly possible, whatever participle we read. Probably *τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς*. **HR.**

P. 72, l. 13. I read *κατὰ τοὺς εἰκαίους τούτους*. The *ἐπιεικέστεροι* had a leader, but had no leader who was a match for the demagogues. **WRP.** I have no doubt about *καιρούς*. There is a flaw in the papyrus which has caused miswriting, but the word finally stands ^κ*ρουνος* (= *καιρους*). **K.** What is wanting is an epithet for *ἡγεμόνα* in l. 14. **HR.**

P. 72, l. 16. Between *καὶ* and *πρὸς* a word is inserted above the line. I think it is *μόγυς*. **WRP.** This is in the same flaw of papyrus, in the line below the last, and I feel sure that there is no additional word, but only a blot. **K.**

P. 73, l. 6. Possibly *ἔστε ἀναλίσκεσθαι*. **WRP.** Possibly; but as the first letter is destroyed there is no MS. evidence of it. The facsimile is a little deceptive here, I think. **K.**

P. 73, l. 8. **Λ.** defends the reading against **W.** Cannot the MS. be defended in the sense 'In other matters they did not observe the laws as faithfully as in former years, but they left the election of the archons untouched—although in the sixth year they introduced changes even here'? **TN.**

P. 75, l. 9. For *ἐνέστη* read *συνέστη*. *Non de instante sed de orto bello agitur*. **Λ.**

P. 75, l. 11. For *προηρέιτο* read *προήγετο*. **HR.**

P. 76, l. 1. *τοὺς πολλοὺς* stood originally in the text. *τοὺς* has been erased, but both this and the *ὑπὸ τῶν δήμων* on p. 74, l. 1, should, I think, be retained in the text. The

copy of the treatise, with which the writer subsequently compared his own, need not necessarily have been more authentic than that which he transcribed, although he doubtless regarded it as such. **WRP.**

P. 76, l. 6. Cannot *συμβουλευσάντος* be read, and in l. 7 *ὅστις*? **WRP.** *συμβουλευσάντος* is right, but not *ὅστις*, I think. **K.**

P. 76, ll. 6—9. *συμβουλευόντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου*. . . . *ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἡττάτο δίδόναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν, κατεσκεύασε μισθοφορὰν τοῖς δικασταῖς*. **Λ.** reads *αὐτοῦ* governing *δίδόναι* by *ἡττάτο*. But the text is right if we put a comma after *ἡττάτο* and govern *δίδόναι* by *συμβουλευόντος*. **JBM.**

P. 76, l. 7. Read *Δάμωνος Δαμωνίδου*. The name of Pericles' adviser was certainly Damon (cf. e.g. Plut. *Per.* c. 4, *Nic.* 6, *Aristid.* 1). Oncken (*Athen und Hellas*, 2, p. 12), pointed out that Plut. *Per.* c. 9, *Δημωνίδου* (*sic* MSS.) *τοῦ Οἰῆθαι*, seemed an error. There remains some doubt about *τοῦ Οἰῆθαι*. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* **Οα* has: *ὁ μέντοι δημότης *Οαθεν λέγεται. Δάμων Δαμωνίδου *Οαθεν.* (**Οαθεν* is the better form, *Bull. d. Corr. Hell.* 1889, p. 348.) **Οα* belonged to the tribe Pandionis and must be distinguished from **Οη* or *Οῖη* of the tribe Oeneis (Ross, *Demen* p. 128). Sintenis in Plut. *Per.* 9 ultimately restored **Οαθεν*, and I am disposed to think he was right; but proof seems hardly possible. In any case, whether we keep *Οἰῆθεν* or not, the article after *Δαμωνίδου* is contrary to usage if *Δάμωνος* precedes. Cp. Krech, *De Crateri ψηφισμάτων συναγωγῇ*, p. 101, Sauppe, *Die Quellen Plutarchs für das Leben des Pericles* (1867), p. 17. **W.**

P. 76, l. 11. For *δικασταῖς ἀφ' ὧν* read *δικαστηρίοις ἀφ' οὗ*, thus supplying a subject for *χείρω*. **HR.**

P. 77, l. 7. Read *τῶν εὐγενῶν <ὧν>*. **HR.**

P. 77, l. 15. For *ἐτέρων* here and p. 78, l. 5, read *εὐπόρων*. **HR.**

Pp. 78, 79. Perhaps the *διωβελία* may be explained of the ecclesiasts' pay (in which case Zenobius' *δικαστῶν* will be nearer the mark than if it be really the *θεωρικόν*). Apparently Callicrates increased it to breaking point, so that it was abolished to avoid bankruptcy. Else how explain p. 79, ll. 3, 4 *κἂν ἐξαπατηθῇ τὸ πλῆθος*? In this case Agyrrius reintroduced the measure in a modified form (note *πρώτος* is used of Cleophon, p. 78, but not of Agyrrius, p. 106). This is confirmed by p. 106, l. 15 *μισθοφόρον ἐκκλησίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέγνωσαν ποιεῖν*, which suggests the existence of the practice some time before the revolution. **TN.**

P. 79, l. 4. *προαγαγόντας* in the MS. **WRP.** Possible, but hardly certain. **K.**

P. 80, l. 5. εἶναι οἱ γενέσθαι has been omitted. **HR.**

P. 80, l. 8. For προάγειν read στέργειν. **HR.**

P. 80, l. 13. διαφοράν. Read συμφοράν. **HR.,** **Λ.**

P. 82, l. 7. Should not τινα be inserted? **HR.**

P. 82, l. 12. τὰ μὲν χρήματα <τὰ> προσ-
 ὶοντα. Omit χρήματα as a gloss. Cf. p. 101,
 l. 1. ἀπὸ τῶν προσιόντων. **HR.**

P. 83, l. 12. May not τούτων refer to τοὺς
 ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας? Then these are
 the body from which the four councils of 400
 each, generals, &c., must come, and the
 ἑλληνοταμίαι may not at the same time be in
 the council for the year. τῶν αἰὶ βουλευόντων,
 p. 14, l. 6, is then the council for the year.
 The principle seems to have been to have the
 council for the current and three following
 years always nominated, so that a man could
 serve only once in four years. **TN.**

P. 85, l. 2. For νείμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 πρὸς τὴν λῆξιν ἐκάστην, read νείμαι δ' αἰὶ
 ἄλλους πρὸς τὴν λῆξιν ἐκάστην, i.e. after the
 four sections had once held office, the next
 sections, to prevent cabals and jealousies of
 cabals, should be formed of new combina-
 tions. This gives the key to the following
 text, which requires to be treated with a
 bolder hand. **EP.**

P. 85, l. 6. βουλευεῖν, ?βουλευέσθαι as in
 l. 9. **HR.**

P. 88, ll. 1—5. For εἰς δὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
 ἵνα νεμθῶσιν οἱ τετρακόσιοι εἰς τὰς τέτταρας
 λῆξεις ὅταν τοῖς ἀστοῖς γίγνηται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 βουλευεῖν διανεμάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες,
 read εἰς δὲ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ὅταν νεμθῶσιν
 οἱ τετρακόσιοι εἰς τὰς τέτταρας λῆξεις, ἵνα μὴ
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς γίγνηται μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευεῖν,
 ἄλλως διανεμάντων αὐτοὺς οἱ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες
 (the change of ἀστοῖς into αὐτοῖς is due to
 Professor Tyrrell), i.e. care must be taken
 that the sections are never composed of the
 same members. **EP.** The sense seems to be
 'The provisional council (of 400)—elected
 for the first year forty from each tribe
 (p. 86 fin.)—are not to be disqualified for
 the regular council that is to be appointed
 under the permanent system: let the 100
 chosen to draw up the list of 5,000 (p. 83,
 ll. 2—5) divide these 400 along with the other
 qualified citizens into the proposed four
 councils (p. 84 fin.—85, l. 6).' Perhaps some-
 thing like ὅταν τὰ ἴσα αὐτοῖς γίγνηται μετὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων βουλευεῖν may underlie the corruption
 —when the time comes for the provisional
 council to sink into the general body of
 councillors from whom the scheme proposes
 each year to take 400 as council. **TN.**

P. 91, l. 3. τοὺς τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ νικῶντας looks
 like an adscript. It is hardly compatible
 with τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ συνναυμαχίσαντας. **HR.**

P. 91, l. 7. διὰ τοὺς παροργίσαντας. Is not
 the genitive needed? Cf. note on p. 30, l. 11.
HR.

P. 92, l. 3. ἀφῶσι would perhaps be better
 in itself and has the authority, such as it is,
 of the scholiast's quotation. **HR.**

P. 93, l. 6. ὦν ἦν μὲν κ.τ.λ. Perhaps ὦν
 ἦσαν. **HR.**

P. 94, l. 4. In τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μέτριοι
 τοῖς πολίταις ἦσαν, for πολίταις read πολιτεύ-
 μασιν. **EP.**

P. 94, l. 6. τε perhaps after Ἐφιάλτου.
 Cf. note on p. 100, l. 2. **HR.**

P. 94, l. 7. Omit ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, or
 Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν. **HR.**

P. 96, l. 10. ἐκφέρειν. Read συμφέρειν. **Λ.**

P. 96, l. 15. οἱ τριάκοντα is clearly an
 adscript. It is unnecessary and cannot stand
 where it is. **HR.**

P. 99, l. 7. The writer must have said *in*
what the man whose name is mutilated was
 second to none. Was ἀρετῇ lost through
 Δημάρετον? **HR.**

P. 100, l. 2. τ' is impossible where it is,
 but after πρὶν it would be an improvement.
HR.

P. 100, l. 5. ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς
 should perhaps be omitted. He has already
 been mentioned in l. 2. **HR.**

P. 100, l. 17. μεινάντων, read μῆναι τοὺς
 δ'. **Λ.**

P. 100, l. 19. For αὐτοκράτορας ἐ[πὶ
 πᾶσιν], read αὐτοκράτορας Ἐλευσίνι. **EP.**

P. 101, l. 6. οὔτοι, ?αὐτοί. **HR.**

P. 101, l. 13. πρὶν ἀπογράφηται πάλιν ἐν
 τῷ ἄστει κατοικεῖν. ἄν has already been in-
 serted, but there are still two errors left.
 Read πρὶν ἂν ἀπογραφῇ πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἄστει
 κατοικῶν. **HR.**

P. 101, l. 16. For παρεληλυθότων read
 perhaps κατεληλυθότων, comparing p. 103,
 l. 6. **HR.**

P. 103, l. 17. ἐξήλειψαν. ?ἐξηλείψαντο. **HR.**

P. 105, l. 2. For πρώτη μετὰ ταῦτα
 [ἐξ]έχουσα πολιτείας τάξις, read πρώτη μετὰ
 ταῦτα εἶδος ἔχουσα πολιτείας τάξις. I think
 the phrase εἶδος ἔχειν occurs in Aristotle, but
 must content myself with referring to
 εἰδοποιὺς διαφορά. **EP.** Read μετὰ ταῦτα
 ὑπάρχουσα πολιτείας τάξις. **HR.**

P. 105, l. 9. Read δημοτικωτέρα<οὔσα>.
HR.

P. 106, ll. 1—2. In the phrase ἐν ᾗ πλείστα
 συνέβη τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν
 διὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν, should not
 ἐπικρατοῦντος τοῦ πλήθους or something
 similar be inserted after ἀμαρτάνειν? **EP.**

P. 106, l. 2. Should not the second *διά* be *κατά*? **HR.**

P. 108, l. 19. Read *ἐπὶ πάντας παραλαβόντες δ'*. Perhaps also *κοσμητήν* for [*ἐπιμ*]ελητήν **Λ**. Possible. **K.**

P. 110, l. 6. *πλὴν ταμίον στρατιωτικῶν*. The article has been so often omitted that we shall be safe in writing *τοῦ ταμίον τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*. So he is called p. 119, l. 16 and p. 124, l. 1. **HR.**

P. 117, l. 17. *μάλισθ' ὅσαι*. Read *μάλιστα δ' ὅσαι*. **HR.**

P. 122, l. 2. *οἷς ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ ταῖς ἀ[γορ]αῖς κατὰ τὸν ἐπινοήμον τὸν τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης καθῆσθαι*. *ταῖς ἀγοραῖς* cannot stand for *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*. Assuming *ἐντὸς γ' [ἡμερῶν, ἀφ'] ἧς ἔδωκε τὰς εὐθύνas* to be right in l. 5, might we substitute *τρῆς ἡμέρας* for *ταῖς ἀγοραῖς*? **HR.**

P. 122, l. 12. *οἱ τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην εἰσάγουσιν*. *φυλὴν εἰσάγειν* is a unique expression. P. 146, l. 8 and p. 130, ll. 9-10 suggest that we should read *δικάζουσιν*. **HR., EST.**

P. 122, l. 15. Read <*κυρία*> ἢ κρίσις. **HR.**

P. 122, l. 20. For *ἀνάγουσι* read *ἐγκάουσι*. **HR., EST.**

P. 125, l. 1. *ἐντὸς σταδίων <ἐξ> ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους*. **Λ**.

P. 139, l. 14. *ἐφ' οὗ τὰ τόμ' ἐστίν* (adopting Bergk's emendation on Poll. viii. 86, and comparing Dem. xxiii. 68). **Λ**. Possible, and I think right. **K.**

P. 140, l. 5. Either read *ἕκαστος* for *ἐκάτερος*, or (which I prefer), omit *καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς* which is wanting in Harpocr. s.v. *πάρεδρος*. It is true we are told of a *πάρεδρος* to the *βασιλεὺς* in Ps.-Dem. c. *Neaer.* 72 and in an inscription *C.I.A.* II. 597, but it would seem that this was a later name for

the four *ἐπιμεληταί*, of whom we read in c. 57. **Λ**. *ἕκαστος* is right. **K.**

P. 140, l. 12. *τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους* is perhaps an adscript. A tragic chorus was not the most expensive liturgy. **HR.**

P. 141, l. 1. *τούτοις* has been corrected to *τούτους*, but would not *τούτων* be more correct? **HR.**

P. 144, l. 2. For *γερῶν* read *ιερῶν*. **HR.**

P. 145, l. 9. *καὶ οὐδ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν δίκαιον* (or perhaps *ἕξεσιν*) *ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ*. Cf. Dem. xxiii. 37 *seq.* and 80. **Λ**. (Cf. **W.** on p. 118). *ἀγοράν* and *δίκαιον* may be right, *ἕξεσιν* is impossible. **K.**

P. 147, l. 14. *ἂν τις τὸν ἐλείθερον κακῶς λέγῃ*. Read *τιν'* for *τόν* as in p. 151, l. 10, &c. **HR.**

P. 148, l. 12. For *τό δ'* read *δὲ τό*. **HR.**

P. 149, l. 3. *ὁ μὲν νόμος <κύριος>*. **HR.**

P. 149, l. 17. *στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ πρότερον μὲν κ.τ.λ.* Read *στρατηγούς μὲν δέκα καὶ πρότερον μὲν κ.τ.λ.* Or we might do without the *καί*, as in p. 154, l. 4. **HR.**

P. 150, l. 2. For *δ[ημο]τῶν* read *ὀπλιτῶν*. **HR.**

P. 151, l. 4. *πρὸς τὰ παρόντα*. Perhaps *τὰ αἰε παρόντα*. **HR.**

P. 152, l. 7. Dr. Sandys says *δέκα* has dropt out before *φυλάρχους*. But read rather *φυλάρχους δέκα*, for in this treatise the numeral always comes last. **HR.**

P. 153, l. 2. We are tempted to give *ἐννέα ἀρχόντων* here and in p. 155, l. 5 an article (as Mr. Kenyon notes), but on p. 156 *ἄρχων, ἀθλοθέται*, and *Ἀμφικτύονες* are equally without it. **HR.**

P. 158, l. 4. *οἷς, ἢ ᾧ*. In p. 26, l. 11, *ὧν* should perhaps be *οὗ*. **HR.**

P. 162, l. 18. *τὸ αὐτοῦ*. Read *τὸ αὐτό*. **HR.**

RARE WORDS IN ARISTOTLE'S 'CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.'

φυλοβασιλεῖς, p. 23, l. 4 and p. 145, l. 12. Found in Pollux, Hesychius, and Photius.

δίδραχμον, p. 27, l. 13. Pollux and the Bible for *half-shekel*.

ἐπιδιενεμήθησαν, p. 28, l. 1. First found in Philo ii. 6, 51: *ἀγαθὸς ἱατρὸς διαμετρησάμενος τοὺς καιροὺς ἐπιδιανέμει τὰ σωτήρια*.

διαφράδην, p. 32, l. 1. 8. A new form. *διαφραδέως* is used by Hippocrates.

διαψηφισμόν, p. 36, l. 10 (Dr. Sandys' emendation). Found in Athenaeus, p. 218a: *διαψηφισμὸς ὁ γενόμενος κατὰ τῶν περὶ Ἑρασινίδην στρατηγῶν*.

παρώχλει, p. 44, l. 14. Theophrastus uses this form for *παρενοχλέω*.

φυλοκρινεῖν, p. 54, l. 3. This word occurs in some MSS. of Thucydides, Lucian, &c. See L. and S.

ἄπωθεν, p. 61, l. 5. Rather peculiar use of the word. Cf. Aristoph. *Pl.* 674: *ἄπωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς*.

ἐξαπορησάντων, p. 65, l. 7. First found in Polybius iv. 34, 1: *οὕτως ἐξηπόρησαν*.

δεσποτικωτέρως, p. 67, l. 8. The comparative of this adverb does not appear in L. and S. Arist. *Pol.* iv. 10, 3, has *τὸ δεσποτικῶς ἄρχειν*.

μονοχίτων, p. 72, l. 1. First found in Polybius (fragment) and in Athenaeus 589 f. (quoting Pythaeetus, *De Aegina*): Μέλισσα ἀναμπέχονος καὶ μονοχίτων ἦν.

παροργίζαντας, p. 91, l. 7. The active found only in N. T.

ἀντενέγραφον, p. 96, l. 12. Demosthenes uses this word, but only in passive.

ἐπιστυλίων, p. 121, l. 3. Found in Plutarch and Athenaeus (quoting Callixenus the Rhodian).

σιτικόν, p. 127, l. 11. First found in Polybius.

ἐναγίσματα, p. 146, l. 3. First found in Lucian.

ἐπιστατικὴν, p. 147, l. 4. Not found elsewhere with this meaning.

τὰ ψευδομαρτύρια, p. 147 (end). Found only in Plato, *Theaet.* p. 148b: ἔνοχος τοῖς ψευδομαρτυρίοις.

βάλανος, pp. 157 and 163. Not used, I think, in this sense elsewhere.

κληρωτήριον, p. 162, l. 5. Used with this meaning by Plutarch only.

ἐμπήκτης, p. 162 (Mr. Bywater's correction). Found in Hesychius, who gives a different meaning to the word.

δίχους, p. 166. Found in Athenaeus (quoting Poseidonius the philosopher): Παναθηναϊκὰ μέγιστα τὰ μὲν δίχουα, τὰ δὲ καὶ μείζονα.

ἐξάχους, p. 166. Found in Plutarch.

E. J. CHINNOCK.

NOTES.

SOPH. *Aj.* 651.—I have evidently not made my meaning clear. ἔθλυνθην στόμα is 'my edge was made womanish,' *i.e.* weak. Ajax regards pity as weakness. He is by nature unbending, like steel that is untempered. But the words of Tecmessa, he says, have changed him. He compares their effect upon him to that of 'dipping' upon the untempered steel. Flexibility is not weakness; neither is pity; but Ajax thinks them so, because he has been accustomed to think that stubbornness is strength. Creon (*Antig.* 474) describes steel which is ὀπτὸς ἐκ πυρὸς περισκελῆς (Dr. Murray's phrase, 'made brittle from the action of fire') as ἐγκρατέστατος, 'stubborn' or 'masterful': and the opposite of this, which is 'flexible,' Ajax describes as θήλυς, 'weak' (γυνὴ δὲ θήλυ κατὰ δακρύου ἔφν).

But flexibility, though not weakness, *is* softness. Ajax has substituted the contemptuous θηλύνειν for the technical μαλάσσειν (see the passages from Plato and Plutarch quoted below). Mr. Marindin has not observed that 'soften' is synonymous with 'anneal': *Encyclop. Britann.* 'Iron' § 42, 'this inverse process is strictly termed *softening* or *annealing*,' and immediately afterwards the effect of the process is said to be 'toughness and elasticity.'

Ancient no less than modern sword-blades required to be flexible. That, then no less than now, *some* second process was needed to make them so, is certain: and Sophocles knew this; Creon says as much when he says that the steel which is περισκελῆς (over-hardened) from the fire (*i.e.* from the fire and sudden cooling) will break in the using. This second process is referred to (in general terms) by Plato, *Rep.* iii. p. 411 A. ὥσπερ σίδηρον ἐμάλαξε καὶ χρήσιμον ἐξ ἀχρήστου καὶ σκληροῦ ἐποίησεν, and Plutarch, *Vit. Num.* c. 8, τὴν πόλιν καθάπερ σίδηρον ἐκ σκληρῆς μαλακωτέραν ποιῆσαι (quoted in Prof. Jebb's note). It is not, I think, assuming too much to say that, in ancient as in modern times, this second or annealing process was a second immersion.

Granted that we cannot prove from ancient writers that it was so: the passages quoted from Plutarch and Pliny throw no light on this point. Granted also that in two passages of Plutarch and one of Aristotle, where βαφή occurs as a metaphor, the immersion

spoken of is of the first or hardening kind: this does not prove that Sophocles (who twice uses περισκελῆς according to knowledge) did not know of the other.

Mr. Marindin seems to be mistaken in supposing that a cooling which is 'spontaneous' is therefore 'dry.' If I may quote again from the *Encyclopaedia*, 'The annealing may be performed by allowing the fluid in which the article is slowly heated up to cool down again spontaneously when the requisite temperature is attained'; and (to determine the temperature) 'various fusible alloys may be used, a series of such being placed in the annealing bath.' I did not of course say that the word βαφή 'distinguishes the annealing process from the hardening,' but that, when the steel is περισκελῆς, the immersion which follows is necessarily of the annealing kind.

As to the dative: ἐτελεύτησε νόσφ, because ἐτελεύτησε is as truly a passive verb as ἀπέθανε; but καρτερῶ βαφή = καρτερός γεγέννηται βαφή is so far a strained construction, that βαφή, suspended between ἐκατέρουν and ἐθλύνθην, cries out to be constructed with ἐθλύνθην if it may. So with the metre: not that a line cannot be divided after the third foot: but that βαφή σίδηρος ὤς, ambiguously placed in point of syntax, inclines by its metrical position to ἐθλύνθην. This is the sentence: 'I who was lately steadfast | as steel by dipping am made womanish of my edge | by this woman.'

R. WHITELOW.

* * *

SWALLOWS IN THE HOUSE.—Since I wrote my note on this subject (*Classical Review*, v. p. 1) I have received the following extract from a recent book, *Japanese Houses and their Surroundings*, by Edward S. Morse, late Professor of Zoology, University of Tokio: 'A household shrine to which the children pay voluntary and natural devotion are the birds' nests built within the house. It is a common thing, not only in the country but in large cities like Tokio, for a species of swallow, hardly to be distinguished from the European species, to build its nest in the house—not in an out-of-the-way place, but in the room where the family may be most actively engaged, or in the shop fronting the street, with all its busy

traffic going on. The very common occurrence of these birds' nests in houses is another of the many evidences of the gentle ways of this people, and of the kindness shown by them to animals. When a bird builds its nest in the house, a little shelf is promptly secured beneath it, so that the mats below shall not be soiled. The presence of the bird in the house is regarded as a good omen, and the children take great pleasure in watching the construction of the nest and the final rearing of the young birds. I noticed that many of the nests built within the house were much more elaborately made than those built in more exposed positions. From the symmetrical way in which many of these were constructed, one might almost imagine the birds had become imbued with some of the art instincts of the people.' This passage is interesting inasmuch as it shows that the custom of allowing swallows to build their nests inside the house is not confined to the rude peasantry of remote districts but is shared by the town population of a highly refined nation. In this respect the ancient Greeks may very well have done what the Japanese still do. We are told that swallows flew freely about in the great temples at Athens, Olympia, and Epidaurus (Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* iv. 52); and we know that birds even built their nests in the temples, and that to meddle with the nests was sacrilege (Herodotus, i. 159). The Athenians actually put to death a man for killing a sacred sparrow of Aesculapius (Aelian, *Var. Hist.* v. 17). If the gods welcomed birds to their temples, men may have welcomed them to their homes.

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J. G. FRAZER.

Whether or no Mr. J. G. Frazer has a genuine piece of old folk-lore to deal with in his Pythagorean command to shut the door against the swallow is at least doubtful. In the absence of definite proof of hostility to the swallow in Greece or Italy, and in the somewhat specialized and dissimilar character of the few superstitions adverse to the bird that Mr. Frazer actually quotes, I cannot see that the case is proved. It was a very hard question when Malvolio was asked it, and it is hard still to tell the opinion of Pythagoras concerning wild-fowl! Moreover Mr. Frazer, whose wealth of references is almost boundless, does not remind us that the Pythagorean symbol has been usually taken metaphorically. For instance it is quoted in Aristot. *Fragm.* 192, p. 1512 (Bekk.) with the explanation *χελιδόνας ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὴ δέχεσθαι τοῦτ' ἐστὶ λάλους ἀνθρώπους ὁμιροφίλους μὴ ποιεῖσθαι*. It is very much in fact as in the *Frogs* (v. 93), *χελιδὼν μουσεία*. It has also, I fancy, before now been explained as referring not to *chatterers* but to *foreigners* (cf. *Agam.* 1020).

As to the swallows building their nests on the rafters inside the house as well as beneath the eaves, that is of course a matter of specific difference, the house-martin building under the eaves, the chimney-swallow on the rafters of barns and stables, and houses too, I suppose, when they resemble these. But the house-martin (*h. urbica*) is said to be very much the commoner of the two in Greece (v. d. Muhle, *Ornithol. Griechenlands*, p. 80), and she makes her nest out in the daylight where all may see, so that in Mr. Frazer's quotation from the Anthology I think the presumption in regard to *ὑπάροφα* is not against its meaning *beneath the eaves*, but the other way.

In *Antony and Cleopatra* the augurers are perturbed when 'Swallows have built in Cleopatra's sails, Their nests.' But the passage in Plutarch from which the line is taken goes on to state that other swallows

came and drove them out; and the evil omen may lie only in the latter part of the story.

But to do Mr. Frazer justice, there is at least one passage in Greek where the 'Swallow in the House' is distinctly cited as of evil omen, and that is the story in Aelian, *N. A.* x. 34 of the swallows that twice over built in a certain general's tent, foreboding evil to the enterprise on which he was engaged. This is the same chapter from which Mr. Frazer quotes to show that the Penates, the *θεοὶ μύχιοι*, love the swallow, but it is for his main argument's sake the wrong part of the chapter which he has quoted.

D'ARCY W. THOMPSON, Jun. (Dundee).

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In an article on this subject illustrating a slight error in Mr. Mackail's rendering of the words *ὑπάροφα γείσων*, Mr. J. G. Frazer shows by means of instances from modern Greek peasant life that the birds entered the house by the windows and built their nests in the beams that support the roof, and the instances are striking as showing that the modern Greek hut is built on the lines of a very ancient model and also illustrates the words he quotes from the Anthology,

ἦδη δὲ πλάσσει μὲν ὑπάροφα γυρὰ χελιδὼν...
οἰκία. (*Anthol. Palat.* x. 2.)

But there is a line in Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* which would seem to explain the matter more fully,

δρα δὲ γείσα τριγλύφων ὕποι κερὼν
δέμας καθεῖναι. (Eur. *I. T.* 113.)

These openings between the beams (the ends of which were covered by the triglyphs) were called *ὑπαί* and in them formerly images were placed. In the temples these *ὑπαί* were afterwards closed and called *μετόπαι* and filled with groups of sculpture which repeated in their composition the motive of the old custom. In private dwellings they no doubt remained *ὑπαί* and through these openings the birds would find ready access to the *ὑπάροφα* as well as making their nests under the jutting *γείσα*. Dr. Von Reber has very ably shown (*Hist. of Ancient Art*) that these constructions are those of workers in wood and that the conservative Greeks retained these old forms in the later marble structures.

CLAUDIUS HARPER.

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Τοῖς γὰρ ἐν μέρει ὑπάρξει μὲν ἡ ἀπόδειξις, καὶ ἔσται κατὰ παντός, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἔσται τοῦτου πρώτου καθόλου ἡ ἀπόδειξις. λέγω δὲ τοῦτου πρώτου, ἡ τοῦτο, ἀπόδειξιν, ὅταν ἡ πρώτου καθόλου. εἰ οὖν τις δείξειεν ὅτι αἱ ὀρθαὶ οὐ συμπίπτουσι, δόξειεν ἂν τοῦτου εἶναι ἡ ἀπόδειξις διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πασῶν εἶναι τῶν ὀρθῶν. οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ἔπερ μὴ ὅτι ὠδὲ ἴσαι γίνεταί τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἡ ὕψωσὺν ἴσαι.—Aristotle, *Post. Anal.* i. 5. 2 (Bekker).

L. and S. say that in this passage only *ὀρθή* is straight line; but this is contrary to Aristotle's invariable use of *ὀρθή* and *εὐθεία*, and makes no sense.

Omit *οὐ* as a dittograph of *σιν* in *συμπίπτουσι* and the passage becomes quite clear.

'If a man show that right angles coincide, the demonstration might seem to be of this first (either supplying *πρώτου* with *τούτου* from the preceding sentence or reading it in the text) because it is true of all right angles. But it is not so, since the proposition is based on the fact not that right angles are equal in this special way (viz. coincidence) but equal in any way whatever (i.e. absolutely equal).'

The 'coincidence' of right angles is *κατὰ παντός*

but not *πρῶτον καθόλου*, since it is due to their 'equality,' and 'coincidence' is subordinate to the higher genus 'equality.' Just as in the parallel instance which follows; that the angles of an isosceles triangle = two right angles, is not *πρῶτον* because the proposition is true of the higher genus 'triangle.'

C. S. ADAMSON.

Being no mathematician, I criticise Mr. Adamson's note with diffidence, but it seems to me that his theory turns on putting the universality into the predicate 'equal in any way whatever,' whereas Aristotle is always thinking of the subject. Just as he says a proposition about isosceles triangles does not give a *πρῶτον καθόλου* when it is essentially true of all triangles whatever, so here he says (omitting *οὐ*) that a proposition about a pair of right angles does not give a *πρῶτον καθόλου* when it is essentially true of all pairs of equal angles. 'Pair of right angles' is only a case or kind of 'pair of equal angles,' just as 'pair of men six feet high' would be a case or kind of 'pair of men of equal stature.'

H. RICHARDS.

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VIRGIL *Georg.* i. 316—21.—

Saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis
Agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,
Omnia ventorum concurrere praelia vidi,
Quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
Sublimem expulsam eruerent: ita turbine nigro
Ferret hiemps culmumque levem stipulasque volantes.

As the construction of '*ferret*' in the last line presents great difficulty, I suggest that Virgil wrote '*ita turbine nigro verrit*.' Lucretius i. 279 has '*verrunt* ac subito vexantia turbine raptant' of the winds driving the clouds before them, and Virgil himself of the winds in *Aen.* i. 59 '*maria ac terras caelumque profundum, quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras*.' '*Verrit*' might be either present or perfect.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

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VIRGIL *Aen.* vi. 567—9. [*Classical Review*, Dec. 1890, p. 465.]

Castigatque auditque dolos &c.

As Mr. Page has not referred to it, may I call his attention to a passage of Claudian, which I think shows that he at least interpreted Virgil in the same way. In *Rufin.* ii. 476—480

Quaesitor in alto
conspicuis solio pertentat crimina Minos,
et iustus dirimit fontes: quos nolle fateri
viderit, ad rigidi transmittit verbera fratris;
nam iuxta Rhadamanthus agit.

Then he goes on to say that when the facts have been discovered sentence is passed.

G. Mc.N. R.

* *

ANTIOPE OF EURIPIDES.—In the newly-published fragments one supplement has occurred to me, and very likely to others. In *Frag. C. (Hermath.)* p. 48. l. 4 § 9) Hermes says to Amphion that he is to play on his lyre

ἔφονται δέ σοι
πέτρα τε... μναι μουσική κηλούμεναι.

Should not the defective word be read *τεράμναι*? Suidas *s.v.* *ἀτέραμνος* and *ἀτεγκτος* gives quotations (pointed out to me by Mr. W. G. Headlam) from Aelian and Damascius, showing that those words are used as synonyms. In two of the passages they are coupled with *κηλείσθαι* and *κατακηλείσθαι*. The suggested word *τέραμνος* would be their opposite, and would mean 'softened.'

M. R. JAMES.

* *

ON THE HIBERNO-SAXON SYMBOL FOR *autem*.—Mr. Lindsay in his note on Caper (*Classical Review* p. 129 a) describes an abbreviation 'commonly found in Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS, viz. *h* with a small curved stroke like a *c* rising from the shoulder of the letter,' as 'the contraction for *autem* (*hautem*).' This implies that the symbol originated in *hautem* as an erroneous spelling of *autem*. I think I am in a position to prove that it has nothing whatsoever to do with *h*. In the *lexicon Tironianum* in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS*, 21, 164, probably of the first half of cent. x) an upright form of *h* is given as the Tironian equivalent of *a*, and the same letter, with the addition of certain diacritical marks, stands as the symbol for a number of words in various parts of the lexicon, all of them beginning with *a*, viz. *ante*, *antea*, *antiquam*, *alteruter*, *alit*, *alea*, *avarus* and *accum*. But in the same lexicon the symbol for *autem* is different. It is *h* sloping sharply backwards. Nevertheless it seems probable that the copyists of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS really borrowed their symbol from the old *notae Tironianae*. If so, the best informed among them were aware that the symbol was not originally identical with *h*, but was only formed from an old equivalent for *a*; and they would doubtless have repudiated such a spelling as *hautem*. I am aware that *hautem* is actually printed in full by Mr. Whitley Stokes as well as by Constantine Nigra in the Latin text of some fragments of a commentary on St. Mark's Gospel, as reproduced in their editions of the Turin Irish Glosses from a MS of cent. ix, formerly at Bobbio (see Whitley Stokes, *Goidelica*, ed. 2, 1872). But I have Mr. Stokes' own authority for stating that in the MS the word is not written in full but is invariably denoted by the usual symbol only. I well remember asking the late Mr. Bradshaw in 1885, why this symbol resembling *h* was used for *autem*, and his saying in reply, 'Whitley Stokes thinks it stands for *hautem*.' I could not rest satisfied with this solution, but set to work in the hope of finding a better; and nothing could exceed the delight with which, a few days afterwards, the late Librarian of Cambridge welcomed my proof that his favourite Irish copyists were innocent of such a barbarism as *hautem*. (For further details on this point I may refer to any edition of the *Orator* of Cicero, pp. lxxx, lxxxi, and xcix.)

J. E. SANDYS.

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νερό.—That the Modern Greek word for water is connected with *νηρός* (*napós*), *Νηρεús* (Lithuanian *neris*) is proved by *νηρόν*=*ἕδωρ* in an inscription of the sixth century A. D. But *νερό* cannot come directly from *νηρόν*; it must come from *νερόν* and forces us to conclude that *νερός* existed beside *νηρός* just as *ξηρός* existed beside *ξηρός*. Fick has pointed out how *svēn* 'sun' rhymes to *mēn* 'moon', *gyās* 'pig' (*sūs*, Lettish *zāka*) to its synonym *sās* (Lat *sās*, *ūs*) etc. In the same way *νηρός*, *νερός* 'wet' rhyme to *ξηρός*, *ξερός* 'dry'.

J. B. BURY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—The gist of my review of Mr. Mahaffy's new volume was this—the book is very entertaining but very inaccurate. I insisted on its merits, but also gave half a dozen extracts to illustrate its defects. The following sentence occurs in the middle of the first extract:—

'One of these despots, Leucon, is mentioned by Demosthenes (in *Leptinem*, § 30—40) as having obtained for himself and his heirs the freedom of the city of Athens, in requital for the gifts of corn he had bestowed on the Athenians in a time of scarcity.'

In commenting on that extract, I criticised this sentence incidentally:—

'Demosthenes says that the Athenians made Leucon *ἀρελῆς* and *πολίτης*: the modern phrase "freedom of the city" is altogether misleading. Leucon had not bestowed gifts of corn: he had simply allowed ships bound for Athens a priority in loading corn, and waived his claim to export duty.'

In his letter to you, Mr. Mahaffy drops the freedom of the city and the time of scarcity, and says:—

'When speaking in passing of the friendship of Pontic tyrants with Athens, and merely to note that fact, I said that "Leucon had obtained this friendship by means of large gifts of corn," I should have said that "Leucon had obtained this friendship by means of granting trade facilities which amounted to large gifts of corn".....But what matter? Does it affect, in the smallest degree, my argument?'

This certainly would not affect the argument, for the very good reason that there is

no argument there to affect. But the distinction is material. The corn-trade was not a matter of gifts and friendship, but strictly a matter of business. In fact, the contention in *Lept.* 29 ff. is that, in making Leucon *ἀρελῆς* in their city, the Athenians were giving him an equivalent in money or money's worth for his grant of *ἀτέλεια* on their exports of corn from his territory. The Athenians afterwards accepted gifts of corn from foreign potentates; but at this time they were still an imperial people. Mr. Mahaffy has overlooked the anachronism; but he cannot well dismiss it as a triviality, for he has himself applauded Grote for regarding the acceptance of such gifts by the Athenians as the signal for bringing his history to a close.

Mr. Mahaffy tells you that my extracts are not fair specimens of the rest of the work, and afford no proof of general incompetence; and rather hints that they contain all the worst blunders in the book. I can only say that I chose these extracts because they were partly concerned with ancient authors and inscriptions, partly with antiquities and antiquarian literature, and partly with modern subjects, and therefore illustrated his inaccuracy on all sides; and that, in selecting them from others of the same sort, I took them simply because they were short and decisive.

CECIL TORR.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Carlisle.—A broken cylindrical column has been found here, of Roman date, 1 ft. 9 ins. in diameter, and 4 ft. 7 ins. high. It was standing *in situ*, on a pavement of concrete, about 5 ft. 4 ins. below the present surface. The site is near that of a building erected in 1830, when many relics of Roman occupation were found on the spot, including several broken columns. These discoveries point to the existence of some important building with a colonnade before it, perhaps the temple of Mars of which Camden speaks, quoting from William of Malmesbury.

Five hitherto unknown inscriptions were found in the fly-leaves of pocket-books which belonged to William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle from 1702 to 1718. One is from an altar found in 1687, apparently dedicated to the *Deae Matres*; another is on the well-known Aelius Bassus stone found in 1688. The three others were taken from the Plumpton wall, and are very fragmentary; one is from an altar, but the Bishop failed to interpret more than the letters D. M.¹

GERMANY.

Limburg in the Palatinate.—In restoring buildings connected with the monastery here the front of a large edifice was discovered, with round-arched windows, also part of a Roman millstone, of basalt, and two other grinding-stones, of quartz, oval-shaped and smooth; the latter were also used for grinding corn, the smaller one being placed uppermost, and the corn crushed between the two; in Roman times both styles of grinding must have been employed.²

ITALY.

Verona.—In repairing the foundations of the Regaste del Redentore several large heavy pipes of lead have been found, which must have belonged to the ancient aqueduct which traversed the Aemilian bridge, and was destroyed by an inundation of the Adige in the sixth century; at the same time some hundreds of gold, silver, and bronze coins were found including some of Galba and Trajan.³

¹ *Antiquary*. April 1891.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 7 March.

³ *Athenaeum*. 4 April 1891.

Venetia.—At Concordia Sagittaria were discovered remains of a military burying-place, containing no objects of importance, except some chests with inscriptions which are somewhat obscure.¹

Great St. Bernard.—On the south side of the mountain is a hollowed-out space, 3.70 metres in width, cut in the rock, on the sides of which are visible spaces in which beams must have rested, supporting an entablature; moreover fragments of stone, marble, and tiles, here and in the adjacent plain, reveal the presence of ancient buildings, which have suffered from fire and devastation. The first excavations were made here in 1760 and 1764, when bronze objects, coins, etc., were found. The researches were not renewed till 1871, and since 1883 have been carried on regularly, but it is not till recently that the topography of the place has been clearly ascertained, establishing it as the site of the temple of Jupiter Penninus mentioned on a tablet previously found on the spot. Signor Ferrero, who has been in charge of the excavations, was convinced of the existence of the temple by the discovery of votive inscriptions, coins, etc., and his efforts have further been successful in revealing its foundations. The dimensions of the walls were proved to be 11.30×7.40 metres, those of the pronaos 2.45×5.80 metres; it is divided from the cella by a wall of 0.70 metres thickness. The temple appears to have been *in antis*, and no traces of columns have been found. The walls are of stone, with a cornice of white marble, tufa and coloured marble being also employed, while the roof is composed of *tegulae hamatae*, on which are various stamps. Seventeen Gallic and thirty Roman coins, mostly bronzes, have also been found.²

Fornovo San Giovanni.—Two Roman tombs have been found here built up with brickwork, the dimensions being $0.46 \times 0.31 \times 0.58$ metres, of pentagonal section, with a sloping cover like the roof of a house. On the bricks are rude designs in chalk, shaped like the letter S. They contained denarii of Vespasian and Trajan, first bronzes of Hadrian, and second bronzes of Caligula. Within the church were found other tombs covered with slabs of grey stone, only containing skeletons. On the Viticelle estate were found three vases, with remains of original red glazing, averaging 0.14 metres in height. On the Casaretti estate other tombs were discovered, apparently part of a barbarian burying-place, containing two large silver fibulae with radiated heads, and another smaller one, also a small silver knife with a cylindrical handle, and some objects of bronze.³

Liguria.—At Ameglia was found an ancient sepulchre, cut out of a great mass of rock, the sides being 0.40 metres in thickness, under which was a large slab of brown stone. It is of quadrilateral shape, formed of six blocks of schistous stone, the dimensions being $0.67 \times 0.41 \times 0.40$ metres. Inside it were five vessels containing bones, four other vases, five unguentaria, and a spear-head. In the first named were bones, small vases, and unguentaria, two fibulae (one of silver, the other of iron), a bronze ring, and two bronze targets.³

Bologna.—Italian sepulchres have been unearthed here on the Nanni estate, outside the gate of S. Isaia, four in number, of which two give examples of *crematio*, the other two of *humatio*. The first is in the shape of a large *dolium*, 0.80 metres high, and contained fragments of pottery, an urn shaped like an olla, two fibulae, a hair-pin, and a piece of *acs rude*.

The second is of the same shape, but only 0.60 metres high, and contained fragments of bronze objects. The other two contained skeletons, and in the latter were also terra-cotta, bronze, and iron objects, including fibulae and *acus crinales* or hair-pins.³

Forlì.—An interesting bronze statuette has been found here 0.10 metres high, representing a man of short stature, muscular, with a large head, beard, long ears, and short horns, clothed in the skin of some beast, probably a lion. In his right hand he holds a purse (?), in his left he grasps the head of a serpent; on his head is a lotos-flower of Egyptian type. It is not improbable that it represents the god Bes.¹

Castrocaro.—On the Casino estate, in the locality known as 'le battaglie,' tombs have been found containing various bronze funeral objects, the principal being fifteen fibulae and five armillae, also some fragments of vases of brown clay.¹

Etruria.—At Chiusi, in laying the foundations of the façade of the cathedral, walls were discovered apparently belonging to a Roman building, in which was a large block of travertine with an inscription bearing the name of a *triumvir Augustalis*; and on the same spot a mirror was found with an Etruscan inscription.

At Petrignano, in the district of Malestante, an Etruscan cemetery has come to light, in which the chief object of interest was a part of a square *cippus* of tufa. On the front are sculptured three draped figures in very low relief, a male figure to right and a female to left, with a child between; the female is apparently bidding farewell to the other two. On one side is a flute-player, on the other a man raising his left hand in an attitude of grief. The style is archaic, but carefully executed. Four vases were also found here, one inscribed ΣΜΑ, *sc. Annii*.

At Castelluccio another Etruscan cemetery was discovered, one tomb being closed with a large stone on which are Etruscan inscriptions, one of which states that the tomb is that of Larthia Largienia, daughter of Tana Situnia. Two loculi in this tomb are closed with tiles, one bearing the name of AR.PEDERNI. LARTHIAEL.METLIAEL.F. (*sc. Arius Pedernius Larthiae Metelliae filius*; the rare genitive in *-aei* being employed), the other is inscribed C.TATILF (*sc. Caius Tatiui Lucii filius*).²

At Sugano, near Orvieto, two Etruscan tombs have been found. The first is 2.50×3.25 metres in size, and has two benches along the side-walls, on which corpses were laid out. About thirty small vases (chiefly ollae), of rude technique, were found in it, also two oinochoae with black glaze, resembling Campanian ware. This tomb also contained a plate of gold, apparently used as a bracelet, and mounted on wood or skin, on account of its thinness; also two bronze mirrors with late designs. The second tomb is similar to the first, with a door leading to a second cell, also provided with benches; it contained bones, some fragments of bronze vases, mirrors, and an oinochoe inscribed [AN][$\diamond$]VM.¹

At Sarzana the site of the ancient city of Luna has been established by excavations (mentioned briefly in the April record) carried on inside the ruined church of San Marco. In searching round the apse were found a series of pilasters or bases ranged in parallel lines, ten in number. Two are of white marble, three of hard bluish stone, and five of white Venetian stone, varying in dimensions from 0.95 to 0.65 metres high, and 0.75 to 0.50 metres wide; they were placed 1.77 metres apart. Eight bear inscriptions, which show that they once supported statues, of which a few fragments have been found. The inscriptions record the erecting of statues to distinguished citizens of Luna, and others. Other objects of interest found

¹ *Notizie dei Lincei*. November 1890.

² *Notizie dei Lincei*. October 1890.

³ *Notizie dei Lincei*. December 1890.

here are as follows.—Marble : four torsoes of statues draped in the toga ; two male busts, and some small heads ; two small statues of seated matrons ; architectural fragments, capitals, etc., some sculptured ; among the sculptured fragments, two rude nude figures, male and female, holding three children between them ; also a colossal lion of white marble. Terra-cottas : two tiles ; unguentaria, including a stamped fragment ; five lamps, one stamped FORTIS ; a weight ; fourteen spindle-whorls ; fragments of vases. Other objects : fragments of glass vases, lacrimatories, etc. ; objects of bone, ivory, bronze, iron, and lead ; two silver consular coins, and several imperial bronzes.¹

Umbria.—At Sassoferrato, in the ancient territory of Sentinum, some stones were discovered with inscriptions speaking of the citizens, magistrates, *ordo*, and *Plebs* of the Sentinates, the town having been a municipium. It contained some sumptuous private houses, with accurately-constructed walls of considerable size ; also some fine mosaic pavements, one representing the sun and twelve signs of the Zodiac, with the earth turned round by four children, probably the Seasons ; the figure of the sun is of a Lysippian type, and may be copied from the Colossus of Chares. A second pavement has a representation of the sea, with fishes, and a third, 12 × 12 metres in dimensions, probably part of a public edifice, is covered with marine animals of large size. Numerous fragments of marble tragic masks, disks, etc., and architectural remains, have also been found.¹

At Foligno the position of a cemetery of Roman date was ascertained, and two skeletons were found, in tombs lined with tiles, one of small proportions, and small phialae of coloured glass. In the walls of the church of S. Francesco two inscriptions were found, one being part of an honorary cippus.²

At S. Giovanni Profiamma, in the same neighbourhood, an inscription was found dedicated to Sertoria Fufana, and at S. Eracleo a stone from a tomb with a mutilated inscription, and another with a dedication to Aditriux by Eutyehides.²

At Colfioriti were found fragments of sepulchral cippi with inscriptions, and at Belfiori some fragmentary inscriptions. At S. Sebastian a sepulchral stèle was discovered, of red stone, 0.70 by 0.49 metres, with a rose and geometrical figures engraved on the top, inscribed COMMUNIS. C. VERI. SABINI. VIX. ANN. XVII. FATO. RAPTUS. MISERINVS.²

Rome.—Reg. v. : A tomb of square tufa blocks, belonging to the Etruscan cemetery on the Esquiline, containing bronze armillae and rings, two spears, and fragments of a patera with pale red bands on a whitish ground.²

Reg. vii. : A Roman dagger in good preservation, of iron, 0.53 metres in length ; a bronze lion-head, originally the mouth of a fountain ; a bronze lock of a chest ; a medallion of Trajan Decius, and a fine *contorniatius* of Nero.³

Reg. viii. : In the forum of Augustus, fragments of plinths of statues, and of marble slabs, all inscribed.

Reg. ix. : On the left bank of the Tiber, a block of marble with a cornice, apparently part of a columbarium, with inscription. In the Prati di Castello a large wall lined with brick running east and west, apparently of late imperial times, and fragments of bricks and *tegulae bipedales* with stamps.² In the same part, two cippi of B.C. 7 (mentioned briefly in the April record), both of travertine ; (1) with semi-

circular capitals, 2.33 × 0.745 × 0.417 metres, with an inscription of Augustus (TRIB. POT. XVII) ; (2) 2.00 × 0.95 × 0.54 metres, the upper part with the inscription being lost. Later, another was found, of the same date, 2.10 × 0.68 × 0.425 metres, inscribed R. R. PPOX. CIPP. PED. CLXI.¹

Reg. xiii. : In the Via Tiburtina, fragments of a terra-cotta frieze adorning a large tomb, with Victory sacrificing a bull, in relief ; an inscription to Statilius Erastus and his family by his wife Statilia Euodia ; and a marble block, 0.38 × 0.46 metres, with an inscription to C. Iulius Athenodorus.³

Tivoli.—Remains of an ancient city with polygonal walling, have been brought to light, also some interesting fortifications, with an unusual method of sustaining a temple by substructions, paved roads, etc. The site is on the top of the Monte S. Angelo, thought by Signor Lanciani to be that of the ancient Aefulae (Hor. *Od.* iii. 29). The temple would be that of the Bona Dea mentioned in an inscription found in the seventeenth century at S. Gregorio in the neighbourhood.⁴

Artena (Latium).—A large sarcophagus was found here, of ash-coloured tufa, 2.32 × 0.90 × 0.71 metres, the sides about 0.20 m. thick ; the cover is lost. On three sides are sculptures of the third century of our era ; on the sides vine-leaves and grapes ; in front, five arched compartments divided by Corinthian pilasters, sculptured with winged Genii and the figure of the dead man in a short tunic and chlamys fastened by a fibula, with short hair and beard. On his right is Hereules, nude, with a club and scyphus, on his left a round shield on which is a star.²

Pompeii.—In June 1889 was found, near the porta Stabiana, a semicircular *sedile*, resembling one found in 1874, of tufa, overlaid with *opus Signinum*, also two cippi, each inscribed M. TVLLIVS. M. F. EX. D. D., indicating the area granted to M. Tullius by a decree of the decuriones. This M. Tullius was *duumvir jure dicundo* three times, *quinquennialis*, augur, and military tribune by the popular vote ; he built the temple of Fortuna Augusta at Pompeii in the time of Augustus (*C.I.L.* x. 820-1). On the *sedile* is inscribed M. ALELIO. Q. F. MEN. MINIO. IIIV. I. D. LOCVS. SEPVLTVRAE. PVBLICE. DATVS. EX. D. D. Various other inscriptions were found in the Forum, the most important on January 10th, 1890, a pilaster of grey marble with a cornice, inscribed in deeply-cut letters painted in red : A. A. P. R. D. D. GRATVS. CAESAR. L. MINISTER. M. SERVILIO. L. AELIO. COS. (For date, see *C.I.L.* x. 892.)²

Apulia.—At Altramura, in the territory of Casale, was discovered an ancient cemetery, containing fifty tombs of equal size, but few objects of interest, except a few vases and terracottas. Later, twenty-eight similar tombs were found varying in length from 1.10 to 1.30 metres, 1 metre in width, 0.90 in height. They are pyramidal, and rectangular in plan ; a few vases were found in them, including two large craters with red figures and an amphora, also some human bones.³

Calabria.—Fragments of an archaic inscription in the Achæan dialect have been found, engraved on a bronze lamina ; the provenance is not known. The date is not later than the sixth century B.C. There is an interesting mention of proxenoi, and ↓ for χ, and ⚭ for ι, are used.³

Sardinia.—In building the wall of an estate in the province of Sassari, in the territory of Santa Maddalena, various bronze objects were discovered.

¹ *Notizie dei Lincei*. December 1890.

² *Notizie dei Lincei*. October 1890.

³ *Notizie dei Lincei*. November 1890.

⁴ *Antiquary*. April 1891.

The most interesting were: a statuette 0.15 metres high, in a short tunic, with a sagum over the left shoulder, three axes, a lance, a piece of pure stannum, weighing 700 grammes, and a pestle in the form of a cone. Later were found part of an axe, some armillae, rings, and a pyramidal mass of iron with a rectangular base and obtuse apex. This appears to have been the site of an important bronze foundry.¹

The site of the ancient Cares has been identified at Caresi in the community of Terranova.²

Sicily.—Dr. Orsi, after a month's excavation, has at length reached the oldest part of the necropolis at Megara Hyblaea near Syracuse. He found at the outset the tomb of a woman, with two fine silver fibulae at the height of the shoulders, and on the breast some silver rings with Phoenician scarabaei; also a large chamber sculptured with an elegant border round the top, representing archaic leaves entwined with astragals, all well preserved. Dr. Orsi has now come upon a rich mine of proto-Corinthian vases and silver objects. In one tomb he found three infant skeletons, nineteen buttons of thin silver, three spirals of silver, twenty-one silver rings (ten on one finger), a long necklace of twisted wire, and a girdle richly decorated with *repoussé* lions and geometrical figures; also some small but elegant bronze brooches, some in the form of horses and boats, and other brooches of wood, mostly in a bad condition. They resemble in type those belonging to the Italian cemeteries of the first age of iron. In another tomb were found a gold button and a fine gold rosette with six *repoussé* leaves. Outside the necropolis, near the pharos of Lumidoro, Dr. Orsi has traced out the plan of the ancient port, formed of huge limestone blocks, with a wall of more than 5 metres width.³

GREECE.

Athens.—Dr. Dörpfeld has communicated to the German Institute at Athens his opinion that the newly discovered 'Constitution of Athens' furnishes us with an important topographical indication of the real position of the Theseion. The present so-called temple of Theseus was, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, most probably the temple of Hephaistos mentioned by the ancients as existing in the Kolonos Agoraios. From the papyrus text it seems likely that the Theseion was on the north-west slope of the Acropolis. (Cf. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*.)³

Prof. Kumanudes has published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική* the full text of the important inscription recently found in the Agora. It contains the Latin letter of the Empress Plotina to Hadrian, and the Greek rescript of the Emperor concerning the hereditary succession in the direction of the Epicurean School, both dated in the year 121 A.D. At the head of the school was one Theotimos, an Athenian by birth, but a Roman citizen ascribed to the family of the Popilii. The editor maintains that this Theotimos was the eponymous archon of Athens whose name occurs in a list of Athenian ephebi discovered some time ago. Another fragmentary inscription has come to light which gives the name of a new archon hitherto unknown, viz. Eunikos. The year of his office cannot be exactly determined, but must be after the time of Attalus II.⁴

Arcadia.—Fresh fragments of the celebrated statues of Damophon have been found at Lykosura, and many architectural fragments besides, with sculptures, also some roof-tiles, bearing the name Despoinas. The Despoina temple has been now excavated to the east, west, and south.⁴

Eretria.—The American School at Athens, besides the stoa and some tombs found a few weeks ago, has discovered several pieces of sculpture of the best periods of Greek art. Dr. Waldstein has also turned his attention to the necropolis of the ancient city, and at the outset came upon a large collection of funereal objects in gold, terra-cotta, etc., including a gold ring with the figure of a lion, and a star, two gold earrings set with stones, a leaf of gold with the figure of an *auriga* in a chariot, a gold crown of leaves, and many detached gold leaves of the olive shape; also some terra-cotta statuettes and a mask of Pan, several figured lekythoi, and an alabaster pyxis with cover.⁵

Dr. Waldstein writes to say that in the course of excavations to discover the temple of the Amyrnthian Artemis, beautifully-worked marble foundations were found, enclosing a family grave. Three graves were opened, one containing six diadems and laurel wreath of pure gold, a writing-pen and two styli of silver, and a statuette of a philosopher with hands folded, in terra-cotta. It was evidently a man of literary pursuits, and one of some renown, who was buried here. In the adjoining grave were found the remains of a female member of the family, with an inscription which Dr. Waldstein restores [B]IOTH[A]PIΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥ (*sic*); this dates from the third century B.C. The question arises whether this can be the great philosopher. It is true that he died at Chalcis, which is near to Eretria, and Christodoros says that he saw a statue of Aristotle in the gymnasium at Constantinople 'Aristotle with hands folded together,' which corresponds to the unique terra-cotta found in this grave. But on the other hand Chalcis was always quite a distinct community from Eretria; again Aristotle's daughter by Pythias (as mentioned in his will) was named Pythias, not Biote, though he may have had a daughter by Herpyllis; thirdly, it is not certain that the terra-cotta figure had any direct reference to the deceased, though it no doubt had some general relation.⁵

Thespiae.—The French School, in continuing researches in the sanctuary of the Muses near Mt. Helicon, at two hours distance from the grove of the nymphs, and to the south-west of the ancient city, found portions of a building, consisting of the *crepidoma* of an ancient temple, which, as would appear from a votive inscription found on a bronze laver, was dedicated to Apollo. This temple was peristyle, about 35 × 16 metres in dimensions. Near the temple was found a large stone-paved *crepis*, designed to support the ground against the inundations of the neighbouring river. The results of these excavations will soon be published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, with figures from a sarcophagus representing the labours of Herakles, two female heads of Roman date, a long inscription with a catalogue of ephebi, and an agonistic decree enumerating victors at games in honour of the Muses, two bases of statues, etc.³

Crete.—At Gortyna fragments of archaic inscriptions have been discovered similar to those found by the Italian government when excavating the famous temple of Apollo.⁴

At Hierapytna an inscription has been found rela-

¹ *Notizie dei Lincei.* October 1890.

² *Notizie dei Lincei.* November 1890.

³ *Athenaeum.* 4 April 1891.

⁴ *Antiquary.* April 1891.

⁵ *Academy.* 18 April 1891.

tive to the road-works executed by the Emperor Claudius, of which we hitherto knew something from a fragment discovered at Lyttos.¹

ASIA MINOR.

Magnesia.—Dr. Dörpfeld's report says that the German School has so far explored the whole enclosure of the temple of Apollo, in which many inscriptions were found. Around it stood porticoes and dwellings for the various officers attached to the sanctuary, viz. priests, musicians, and *neokoroi*. The discoveries of sculptures round the temple of Artemis Leukophryne have hitherto proved of little value, and of inferior preservation to those in the Louvre, while they resemble the remains at Constantinople. The excavations at the theatre proved its resemblance to the theatre of Tralles, and that it was

altered in Roman times, when a *logeion* was added, and the *parodoi* of the orchestra closed.¹

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. 14th March 1891.

Review of F. Imhoof-Blumner's *Griechische Münzen; neue Beiträge und Untersuchungen* (München 1890), by F. Baumgarten.

In this work Dr. Imhoof-Blumner has given us some entirely new types of coins, both in designs and inscriptions, e.g. a complete series from Tenos, none of which were before definitely ascertained. The Σ, which occurs on the coins of Leukas, Ambrosia, etc., together with a Pegasus, in the fourth century, denotes *συνμαχικόν*, and refers to a league against the second Attic naval confederacy. Among interesting coins is a bronze of Smyrna, which is what Strabo (xiv. 646) calls a 'Ουάπειρα, with a representation of Homer; also two with Athene and Marsyas, and a Pessinus coin with Daedalos and Ikaros.

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Antiquary*. April 1891.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TOZER'S ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN.

Frowde. 8s. 6d.

MR. TOZER has united in this book his notes of (1) a journey made in Crete and the Cyclades as long ago as 1874, (2) a journey to the islands on the Asiatic coast made in 1883, and (3) a recent journey to the northern islands, Lemnos, Thasos, and Samothrace. The last section of the book is far the most interesting and instructive, because these islands are less well known than the others, and the consciousness that he is working on new ground always reacts on the traveller, and calls into full play his faculties of observation and appreciation. I will express a hope that Mr. Tozer may find it possible to visit the smaller islands, which he has hitherto neglected. Although their archaeological and historical interest is less, such islands as Astypalaea or Telos more powerfully arrest the traveller's attention than their larger and more famous sisters: he is struck by a singular individuality in the physical type, costume, and language of their inhabitants: the people of one small island are indeed, as a rule, as unlike those of another as possible, the only quality they have in common being the poor opinion of their neighbours which they entertain and express. The curiosity to discover the ultimate origin of such strongly marked differences acts as an excellent stimulus, under the influence of which the traveller is sure to discover, not indeed this, but something else of interest.

In Crete Mr. Tozer made but a short stay.

If he had visited the chestnut-forests of Elos in the east of the island, he would, I think, have withdrawn his criticism of the scenery: the country which he last traversed, that about and between Gortyna and Cnosus, is indeed deficient in natural beauty. There is an interesting account of the Cretan ibex on p. 28. Besides the lentoid gem, cited from Ross, many others with representations of this animal have been found. Some of the best are now figured in Imhoof-Blumner's *Tier-u.-Pflanzen-Bilder* pl. xviii. On p. 73 it is noted that stanzas of the *Erotocritus* are sung in Crete. Most of the couplets of a song which Ross heard sung in Casos (*Inselreisen* iii p. 176) are taken from this poem, which is a delightful work, and deserves to be better known out of Greece. Even in Greece itself it is not now the fashion to read it, although the number of cheap reprints which exist shows that it was once as popular there as the *Frithioff's Saga* in Sweden. It is so little known to foreigners, that a French critic writing on the modern Greek language recently described it as a 'fade pastorale' confusing it possibly with the *Erophile* (*Rev. des Études Grecques* ii. p. 81).

The second section, although, like the first, it does not contain much that is new to those familiar with the localities, would serve as an excellent guide-book to the chief objects of interest in the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Patmos, and Rhodes. Mr. Tozer is of course instructive when he deals with Patmos, and the accounts of the ascents of the Lesbian Olympus and the Rhodian

Atabyron are of especial value. These panoramas, so graphically described, bring the facts of geography home to us better than any map. The third section, dealing with Lemnos, Thasos, and Samothrace, is of more permanent value; Mr. Tozer spent a longer time in these islands and has been able to make his description of them more complete. The particular objects of his research in the first two were the Lemnian earth, and the site of the Thasian gold mines. In neither of these objects was he precisely successful, but we gain an admirable picture of the two islands. The Lemnian earth, which was red, is, we are told, no longer found, a kind of ordinary clay from the same spot being sold under the name. The demand for this substitute has almost ceased; it was therefore high time that some one should collect all the native testimony on the subject. Mr. Tozer traversed the district still called *Κοῖνρα* near which, according to Herodotus, the mines were situated, but saw no traces of workings. The Lemnian fire also refused to reveal itself: it is perhaps needless to look for a volcano; a local escape of inflammable gas would suit perhaps better the conditions which the legends regarding it and references to it impose.

The best chapter in the book is the last on Samothrace, and the best part of it the account of the ascent of the high peak, and of the view from the summit. This is beautifully written and of more worth than many pages of minute geographical discussion. The island of Skyros was distinctly visible, and this on a not exceptionally clear day. The distance is much greater than from Athos to the highest point of Euboea, and the sum of the two altitudes is here much less. This would be enough to dispose of Dr. Verrall's too dogmatic assertion that the fire-signals in the *Agamemnon* are impossible, but Prof. Merriam's admirable paper on 'Telegraphing among the Ancients' has already performed this service. These eternal objects, mountain, sea, and sky, are ever our nearest friends when we travel in Greece, for they alone are just as they were when Greece was Greece, but their possession is assured to futurity also, and an observer therefore feels himself obliged to devote some of his attention to things more transitory, such as the people, their ways and thoughts. Mr. Tozer tells us a good deal that is interesting about the present condition of these northern islands. His account of the Samothracian shepherds is particularly interesting. They are distinct

from the rest of the population, and speak a remarkable dialect. The same is the case in Cos.

There are one or two little points which I would criticise. On p. 87 it might have been mentioned that a sacrifice to Homer was made at Ios on the day of his death, the 16th of the month *Ὀμπεών*. (See Ross *A. Z.* vi. p. 333—an inscription now in the Syra Museum, and Bergk in *Hermes*, xviii. p. 511.)

On p. 137 the statement regarding Diodorus and Ephorus should have been differently expressed. It is generally recognized that Diodorus, in parts of his history, reproduced Ephorus. The accuracy of his description of Lesbos is at most a slight additional confirmation of this. The account of the relations of Lemnos and Athens on pp. 237—238 is wanting in precision. It should have been clearly stated that the Lemnians were Athenian *cleruchi*.

The best compliment I can pay the book as a whole is that reading it has made me wish to go back to the Greek islands.

W. R. PATON.

THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.

In the *Hellenic Journal*, vol. xi. p. 294 (see also *C.R.* 1891, p. 129), an account was given, with plans, of the theatre of Megalopolis as far as the excavations had proceeded last year. This account and plans were stated to be provisional, awaiting the termination of the work this spring. But on p. 297 *ibid.* the authors remark that their results have already proved conclusively that Dörpfeld's theory as to the Greek theatre is wrong. Dörpfeld and others with him think that there was in theatres of Greek type *no raised stage*, the actors performing on the same level with the chorus, in the orchestra; and that the various 'Greek' *proscenía* which have been hitherto discovered (Epidauros, Oropus, Piræus, Assos), as well as the *proscenium* described by Vitruvius (V. vii.) as an essential part of 'Greek' theatres and expressly declared by him to be a stage, are not stages at all, but ornamental back walls (*Dekorationswände*) in front of which the actors acted.

Against this it is urged in the *Hellenic Journal* that the *proscenium* at Megalopolis "is proved to be a stage, both by the *presence* of the three entrances behind it, on a level with its upper surface, and by the absence of any entrance *through* it to the orchestra; and the steps which form the front of the Megalopolis *proscenium*, while they provide a communication between stage and orchestra—the absence of which is one of Dörpfeld's main arguments for his novel theory—altogether preclude the notion of a 'Dekorationswand.'"

Dr. Dörpfeld has replied to the above statement in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* for April 4, and at his request Mr. Louis Dyer has drawn up the following abbreviated summary of the article.

* * * * *

[Let me preface my summary by remarking that Dörpfeld attaches to the word *σκηνή* the meaning of 'Schauspielhaus,' 'Skenengebäude,' or 'Bühnengebäude,' and to the expression *ἐνὶ σκηνῇ* a sense illustrated by *ἐνὶ Ἀθήνῃ*, 'off Lemnos.']

Mr. E. Gardner and his fellow-excavators having published their provisional plan, and expressed their

views, it becomes a duty to inform scholars that the picture of the theatre at Megalopolis which is gaining their acceptance is a faulty one, because the excavators have imperfectly understood the remains and have accordingly made indefensible restorations.

It is an error to say that the remains of a Greek stage have been found at Megalopolis. No traces of such a stage [λογεῖον] exist. Three steps there are, but the addition to them of three more, and the presentation of the result as belonging to a podium—a quadrilateral platform approached from three sides by six steps—is not justified by the remains; indeed the whole restoration runs counter to what is known about the rules of Greek architecture. These three steps really belong to the σκηνή, and form the base of the front wall of that structure. This front wall is what Vitruvius calls the *scenae frons*. The actors stood on a portion of the circular orchestra in front of this wall, which was the background for the whole action of the play. The three steps at Megalopolis belong to the lower part of this background—what its upper portion was like cannot for the present be made out. That it was beyond the actors is evident from the distance which separates it from the audience. It lies 30 metres away from the middle of the lowest tier of seats, and 10 metres separate it from the side seats next to the parodos. Such stage-structures as from time to time were required would be temporarily built up in front of this wall, i.e. in front of the σκηνή. Hence the name given to such a temporary structure, which was called a προσκήνιον.

In several other theatres—in Athens for instance—the same *scenae frons* appears in much the same relative position with regard to the audience. Indeed the distance separating the two is proportionately greater at Megalopolis than at Athens. Whether the three steps of Megalopolis are a feature also found at Athens and elsewhere cannot be ascertained. The havoc which time has made among the foundation-walls is too great. The remains at Athens would easily admit of similar steps, for the thickness of the wall to which they would have been attached is quite sufficient. One usual feature is lacking at Megalopolis, the παρασκήνια, i.e. wings projecting from the ends of the σκηνή.

The προσκήνιον, or temporary stage structure of Greek days, was frequently superseded in later [Roman] times by a permanent erection; this was a stone colonnade with wooden πινάκες, or panels, to fill up the spaces between the columns; a later fashion introduced statues in place of panels. A wall of this kind has actually come to light at Megalopolis, and five of its columns have been unearthed. Here then is a stone *proscenium*, the same in form and of almost identical proportions with those of Athens, Piræus, Oropus, Thespieæ, Epidaurus, and Assos. This is exactly what Vitruvius describes in his Greek theatre. I regard it as a matter of established fact that the footing of the actors was not on the roof but at the front of this structure. The excavators at Megalopolis, however, call this 'the Roman stage,' and fail to explain that it has a name definitely known from an inscription found at Oropus. Other

inscriptions [e.g. the Patara inscription, *C.I.G.* 4283] show that this προσκήνιον with its columns is quite a different thing from the stage [λογεῖον]. The logeion, or stage, is that portion of the older orchestra which lies in front of the *proskenenion*, and upon which the actors stood. *Proskenenion*, on the other hand, is the name applied to the wall built in front of the skene. The statues or the πινάκες, and the columns of this *proskenenion* were the background of the play.

As for a central door in this *proskenenion* at Megalopolis, no traces of it have yet appeared, but I take its existence there for granted since all other theatres have such a door. Traces of it are sure to come to light sooner or later.

[Here I am moved to interrupt my summary of Dr. Dörpfeld's views in order to suggest that, if the three steps led up to a central door, the obvious restoration of the rest of the wall would make of it the façade of a temple or a palace—something in fact very similar to the προσκήνιον built further forward in later days.]

Let me especially emphasize also that Megalopolis yields not the slightest trace of such a thing as a flight of steps leading from the orchestra straight up to the roof of the *proskenenion*, where was the *theologeion*. These steps—necessary according to the old theory, impossible according to the new one—have never appeared in any one of the many theatres mentioned above.

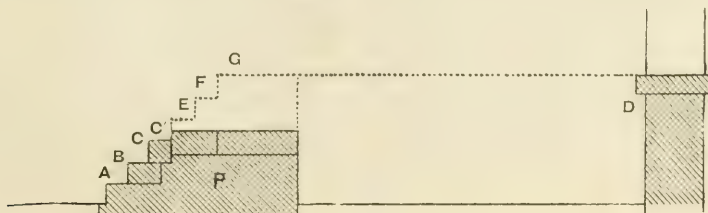
To judge by the published plan, there never was at Megalopolis, as there was at Athens, a Roman re-fashioning of the theatre at that place. No traces of a Roman stage are shown.

It should be borne in mind that the three doors in the back wall of the *skene* (whose front wall was the *scenae frons*) formed the means of communication between its interior and a colonnaded hall which lay behind it. These doors were therefore not visible to the audience, and the level of their thresholds was adapted, not to that of the actors' standing-place in front of the room aforesaid, but to that of the colonnaded hall into which they opened.

All this will make it evident that the theatre of Megalopolis, so far from giving us an authentic Greek *logeion*, tends to show that the actors sometimes took their stand on the level of the orchestra even in the later Roman days. The special importance of this newly excavated theatre consists in the comparatively good state of preservation of the front wall of its skene. Here is a construction of Greek workmanship belonging to the fourth century B.C. Much that is new and important about the form of this wall is likely to be learned from what has been unearthed at Megalopolis.

LOUIS DYER.

Since Mr. Dyer's communication, we have received a letter from Dr. Dörpfeld through Miss Sellers at Athens, giving a further statement which seems very clearly to define the points at issue. The accompanying cut is taken from *J.H.S.* xi. p. 296, figure 2, giving the section of the portion of the building in question—the lettering only has been altered.



Three steps A, B, C, are preserved and a 'threshold' D. The English excavators reconstruct three further steps E, F, G, on the ground that the horizontal tread of G will then fall exactly in a line with the top of D, and give us the front extremities of a supposed stage reaching from G to D. But, beyond the fact that several other details in the restoration are doubtful, it is evident that the English excavators have made a grave mistake with regard to C. The stair is constructed as follows: an inner core of 'schlechtes Material' (P) is faced with slabs which form the steps A, B, C. Now in the case of A and B the horizontal tread merely meets the vertical slab of the next steps; but in the case of C, if we accept the conjectural step, it would be continued far beneath the next step, the tread in this case being more than twice the length of the others. The English excavators ignore this fact. The long horizontal slab C is obviously the top step, and cannot be continued by any steps. This is further confirmed by the slightly raised surface at C¹, which again has not been accounted for in the English article, but which in the plan is in a somewhat curious manner taken into the vertical line of the first conjectural step. This raised surface of the upper step is common enough in Greek buildings, and merely gives the line for a wall—in this case the wall of the *προσκήνιον*: here it was probably 'eine geschlossene Wand'—but at present this cannot be asserted. C may also have supported a colonnade front, the columns resting on the raised surface C¹. Thus 'die Pläne sind falsch; und von einer griechischer Bühne giebt es absolut keine Spur.'

The theatre of Megalopolis, while adding further confirmation to Dr. Dörpfeld's theories, supplies also an interesting variety of detail in showing us a *προσκήνιον* raised on three steps (an ordinary stylobate).

The excavation of the theatre at Eretria by the American School again shows an arrangement exactly agreeing with the Dörpfeld theory:—

1. A stage closely resembling the stage of Lykurgus at Athens.²
2. Early Roman stage with columns.
3. Late Roman stage of the usual type (?).

Mr. Penrose returned home last night from Megalopolis. After careful examination of the plans of the theatre he has come to the conclusion that the step C could never be continued by other steps, *precisely on the Dörpfeld grounds*; but he is not prepared to go the whole length with Dörpfeld. He considers the foundation too slight to bear a wall of any height; yet he says there must have been a wall meeting C¹, though he believes it could not be more than 5 feet high.

E. SELLERS.
Athens, March 29.

RE-EXCAVATED RELICS.

In a late number of the *Classical Review* (p. 132a), Mr. Murray contributes a short notice of an inscribed stèle, which was first noticed at Athens in the seventeenth century, and was many years ago rediscovered when digging some foundations in New Bond street, fifteen feet below the surface. As Mr. Murray

hints, the fortunes of this stèle are strange but not unprecedented, and it is possible that readers of the *Review* might like some parallels. To judge by the astonishment expressed at the discovery in London of the two cuneiform inscriptions lately edited by Mr. Evetts, most people are not aware of the comparative frequency with which such discoveries of lost antiquities are made. I have an additional reason for printing these parallels because I hope that more experienced scholars may be able to add to my list.

There are at least two instances in the Guildhall Museum (City). One, a Greek inscription originally found at Smyrna (*C. I. G.* 3332), is said to have been dug up during the works for the District Railway several years ago. Another, a Latin monument to the memory of one Onesimus who died at the age of 13 (*C. I. L.* vi. 23473), was found in Basinghall Lane in 1852. It is not wholly impossible that a third inscription, edited by Hübner among the Roman inscriptions of London (*C. I. L.* vi. 20), may also have come originally from abroad. It appears to have been found near Walbrook not long before 1856, but the general appearance of the fragment—only half is extant—is not that of ordinary Romano-British inscriptions. Another instance from London is supplied by a bit of sculpture with a Greek inscription below it, which was found 'among the ruins of a house at Islington' in 1774 (*C. I. L.* vii. p. 21), lost, and then rediscovered in February 1879 during some excavations in Tottenham Court Road, (W. T. Watkin, *Archaeological Journal* xxxvii. 149). This relic also probably came from abroad, though the probability must be again confessed to be only *a priori*. In any case, it was 'lost in London' and re-excavated. The same might perhaps be the case with the remarkable sculptures and inscription dug up in Walbrook in 1889, and now in the possession of Mr. Ransom at Hitchin (*Ephemeres epigr.* vii. n. 816; *Arch. Journ.* xlvii. 234). But here the circumstances of the find seem to prove a Romano-British origin and there is nothing in the inscription and sculpture to render it impossible.

Instances may be found even outside of London. A Greek inscription to *Mhν*, with a figure of the god, was found some years ago in building a hotel at Tonbridge, but it has been rightly classed by several scholars, last by Prof. Kaibel in his new volume, as of foreign, probably Asiatic, origin. Perhaps, too, the tombstone of Considia Veneria, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, is a foreign importation. The Disney catalogue (i. 99) says it was found at Colchester, but Prof. Hübner judged it to be 'urban' (*Eph.* iii. p. 116 n. 58) and any one who has seen it will be inclined to agree. An even more curious case occurs in the same Museum, a tombstone of Aelia Agatha, which, according to the Disney catalogue (i. 97), was found in 'the Mausoleum of the Domus Augusti on the Appian way', but according to the Cheshire antiquary, Foote Gower, who wrote about 1780 (*Brit. Mus. MSS. Add.* 11338. 93) was dug up in Chester in 1730 in Water-gate street and passed afterwards into Gower's own possession. Mr. Watkin (*Roman Cheshire* p. 208) accepts Gower's statement without misgivings, but it is incredible from the look of the stone that it should be Romano-British, and the editors of the *Corpus* must be right in placing it among the 'urban' inscriptions (*C. I. L.* vi. 10835). The alternatives are between believing that Gower was hoaxed and the inscription actually lost and found in Chester. In any case, it must have reached England long before Disney formed his collection, for Gower wrote almost before Disney was born.

The classical example of relics 'lost and found' is, of course, furnished by the Arundel marbles, but this is too well known to need notice here, and can easily be found in Prof. Michaelis' *Ancient Marbles in Great*

¹ The plan given above from the *J.H.S.* does not appear to coincide with Dörpfeld's description of the construction of the stair.

² See Harrison's *Myth. and Mon. of Athens*, p. 280.

Britain. 'Two instances may, however, be quoted, to give credibility to the others detailed above. Half of the Parian Marble was rescued from a chimney by Selden, and six or seven statues were left in Kennington to be buried under layers of rubbish intended to protect the ground from the inundations of the Thames and there to be dug out a few years later at the suggestion of Lord Petre (*Michaelis*, p. 38).

More instances might be quoted of inscriptions and sculptures which have been brought to England and, when their origin had been forgotten, have been styled Romano-British. There is one inscription in the Wroxeter museum at Shrewsbury, another probably at a private house near Canterbury (*Eph.* iv. n. 662, vii. n. 865) and a third, a Greek tombstone probably from Asia, was found in 1880 lying in a garden at New Hampton in Surrey (*Arch. Journ.* xxxviii. 293). But these have never been buried and re-excavated.

F. HAVERFIELD.

AMONG the recent acquisitions of the British Museum may be noted :—

(1) A bronze strigil having on the handle a small oval stamp representing a grotesque male figure dancing : behind him are the letters ΜΚ retrograde. Below the stamp is incised in archaic letters the following inscription :—

ΚΑΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΚΟ
ΡΙΝΘΙΟΣ

Καλλίστρατος Διοδώρου Κορίνθιος. For this use of the genitive ου instead of ο along with the crossed ⊕ compare the Attic inscription in Roberts' *Gr. Epigraphy*, p. 85, No. 55, as to which Roberts observes : 'The orthography of the pseudo-diphthong ου with two letters is remarkable in so old an inscription though not uncommon in those of the fifth century B.C.'

(2) A small bronze group of wrestlers, found in Egypt and apparently a copy made in the Alexandrine age from a fine Greek original. The figures are locked together in a much more artistic composition than the marble group of wrestlers in Florence. They recall the phrase *symplegma nobile* which Pliny uses of a group of *Pana et Olympum luctantes* by Heliodorus (*N.H.* xxxvi. 35.), or that other group to which he had referred a little before by Cephisodotos the son of Praxiteles calling it a *symplegma, signum nobile, digitis corpori cernius quam marmori impressis*. One would say of the new bronze group that some of the limbs are pressed into each other with more force than would be possible in nature, and perhaps that was what Pliny had in his mind in reference to the group of Cephisodotos. The current opinion is that the last-mentioned group was not one of athletes, but it is much open to doubt whether we should not now go back to the older opinion of Müller and others who recognized the group as athletic and not lascivious. Pliny distinctly compares with it the *Pana et Olympum luctantes*, and now that we possess a bronze group which though rude in its details is certainly in its composition worthy of being called a *symplegma nobile* and no less certainly copied from a celebrated original, we may venture to look for that original in one or other of these two groups by Cephisodotos or Heliodoros.

(3) A bronze statuette from Asia Minor of a late but very interesting style recalling those figures of ancient doctors and botanists which occur in the

illuminated MS. of Dioscorides in Vienna, belonging to the end of the fifth century A.D.; see Visconti, *Iconographic Græcæ* I. pls. 34-36. In some respects the figure is not unlike in style to the famous bronze statue in St Peter's in Rome, while the attitude being that of an aged bearded man seated on a chair and holding an open book in his left hand reminds us of the portrait of Dioscorides himself on the MS. just mentioned.

A. S. M.

NEW METOPE OF SELINUS.—The metope found in the excavations at Selinus in Sicily last year, and just published in the *Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* I. p. 245 with plate, has been set up in the Museum of Palermo in that noblest of halls of archaic Greek sculpture, the Sala di Selinunte. It was found among the fortifications on the west side of the Acropolis which have lately been cleared with the most interesting results. It had been conveyed there apparently to help in the construction of these fortifications when Selinus was revived under Hermocrates after its overthrow in 409 B.C. and possibly the metope had been obtained from the small temple which is now in process of being cleared close by the side of the great temple of Heracles, as it is called, from which the metopes of Perseus and Medusa, Heracles and the Cercopes and the Quadriga were obtained. This new temple was a very small building such as would suit the scale of the new metope. But more excavation may be necessary before this is quite ascertained. In style the sculpture closely resembles that of the archaic temple of Diana at Ephesus—the temple erected in the time of Croesus—the relief being very low and the details extremely delicate. It is much to be regretted that the Italian Government encourages so poorly these excavations at Selinus. There is still a great area of the Acropolis to be cleared and during the two or three months of recent years when the work has been carried on by only a few hands the results have been so striking that there are few classical sites now so instructive and so worthy of a visit. At present the ancient street which passed behind the boundary wall of the Heracles temple on to one of the city gates is being explored with its line of dwelling houses on each side. The system of fortifications now laid bare with its galleries, passages and advance towers everywhere displaying the finest Greek masonry is singularly suggestive of hard fighting and in this respect may be compared with the fortifications of Epipolæ at Syracuse, with the difference that at Selinus the whole is a piece of construction while at the Epipolæ much is excavated in the rock. But in both cases there is the same sense of close desperate fighting as compared with what the traveller feels when he sees merely a strong surrounding wall as at Athens or Plataea and in other sites in Greece. Happily, for all the fierce conflict of races that has gone on in Sicily, the Greek element has left its impress more strikingly than could have been hoped for. Her temples are a glory which Greece itself can hardly rival.

A. S. M.

THE vase painting of 'Alcmene on the Pyre' has been excellently reproduced in the last number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*; the following observations are supplementary to the general explanation given by Mr. A. S. Murray, which in itself appears to require but one correction.

Alcmene is seated as suppliant on an altar to which she has flown for refuge from the anger of her husband Amphitryon, who without regard to her

position is deliberately applying a pair of torches to wood blocks stacked below her seat. A thunderbolt is behind him unattended to, but his companion Antenor on the opposite side, who is also provided with torches, starts away without applying them, as if scared by another ball which has descended in front of his feet. Alceme looking upward and raising her right arm and expanded hand directs our attention to Zeus, a half figure, olive-crowned and holding a sceptre, whose gestures with expressive fingers, contrasting with the tense action of Alceme's, denote response to her appeal. Two very similar girlish figures half disclosed are emptying water from hydrias upon the pyre below as if to quench flames which have not yet caught, and the background behind Alceme, bounded by an arch, is covered with small white dots which are probably interpreted as raindrops.

The vase thus gives compendiously a sequence of incidents:—Alceme takes sanctuary and implores divine protection while her husband, calmly setting light to a pyre which will consume her, is not yet alarmed by the thunder which—as if a moment after—suspends the action of his abettor Antenor and preludes a downfall from the drenching Clouds or Hyades (A. S. M.) which assure the rescue. We may recognize a sequence of feelings even in Alceme. Her arm is extended and her fingers stretch in excited supplication but her countenance is rather expressive of recognition of the presence and interposition of Zeus.

But there is a hint of the sequence of events which carries us still further back; this is the emergent bust of Eos (ΑΩΣ) at the right hand corner, a significant reminiscence of a leading incident of the story as we read it not only in Plautus but in almost all ancient references to it—the long deferment in fact of daybreak which has caused the Νῆξ μακρά of Plato Comicus to be referred to this fable. It is enough to quote the Plautine—'Famus Amphitruo; lucescit hoc jam.' 1. 3. 45.

If 'the injured husband of Plautus abstains from violence' it is only because he is struck prostrate by the storm when threatening to break into the house and slaughter every one within it.

The vase which lies on the ground at the feet of Antenor should be noticed. It must be the spoil of Pterelas which is the cause of so much mystification

in the Latin play and which this design instructs us was important in a Greek predecessor, though it disagrees in form with the precise description preserved by Athenaeus, p. 474.

The form of the crater may be taken to account for the band of ivy leaves which encircles it and the group of Dionysus and attendants on the reverse: but still it may be observed that his birth amid flame was a second Theban instance parallel to the birth of Hercules, another son of Zeus, amidst the storm and flame of the pyre of Alceme. The birth of Asclepius (Pind. *Pyth.* iii.) furnishes another instance for comparative mythology. There is considerable pathos in the play of Plautus; when Molière made it the basis of his masterpiece he had the wisdom to perceive that a pathetic side to such a theme involved a painful incongruity. He was content to conclude upon a satiric moral which he could not have ventured on some years later.

A fragment of one of the lost scenes of the play informs us that Mercurius on the roof of the house threatened to drench the excluded Amphitruo with water; did Mercury suggest the service of the Hyades, or *vice versâ*?

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

A CARTHAGINIAN AMBASSADOR MENTIONED IN A GREEK INSCRIPTION AT ATHENS.—On February 25, 1887, M. Homolle read before the Académie des Inscriptions (see *Revue Critique*, 1887, p. 200) a paper on 'Iomilkos and Jechomelekh' (the former being admitted to be the Greek form of the latter). This Iomilkos is often mentioned in the temple-inventories of Delos; in the fourth century, B.C., he dedicated golden crowns to Apollo and Artemis. M. Six had identified him with a king of Byblos, found in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (i. 8. pl. 1): but the editors place this king in the time of the Achaemenides. As to the Iomilkos of the Delos inventories, M. Homolle identified him with a Carthaginian ambassador mentioned in a fragmentary inscription of the same century, at Athens, his name being read as ΟΑΜΙΑΚΑΣ.

I would conjecture that for Δ we should read Α, and that ΟΑΜΙΑΚΑΣ is the remnant of ΒΟΑΜΙΑΚΑΣ. In Greek, Bomilkar appears as Βομίλκας or Βοαμίλκας.

J. HOSKINS-ABRAHALL.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica.

Ed. Comparetti, Müller e Flechia (Turin 1890) Anno XVIII Fasc. 10—12 (April—June, 1890) contains (1) L. Cantarelli *I Mōtākes Spartani*, contending that μότῶνες were *uernaes* but μότῶνες were free sons of *περίοικοι* and not *νέστοι*, as usually explained. (2) C. O. Zuretti *Scilii al Pluto ed alle Rane d' Aristofane dal codice Veneto 472 e dal Cod. Cremonese 12229* L. 6, 28, a transcript with observations, occupying almost the whole number.

Anno XIX Fasc. 1-3 (Jul.-Sept. 1890) contains (1) E. Cicotti *I Sacerdoti Municipali e provinciali della Spagna e gli Augustali nell' epoca imperiale Rom.*, an exhaustive monograph founded on inscriptions, after the model of Hirschfeld's treatise on municipal priests in Africa. (2) G. Suster *Miscellanea critica*, emendations, some of which do not accord with the rules of prosody. (3) C. O. Zuretti *Scilii al Pluto* etc., the con-

clusion of the article of which the full title is given above.

Fasc. 4—6 (Oct.—Dec.) contains: (1) C. O. Zuretti *Veronese non Modenese*, contending that the codex A of Theognis, now in Paris, was originally Veronensis, not Mutinensis. (2) A. Mazzoleni *La villa di Orazio*, a collection of opinions with very good maps but not adding any new facts. (3) C. Giambelli *Gli Studi Aristotelici nel De Finibus* (first part only). (4) A. Levi *L' Agesilao* with a collation of ms. Laur. 55, 2.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik.

Ed. Fleckeisen und Masius (Leipzig. 1890). Heft 11 contains (1) W. Judeich on Wachsmuths *Statt Athen im altertum II*, 1, a critique in detail of this instalment. (2) F. Weck *θεῶν ἐν γόνασι κείται*, proposing for this common expression *θεῶν ἐν γ' οὐνασι*, the last word being dat. plur. of *ὄναρ*. (3) A. Scotland

Zur Odyssee α 26—43, proposing to read 28 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ὀδύρατο πικρὰ πατήρ κ.τ.λ., to strike out 37—42, and to read 43 οὐκ ἔπιδα φρονέων. (4) F. Harder *Eu. Ex vor consonanten*, statistics of usage from the fragments of early Roman poetry. (5) Th. Plüss *Zu Hor. Carm.* ii. 20, illustrating from sculpture and painting his theory that Horace here conceives himself as winged. (6) M. Mertens *Zu Ausonius*, emendations. (7) D. Volkmann *Zu Julius Valerius*, emendations. (8) E. Goebel *Zu Verg. Aen. i.* 195, proposing *deinde bonus quae vina*.

Heft 12 contains (1) K. Hude on *W. G. Rutherford's Thuc.* iv. a hostile criticism on the edition which 'does not show enough acuteness or industry to justify its method.' (2) F. Susenmühl *Zu den Orphischen Theogonien* dissenting in some details from O. Gruppe's article in *Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil.* 1890 Suppl. Band, xvii. pp. 687-747. (3) E. Goebel on *Nikandros ἀλεξίφάρμακα* 214-218. (4) E. Dittrich *Zu Kallimachos*, emendations. (5) Th. Büttner-Wobst *Zu Polybios*, more on hiatus in this writer. (6) M. C. P. Schmidt *Kleine Beobachtungen zum Lat. Sprachgebrauch* on *inuenire, experiri,*

perspicere, iudicare, praestare, with acc. and infin.: *praestare, praescribere, urgere, pugnare* with *ut*.

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique. Tome 7, fasc. 2.

M. Bréal discusses the relation of the Etruscan to the Latin alphabet, concluding that the Etruscan was once dominant throughout the peninsula and that the Latin with the other Italian alphabets was in the first instance borrowed from the Etruscans and not directly from the Greeks.—M. Bréal's article on the earliest influence of Rome on the Germanic world is practically the same as one of those abstracted in the *Classical Review* iv. p. 445.—In a third article M. Bréal expresses an opinion that Latin *c* before *i* and *e* was palatalised much earlier than is usually supposed.—He further discusses *τύχη, ἰωκή, ἀφανρός—μᾶλλον* in the sense of 'but'—*Θρινακίη*, Latin adverbs in *ἐ*, *invideo, uber, cervix* and other words.—M. Ch. Ploix derives *Volcanus* from a root *var* 'to cover' in *vallus, voltus, οὐρανός*, etc.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

- Ainger* (A. C.) *Clivus. Elementary Exercises in Latin Elegiac Verse. Part II.* New edition enlarged. 12mo. 130 pp. Longmans. 2s. 6d.
Aristotle. Nicomachean Ethics. Books I.—IV. and Book X., chaps. vi.—ix. being the portions required in the Oxford Pass School, with Notes by E. L. Hawkins. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 166 pp. 7s. 6d., interleaved 9s. Simpkin.
Ellis. Noctes Manilianae sive dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii. Scripsit R. Ellis. cr. 8vo. pp. xvi, 255. Frowde. 6s.
Farnell (G. S.) *Greek Lyric Poetry*, a complete collection of the surviving passages from the Greek Song-writers arranged with prefatory articles, introductory matter and commentary. 8vo. With 5 plates. pp. xii, 490. Longman. 16s.
Herodotus. Book VI. Edited, with Introduction and Notes by J. Strachan. Fcp. 8vo. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

- Homer's Iliad.* Books IV.—VI. Edited on the basis of the Ameis-Hentze edition by Thomas D. Seymour. 8vo. 213 pp. Ginn & Co. 7s. 6d.
Livy Books, I. and II. Edited with Introduction and Notes by J. B. Greenough. cr. 8vo. pp. xvii, 270. Ginn & Co. 6s. 6d.
Marshall (John.) *A Short History of Greek Philosophy.* Cr. 8vo. pp. viii, 254. Percival & Co. 6s.
Swete (H. B.) *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Septuagint. Vol. II. I. Chronicles—Tobit.* Cr. 8vo. pp. xv, 879. Cambridge Warehouse. 7s. 6d.
Wordsworth (J.) *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine Partis prioris fasc. II.* Small 4to. Sewed. Frowde. 7s. 6d.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

- Aeschylus.* Die Perser. Eine Tragödie. In freier deutscher Nachbildung von H. Gravenhorst. 4to. 18 pp. Holzminden. 1 Mk.
Albrecht (R.) *Tito Vespasiano Strozza. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Ferrara.* 4to. 48 pp. Leipzig. Teubner. 1 Mk. 20.
Aristoteles, La costituzione di Atene traduzione con note ed introduzione di C. O. Zuretti. Torino, Loescher. 2 lire.
Aristoteles Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener, verdeutscht von G. Kaibel und A. Kiessling. 12mo. v, 108 pp. Strassburg. Trübner. 2 Mk.
Babelon (E.) *Le Cabinet des antiques à la Bibliothèque nationale.* 3^{ième} Série. 4to. pp. 134-225. Plates. Paris. Lévy.

- Belser* (J.) *Zur Diokletianischen Christenverfolgung.* Programm 8vo. 107 pp. Tübingen.
Bieber (J.) *Ueber die Echtheit des Lucianischen Dialogs Cynicus.* Programm 8vo. 18 pp. Hildesheim.
Brugmann, Umbrisches und Oskisches. 8vo. 39 pp. Leipzig.
Cartault (A.) *Terres cuites grecques photographiées d'après les originaux des collections privées de France et des Musées d'Athènes.* 4to. lvii, 101 pp. Plates. Paris. Colin et Cie.
Ciceronis, M. Tulli pro L. Murena Oratio. Scholarum in usum edidit A. Kornitzer. 16mo. vi, 79 pp. Wien, Gerold's Sohn. Boards. 80 Pf.

- Clarctic* (L.) De P. Papinii Statii Silvis. Thesis. 8vo. 87 pp. Paris, Larousse.
- Conti* (P.) Le Istituzioni oratorie di M. F. Quintiliano. Recensione. 16mo. 120 pp. Palermo, Sandron. 1 lira.
- Cornuti* artis rhetoricae epitome edidit et commentatus est I. Graevus. 8vo. vi, lxxii, 55 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 4 Mk.
- Droysen* (H.) Zu Aristoteles 'Αθηναίων πολιτεία Vorläufige Bemerkungen. 4to. 23 pp. Berlin, Gärtner. 1 Mk.
- Foerster* (R.) Duae Choricii orationes nuptiales primum editae. Programm. 8vo. 24 pp. Breslau.
- Frantz* (G.) De comoediae atticae prologis. Dissertatio. 8vo. 71 pp. Strassburg.
- Goebel* (E.) Homerische Blätter. Lexilogische, kritische und exegetische Beiträge zu Homer. Programm. 8vo. 24 pp. Fulda.
- Grosse* (H.) Beiträge zur Syntax des Griechischen Mediums und Passivums. Fortsetzung. 4to. 22 pp. Leipzig, Fock. 1 Mk.
- Gruppe* (O.) De Cadmi fabula. 4to. 27 pp. Berlin, Gaertner. 1 Mk.
- Jahn* (E.) Observationes criticae in Flavi Josephi antiquitatibus judaëis. Dissertatio. 12mo. 29 pp. Erlangen.
- Intra* (G. B.) Virgilio e l'Ariosto. Memoria letta all' accademia Virgiliana il 20 Settembre 1890. 8vo. 17 pp. Mantova, Mondovi.
- Irmischer* (E.) Vergils Aeneide, Buch VII, in freien Stanzen übersetzt. Programm. 8vo. 10 pp. Dresden.
- Kallenberg* (H.) Studien über den griechischen Artikel II. 4to. 26 pp. Berlin, Gaertner. 1 Mk.
- Koenigsbeck* (J.) De Septem contra Thebas exitu. Dissertatio. 12mo. 46 pp. Königsberg.
- Leisering* (H.) Das 3te Buch der Oden des Horaz in freier Nachbildung. 4to. 24 pp. Berlin, Gaertner. 1 Mk.
- Margadant* (P. C.) Latynsch lees- en vertaalboek voor de lagere klassen der gymnasia. Hague, van Cleef. 8vo. 4, 126 pp. 1 fl. 25.
- Marx* (A.) Griechische Märchen von dankbaren Tieren und Verwandtes. Dissertatio. 12mo. 150 pp. Heidelberg.
- Meyer* (W.) Die athenische Spruchrede der Menander und Philistion. [Extract: Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften]. 4to. 71 pp. München, Franz. 2 Mk. 10.
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The Classical Review

JUNE 1891.

THE HOURS OF THE DAY IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

THERE is a difficulty in reconciling the hour given in St. John xix. 14—‘It was the preparation of the passover and about the sixth hour: and he (Pilate) saith unto the Jews, Behold your King!’—with the hours given in the synoptic gospels in connexion with the crucifixion. In recent times this difficulty has been met by supposing that our modern method of counting the hours from midnight and noon was in use in Asia Minor, where St. John wrote, and was therefore used in this Gospel, while the other Gospels used the common method of counting the hours from sunrise to sunset. This solution of the difficulty is generally attributed to Townson, who published his *Discourses on the Four Gospels* in 1778. But Archdeacon Lee, in his work on *Inspiration* (pp. 391–3, note 3, fourth edition), says that Townson was anticipated by Le Clerc (1683–1736). It is pretty certain that it was not known to the ancients, for Eusebius, Theophylact, and Severus found themselves reduced to the necessity of supposing that there was an error in the text (Alford *in loc.*). This is in itself a considerable argument against the modern view, for it is hard to suppose that the early commentators would have been ignorant of the custom in Asia Minor, or that they would have overlooked so obvious an explanation of the difficulty. Nevertheless a strong body of English scholars stand by Townson, such as Greswell, Jacobson, Lee, McClellan, Westcott, and Wordsworth. Ebrard, Ewald, Hug, Olshausen, Rettig, Tischendorf and Tholuck, on the Continent, take the same side. Professor Sanday, writing in 1872, adduces some considerations

in favour of the Asia Minor hypothesis, but adds, “Still a ‘non liquet’ must, I think, be the verdict.” And Dr. Plummer, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, while arguing against the modern view, finally concludes by leaving the matter doubtful (note on St. John xix. 14). In the hope that some of the readers of the *Classical Review* may be able to contribute something to a more definite settlement of the question, I ask permission to bring the matter before them. The present state of the controversy will be seen from the following extracts:—

On the side of Townson, to show that the Romans reckoned the day from midnight, and that the sixth hour in John xix. 14 means 6 A.M., Archdeacon Lee writes (*loc. cit.*):—

“Rettig, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830 (s. 103), quotes the words of Pliny:—‘Ipsum diem alii aliter observavere . . . sacerdotes, et qui diem definire civilem, item Aegyptii et Hipparchus a media nocte in mediam,’ *Hist. Nat.* lib. ii. 77; and Le Clerc (by whom this solution was first suggested) quotes the question of Plutarch—*διὰ τί τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχὴν ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς λαμβάνουσι*; *Quaest. Rom.* lxxxiii. Tholuck (*loc. cit.* s. 306) shows that the time of sunrise at the vernal equinox, taken in connexion with the rules of Roman jurisprudence, fully confirms the explanation thus given of St. John’s expression ‘about the sixth hour.’ He also quotes Macrobius: ‘Magistratus post mediam noctem auspiciantur, et post exortum solem agunt,’ *Saturnal.* i. 3; and Aulus Gellius: ‘Senatus-consulta ante exortum solem, aut post solis

occasum facta, rata non esse,' *Noct. Att. xiv. 7.*"

Bishop Westcott (Additional Note on S. John xix.) adds :—

"There are also traces of reckoning the hours from midnight in Asia Minor. Polycarp is said (*Mart. Pol. c. 21*) to have been martyred at Smyrna 'at the eighth hour.' This, from the circumstances, must have been 8 A.M. Pionius, again, is said to have been martyred (at Smyrna also) at 'the tenth hour,' which can hardly have been 4 P.M., since such exhibitions usually took place before noon. These two passages furnish a sufficient presumption that St. John, in using the modern reckoning, followed a practice of the province in which he was living, and for which he was writing."

Bishop Wordsworth also appeals to the account of Polycarp's martyrdom (c. 21, p. 635, ed. Jacobson) as evidence of the custom in Asia Minor. He quotes Jacobson : 'Non enim de Romana, sed de Asiatica horas computandi ratione, hic est sermo; eadem scilicet qua nos hodie utimur.'

On the same side Professor Sanday (Fourth Gospel, p. 34, n. 1) writes :—

"On carefully reconsidering this question, especially with reference to the arguments of Wieseler (*Beiträge*, p. 252 *fol.*), I am inclined to think it at least possible that the Evangelist has followed throughout the Gospel, not the Jewish, but the Roman civil day, which began from midnight, like ours. Among other evidence to show that the use was widely diffused, Dr. Wieseler quotes especially Strabo, ii. 34 *fol.*, a native of Asia Minor, and the younger Pliny, writing from that province, *Ep. vii. 9.*"¹

Sanday also adds :—

"The counter-argument of Meyer, drawn from xi. 9 ('Are there not twelve hours in the day?') proves nothing, because such an expression might be used as well by us as by the Jews, speaking of the average length of the working day." See below.

Alford, Farrar, and Dunwell are very decided on the other side.

Alford maintains that the counting of the hours in common use amongst the Romans was the same as the Jewish :—

"As Lücke remarks (i. 446), even among the Romans the division of the day into twelve equal hours was, though not the *civil*, the popular way of computing time. So Persius, *Sat. iii. 3* : 'Stertimus . . . quinta dum linea tangitur umbra.'" (Com. on St. John, i. 39.)

Westcott (Additional Note on John xix.) allows this, as far as the counting of the *hours* was concerned :—

"It must be admitted that this mode of reckoning hours (*i.e.* the modern mode) was unusual in ancient times. The Romans (*Mart. iv. 8*) and Greeks, no less than the Jews, reckoned their *hours* from sunrise. But the Romans reckoned their *civil days* from mid-

night (*Aul. Gell. iii. 2*; comp. *Matt. xxvii. 19* 'this day'), and not from sunrise or from sunset (as the Jews)."

On the words 'this day,' in *Matt. xxvii. 19*, Dr. Plummer (*Cambridge Bible* on St. John xix. 14) replies : "The 'this day' of Pilate's wife proves nothing—it would fit either the Roman or the Jewish method; and some suppose her to have been a proselyte."

'Wieseler seems even to be mistaken in the belief that the Romans ever counted the *hours* of their civil day from midnight. Mr. Munro refers me to a passage of the *Digests* in which *hora vi. diei* and *hora vi. noctis* are referred to in the very sentence in which a lawyer is expounding civil computation in opposition to natural.'—Farrar, *Life of Christ*, ch. x. p. 146, note 2.

'Ewald . . . admits that Josephus (*Vit. 54*) and Philo (*Opp. i. p. 692*) have no such reckoning . . . St. John reckoned his hours from sunrise, as did the rest of mankind till the fifth century, so far as we know.'—*Ibid.* ch. xv. p. 207, note 2.

'As Lücke observes (i. 580), this way of reckoning in Asia Minor is a pure invention of Townson's. A decisive answer, however, to such a supposition here, or anywhere else in our Evangelist, is that he would naturally have specified whether it was 6 A.M. or P.M.'—Alford on John iv. 6.

'This purely arbitrary hypothesis of St. John's way of reckoning the hours has only harmonistic grounds to rest on. The passage which Dr. Wordsworth urges as supporting it (*Martyr. Polycarp. c. 21*, p. 1044, ed. Migne) does not in reality give it the least countenance. The *ἡρα ὀγδόη* there mentioned is much more probably according to the usual Roman computation.'—*Ibid.*

Dunwell (Com. on *Matt. xxvii. 35–38*) urges the following considerations against the supposition that the hours were counted from midnight in Asia Minor :—

'Phlegon, the heathen historian, who was a contemporary of St. John, and a native of Tralles in Asia Minor, not far from Ephesus, has related the occurrence of a darkness which took place at mid-day, along with some other unusual phenomena. . . . He is understood by all without exception (Origen, Eusebius, and other fathers) as referring to noon-day. But Phlegon, as reported by Eusebius, describes the time of this darkness by the very word that St. John uses here (xix. 14)—'at the sixth hour of the day' (*καὶ τὴν ἑκτὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο*).'

'We learn from Origen (on St. John iv. 50), who was born at Alexandria about A.D. 185, that the method of computing the hours of the day in use at Alexandria in his time was from sunrise. . . . We learn also from S. Cyril (on John i. 39) that the custom of calculating the hours of the day from sunrise was still in use in Alexandria in the fourth century.'

'S. Chrysostom was born at Antioch, about A.D. 347, and afterwards became Archbishop of Constantinople, and must therefore have been well acquainted with the mode of calculating the hours of the day in Asia Minor. . . . We have comments by him on two

¹ The former passage simply mentions the use of *ἡρα ἰσημερινά* by the astronomers, the latter is probably a wrong reference for *Ep. iii. 5*.

¹ The fact that Miss Yonge, telling the story of the martyrdom of Polycarp, in her *Pupils of St. John*, says that his death took place at 2 P.M. may be taken as showing that this hour is not inconsistent with the rest of the narrative.

different passages of St. John (i. 39, iv. 6)—the only passages of St. John which bear on this subject, and on neither does he give any alternative explanation, as if there was then in Asia Minor, or ever had been, any method of calculating the hours of the day except from sunrise.’

Commenting on the words of the nobleman’s servants in St. John iv. 52, ‘Yesterday at the seventh hour,’ &c., Alford remarks that ‘Here the advocates of the (imaginary) Asiatic division of the hours by St. John suppose him to have put that division into the mouth of Jews of Galilee.’

Alford also thinks that the question ‘Are there not twelve hours in the day?’ (John xi. 9) ‘refutes the fancy of Townson and others that St. John adopts the so-called Asiatic method of reckoning time.’ See Sanday’s answer to this above.

‘Is it possible to imagine St. John, with the other Gospels before him, as these expositors (Wordsworth, Townson, and others) believe him to have had, adopting without notice an independent reckoning of his own which would introduce utter confusion into that history which (again on their hypothesis) he wrote his gospel to complete and clear up?’—Alford on John xix. 14.

‘Is it probable that St. John would use a method of calculating the hours of the day different from that which was used by the other Evangelists, and by the inhabitants of the country, and by the foreigners resident in the country where the events recorded took place, and give no intimation of this, and that too in a book which may be said to abound with explanations of customs and expressions peculiar to the Jews?’—Dunwell on John i. 39.

In Godet’s Commentary on St. Luke (xxiii. 26–46, Clark’s *Trans.*, p. 327, n. 1) Langen is cited as appealing to the *Letters* of Pliny the younger (iii. 5) in support of the position maintained by Townson. The only passage bearing on the subject which I can find in this letter is one that might rather be cited on the other side. Speaking of his uncle’s habits of study, Pliny says, ‘Lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat, non auspicandi causa sed studendi, statim a nocte multa, hieme uero ab hora septima, vel cum tardissime, octaua, saepe sexta.’ If this meant that the elder Pliny used to begin his studies at seven in the morning, it would be a decisive proof of the use of our modern reckoning. But should we not (with Church and Brodribb) take a *multa nocte* as ‘beginning at midnight,’ ‘the same in fact as *sexta hora*?’—‘in winter generally at one in the morning, but never later than two, and often at midnight.’ (See also Mayor’s notes.) If these hours appear too early, we refer the doubter to the rest of this interesting letter. The elder Pliny was an eager student. ‘No man,’ we are told, ‘ever spent less time in bed; insomuch that he would sometimes,

without retiring from his books, take a short sleep, and then pursue his studies,’ and ‘in the country his whole time was devoted to study without intermission, excepting only when he bathed. In this exception I include no more than the time he was actually in the bath; for while he was rubbed and wiped, he was employed either in hearing some book read to him, or in dictating.’ On one occasion when some one stopped his reader to correct a mispronunciation, Pliny complained, ‘We have lost by this interruption above ten lines.’ Two in the morning was not an impossible hour for such a student.¹

At the same place Godet, who himself thinks that John used the mode of reckoning which was in common use, has the following:—

“We owe to M. André Cherbuliez, of Geneva, and M. de Rougemont, who sent it to us, an interesting contribution on this question, taken from the *Sacred Discourses* of Aelius Aristides, a Greek sophist of the second century, a contemporary of Polycarp, whom he may have met in the streets of Smyrna. In the first book, God commands him in a dream to take a cold bath: it is winter, and as the most suitable hour he chooses the sixth, undoubtedly because it is the warmest. Then, addressing his friend Bassus, who keeps him waiting, he says to him, pointing to the pillars, ‘Seest thou? the shadow is already turning.’ There is no doubt, therefore, that the sixth hour with him denotes mid-day, and not six o’clock morning or evening.”

The weight of argument appears so far to be against Townson’s view. But there are some points that need to be cleared up. In the hope of bringing the matter nearer to a settlement may I ask the following questions:—

Can any reader of the *Classical Review* recall any distinct evidence that the Romans at the time with which this enquiry is concerned ever counted the hours as we do now?

Is there any distinct evidence that such a method of computation was in use in Asia Minor?

What evidence is there bearing on the assertion that martyrdoms took place in the forenoon? The hour given for the martyrdom is, I suppose, the time of death. Dr. Plummer cites Philo, ii. 529 on the persecution of the Jews by Flaccus: τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν θαμάτων ἄχρι τρίτης ὥρας ἢ τετάρτης ἐξ ἑωθινῶ ταῦτα ἦν, Ἰουδαῖοι μαστιγοῦμενοι, κ.τ.λ. thus paraphrased by Milman, ‘It was the morning spectacle of the theatre to see the Jews scourged,’ &c.

¹ It puts the meaning beyond doubt when we read that (after his studies) he used to attend Vespasian before daybreak.

How did the Romans, when using the modern method (if they did use it), distinguish the hours in the forenoon and in the afternoon? Would the want of such a distinc-

tion in the Gospel be sufficient proof that the writer did not use the modern method of computation?

J. A. CROSS.

ON SOME USES OF THE AORIST PARTICIPLE.

MR. CARTER'S remarks (see *Classical Review* for February) on *non-priority* of the aorist participle would have been better, if his examples had been more carefully selected. A large number of them are grouped as instrumental: not a happy name, as applied for instance to *μειδιάσας ἔφη*: but I understand that 'instrumental' includes 'modal,' 'causal,' and 'circumstantial.' Some of these examples may have escaped me: but I believe that in all of them (except *ἦλθ' ἀποτισάμενος*, which cannot be insisted upon, *ἀποτισόμενος* being so easy a correction), certainly in most of them, the participle distinctly expresses priority. Thus, why should it be doubted that *μειδιάσας ἔφη* means 'his face brightened with a smile and then he spoke'—like Browning's 'Up his cheek the colour sprang, then he heard'? Not that the smile ceased before the speech began: the aorist is 'ingressive.' So in *Soph. O.C.* 716, *παραπτομένα* (which, I quite agree, comes from *παραπέτομαι* is 'ingressive' and therefore prior to *θρώσκει* ('bounds over the sea, having spread wings for its wondrous flight'). So *δείσασα καθείρπυσεν*. In a number of other instances adduced, the relation is that of cause and effect. *Soph. Ant.* 171, *ὄλοντο παίσαντές τε καὶ πληγέντες*, should not have appeared even as a possible instance. The blow which causes the death is of course prior to the death. *πесоῦσα ψόφον ἐποίησεν*: the fall produced the sound: if it had been *ψόφον ποιήσασα ἔπεσεν*, it would have been noticeable. *κερδαίνειν πιών*, again cause and effect: *κατεξάνθην ἐνεγκοῦσα*, the same: *πιστεύσαντας ὁμός τε χωρήσαι: βοηθήσατε ἐσβαλόντες*: and so on. Mr. Carter even quotes aor. part. with perf. and pluperf., *πταμένη βεβήκει* (of course *ἔπατο before βεβήκει*), *καταλύσαντα πεπανκέναι, γέγραφε γράφας*.

Why does not Mr. Carter quote the familiar *εἰ ἐποίησας ἀναμνήσας με* (*Gorg.* 60 C)? Here we may doubt: is the aor. part. an 'absolute' past (past, but not in relation to *ἐποίησας*), = *ὅτε ἀνέμνησας, εἰ ἐποίησας*? or is it really 'timeless' (as the aor. inf. is 'timeless,' e.g. in *φήμι τελευτηθῆναι ἅπαντα*), a momentary act coincident in time with

ἐποίησας? or is there even here priority, at least in thought: 'you reminded me, and so you established a claim upon my gratitude'? The first of these suggestions is precluded, when the sentence is future. *Soph. O.T.* 707, *σὺ νῦν ἀφείς σεαυτὸν ὧν λέγεις πέρι | ἐμοῦ 'πάκουσον*, 'listen to me, and so release (deliver) yourself.' The participle denotes an action identical in time with that of the principal verb, an action which might have been represented as the effect of *ἐπάκουσον*, immediately produced. Here, if anywhere, we have the 'timeless' aor. part. But even here we might claim for *ἀφείς* a sort of *priority of thought*. As 'Moriatur et in media arma ruamus' = moriamur ruendo, 'Let us die and to that end let us rush into the battle': so *ἀφείς ἐπάκουσον*, 'deliver yourself and therefore hearken.' In *O.T.* 227, it does not become me to speak positively, but I believe that *αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ* means *αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ σημαίνετω* (or *μὴ σιωπάτω*), and that Oedipus says 'Let him remove the charge (that hangs over the city) by denouncing himself': 'remove and denounce,' or 'remove and (that he may remove) denounce.' In *Thuc.* i. 63, *παρήλθε...βαλλόμενος...ἀποβαλὼν...σώσας*, the relation of *ἀποβαλὼν* and *σώσας* to *παρήλθε* (passed along so as to lose and save) is somewhat obscured by the pres. *βαλλόμενος* coming between, so that we think of *βαλλόμενος ἀπέβαλε* rather than of *ἀποβαλὼν παρήλθε*. In *Odyss.* 5, 374, *αὐτὸς δὲ πρηγὴς ἀλὶ κάππεσε, χεῖρε πετάσας*, the participle qualifies perhaps what is implied in *κάππεσε* rather than *κάππεσε* itself: 'he plunged (and swam) having spread out his hands.' In *Antig.* 200, *φυγὰς καταλθὼν ἠθέλησε μὲν πυρὶ | πρῆσαι*, if, as I think, *καταλθὼν* belongs to *πρῆσαι*, there is again perhaps 'priority of thought,' 'to return (reinstale himself) and therefore burn,' 'return, whatever destruction this might entail on Thebes.' I should explain *λαθὼν ἐποίησε* as 'he did it, without having attracted observation'; and *ἀνίστας τι δρᾶσον*, 'do it, having made some haste.'

R. WHITELAW.

THE name 'instrumental' was not adopted without consideration: I had considered and, for various reasons, rejected 'modal,' 'adverbial,' 'descriptive'; while 'timeless' stands as genus to this species. I was careful to explain that the term was used in reference to the instrumental case, which Mr. Monro (*H.G.* 144) states to have been employed "to express not only the instrument of an action but any attendant object or circumstance; hence it covers the ground of the Datives of 'circumstance,' 'manner' etc; as ἡχη *with noise*...; σιγῇ, σιωπῇ; ἀδοῖ *with reverence*...." So obvious an application of an established case-name is surely unobjectionable: μειδιάσας ἔφη is fairly parallel to such instances as σιγῇ. If a grammarian were to speak of an 'accusative suffix,' this need not suggest, to any one conversant with grammar, 'the case for the plaintiff.'

Mr. Whitelaw seems to misunderstand the purpose of this portion of my paper. It was not my object to *prove* the existence of this non-temporal use: I did not imagine that this needed doing now, though it might have been necessary ten years ago; a view adopted by such a consensus of authorities as Madvig, Prof. Goodwin, and Mr. Monro did not seem to need my support. Had such been my object, I should have omitted some of my examples and inserted many others. My intention was:—(1) to illustrate the *instrumental* character of the participle, *i.e.* the way in which, when not temporal, it describes, when closely combined with another verb, the *character* of the act, or the *means* by which it is produced, not merely its relations in point of time: Prof. Goodwin had already (*M. and T.* 150) seen this, and had similarly limited (too closely if anything) the usage; (2) to show that this usage was not confined to cases where the finite verb denotes past time. Accordingly I felt myself at liberty to quote instances which would not by themselves have been conclusively non-temporal: it will, I think, be generally admitted that where two views are grammatically equally possible, other considerations may be allowed to determine our preference. So, this non-temporal use of the aorist participle being, I conceived, generally recognized, I quoted one or two instances where the participle might be taken as temporal, but where literary probabilities make it virtually certain that it is not.

Thus in *Soph. Ant.* 171 (which I admitted to be doubtful) the force of the passage is greatly increased if we make παῖσαντρες τε καὶ πληγέντες refer to the mutual simul-

taneous deathblow: it would be hardly natural (though physiologically correct) to consider the death as *subsequent* to this: by treating the aorists as descriptive of the *manner* of ὄλοντο the passage gains in naturalness and force, especially in reference to πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν. Prof. Goodwin quotes a similar ex. *Xen. An.* iv. 8. 25. If we consider together εὐξάμενος εἶπεν (in Homer), μειδιάσας ἔφη, γελάσας ἔφη, εἰς τὸ μέσον φθεγγάμενος ἔφη, ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη, κατατίνας λέγω, ἐρῶ (in Plato), ξυνελὼν φαίη (Thuc.), σκώψαντα εἰπεῖν (Xenophon, *Cyr.* I. 3. 8), ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε (N. T.), and observe that in all these cases the participle describes the manner or circumstances of the act, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the part. is instrumental. It *may* of course be ingressive in μειδιάσας ἔφη (or even simply past, 'smiled and then said'), but it is at least noticeable that we get no such ingressives with words of saying (so far as I am aware) as would be δειπνήσας ἔφη = 'said after sitting down to dinner': *i.e.* when not strictly (and obviously) past as in παρελθὼν εἶπε, the aorist participle is always (at least possibly) instrumental: when we observe further that in some of these cases it cannot well be ingressive, it seems more reasonable to consider each and all instrumental. As to παραπταμένη the case is stronger. The admitted cases of the ingressive use are all of entering into a state or condition, where, the verb implying continuous action, the natural and normal tense to denote action in the past is not the aorist but the imperfect. Now this notion of continuity is by no means prominent in πέτομαι (ποτᾶσθαι existing for this sole purpose): nor would it, in any case, be very suitable unless the flight described were continuous: here the word θρώσκει and the prefix παρα- (left untranslated by Mr. Whitelaw) show that Sophocles refers to the movement of the oar through the air between the strokes, a highly discontinuous act, unless each stroke is regarded independently. Moreover the sense 'leaps in its flight past' seems to me better than 'leaps, after beginning its flight past,' which is the plain prose of his charming version. Finally his view violates Prof. Gildersleeve's canon *apud* C. D. Morris on Th. i. 12. 3) that ἔσχον is the only strong aorist used ingressively. (See note on ingressives.) As to δέισασα καθείρπυσεν it is difficult to speak with certainty owing to the absence of a true present: but arguing from the ordinary usage, ἔδισα seems to be used as the aorist to the quasi-present δέδοικα (of which δέιδω is

another form). It cannot be proved to be ingressive unless instances can be found either (1) of the finite verb used ingressively or (2) of the participle, where it cannot be instrumental (such would be *καίπερ δέσας ἐτῆγε τοὺς ἀνδρας*). Here also I consider 'in fear' gives a better sense.

'In a number of other instances adduced the relation is that of cause and effect.' It may be so described and so would come under the heading of instrumental. Mr. Whitelaw however seems to think that this is equivalent to saying that it denotes time past to the main verb. Such a theory of causation is at once upset by such an instance as 'The eclipse was caused by the interposition of the earth' and, for a further discussion, the reader may refer to Mr. W. L. Courtney's excellent 'Chapter in the history of the word "Cause"' in his *Studies in Philosophy*. In none of my instances to which he refers is the participle past to the other verb. Thuc. iii. 22. 5: in ordinary language (as shown by compounds *συμπίπτω*, *προσπίπτω*), *πίπτω*, like the English 'fall,' implies the whole occurrence from start to finish, not merely the movement through the air under the influence of gravitation. Mr. Whitelaw virtually makes Thucydides say 'after falling, it made a noise': after such remarkable conduct on the part of a tile, we do not wonder that *αὐτίκα βοῇ ἦν*. In Eur. *Med.* 1030 the poet does not mean 'was worn out by sufferings after bearing the pangs of childbirth,' but 'in bearing them.' So Plato in *Phaedo* 117 A is not speaking of any advantage to be gained after death, but merely of the gain in a temporary delay: this is clearly shown by the context (in which, by the way, another instance *οἶονται κερδανεῖν ταῦτα ποιήσαντες* occurs): the meaning is 'I gain nothing *by* drinking a little later,' not 'after drinking,' nor 'by having drunk.' Indeed the act described in *πιών* is, if anything, *future* to the main verb. In *βοηθήσατε ἐσβαλόντες* the invasion is not antecedent to the help given, but the form which the help takes. So of the other instances which he criticizes. It is noticeable that the aorist participle does not denote causality when the cause is at once contemporary and not instrumental (= denoting manner or means): thus I have seen no such instances as *βαρεῖα γενομένη, ψόφον ἐποίησε* (because it was heavy).

'Mr. Carter even quotes aor. part. with perf. and pluperf.' The most distinguished perhaps of living grammarians, Prof. Goodwin, 'even' does the same. I presume Mr. Whitelaw's meaning to be that *e.g.* *γέγραφε* =

he is the author, so that *τούτοις παραδόναι γέγραφε τὸ ἱερὸν γράψας τοῖς Ἀμφικτύουσιν παραδόναι* will mean 'He is the author of a motion to hand them over to these men, having moved to hand them over to the Amphictyons'; *i.e.* *γράφας* is temporal denoting time past to the state implied by the perfect. On the ordinary view such a use is quite possible; but I believe it to be nevertheless contrary to the normal (if not the invariable) Greek usage, in accordance with which indications of time refer to the time of the *act* not the *state*: see note on the Gk. perfect in connexion with indications of time. Even on the ordinary view, the meaning of Demosthenes (that the decree giving control to the Amphictyons is virtually identical with one handing over the affair to the Thessalians and Thebans) is brought out far more fully by the translation 'in moving.' So, even on the ordinary view, 'in flight,' *by* putting an end to, give a better sense. If however the view above-stated be correct, these instances where we have the same verb twice, referring to the same act, form the strongest possible cases of the instrumental aorist. A similar instance (of two aorists) is probably to be found in Plat. *Rep.* 334. E. *κινδυνεύομεν . . . θέσθαι πῶς θέμενοι*; but here it is possible to take *θέμενοι* as qualifying *κινδυνεύομεν*.

I did not quote *Gorg.* 60. C, because it has already been quoted both by Madvig and Prof. Goodwin. Mr. Whitelaw's suggestions are three:—(1) That the aorist participle may represent an absolute past: this is, as far as I know, contrary to all the teaching of all grammarians, and would lead, if we extend the principle to the genitive absolute, to such sentences as *ἐξελθόντος ἐμοῦ, εἰσῆλθεν* in the sense 'as I went out, he came in': *quod est absurdum*. (2) That the part. may be timeless: of course it is, and instrumental, 'in reminding me.' A parallel where the aorist cannot be an absolute past is Eur. *Or.* 104 (which I quoted). He quotes *φημι τελευτηθῆναι ἅπαντα* in illustration: except that both are timeless there is little parallelism. One is Homeric, the other Attic: one is governed by the verb, the other adverbial to it. I had quoted it in illustration of the Homeric supplementary participle with *ὁρῶ*. Does Mr. Whitelaw mean that *τελευτηθῆναι* has had a past sense and lost it for the nonce? A simpler explanation is possible: *τελευτηθῆναι* is here used 'substantivally,' a survival of the old and original timeless use of aorist infinitive. Such constructions gradually became impossible owing to (a) the growth of the

accusative and infinitive construction, in accordance with which an aorist infinitive after *φημι* was regarded as necessarily being the *orat. obliq.* representative of aorist indicative in *orat. recta*; (b) the post-Homeric uses of the article with the infinitive. The sense is 'I state the accomplishment,' this being as a matter of fact future. (3) That there is 'priority, at least in thought: "you reminded me, and so established a claim on my gratitude."' But εἰ ποιεῖν = to confer a benefit, not establish a claim. So that the participle cannot here express priority in time: it does express the manner, or means, or, if Mr. Whitelaw prefers it, the cause: but neither is it *past*, nor can one see how the Greeks came to use what was originally (on his view) a past tense to express contemporary causation. He next quotes Soph. O. T. 707: this is also instrumental: only by a natural extension the tense is used to represent not the *manner* of the act, but the *spirit* in which it is done. On Mr. Whitelaw's view we have here too 'priority of thought.' This seems to mean either (i.) past time (ii.) causality or (iii.) the prominence of an idea in the writer's mind, the feeling of superior essentialness or importance. Mr. Whitelaw evidently does not mean here (i.) or (ii.). But how can *prominence* be expressed by a past tense? Greek has various ways of expressing prominence of an idea: choice of words, order of words, particles, in some cases perhaps variety of mood. But a past tense is a strange device; above all where, as in these cases, this involves placing the prominent thought in a subordinate relation. Virgil of course places *moriāmur* at the head of his sentence, because that is the prominent and central idea: but he could not have said *mortui in media arma ruamus*. In O. T. 227 I fully concur in maintaining the MS. reading: σημαίντω is better than μὴ σιωπάτω as the phrase to be supplied, both because it is more natural after σημαίνειν in 226, and because it avoids the awkwardness of the participle qualifying μὴ-σιωπάτω instead of σιωπάτω. As to ἐπεξελόν, it is instrumental; 'in removing the charge' (again almost an instance of the *spirit* rather than the strict *manner*) 'let him denounce himself': not unlike ἡλθ' ἀποτισάμενος which I quoted. In Thuc. i. 63. 1 I believe the participles ἀποβαλόν and σώσας to be *past* to the achievement viewed as a whole (as the tense suggests the meaning to be, if it does not positively imply it): βαλλόμενος is then to be taken as *imperfect* participle: 'he got past, having been exposed to a

continual fire of missiles..., having lost....' In ε 374 I think the aorist is again *past*: I do not take it of the motion of swimming, but of stretching out his hands for the *dive*. In Antig. 200 the aorist is *past* to πρῆσαι, though not to ἠθέλησε: κατελθὼν is used not in the technical sense of *restoration*, but in that of simple *return*: the famous passage Ar. Ran. 1128, if we read between the lines, shows that κατέρχομαι was not in *Tragedy* a technical term.

If λαθὼν ἐποίησε means 'did it without having attracted observation' what does ἔλαβε ποιήσας mean? As to ἀνίσσας, the word does not mean 'make haste,' but 'accomplish': 'do something after accomplishing it' is not good sense: the meaning is 'do, in accomplishing,' 'do and get it done.'

It is just in these common instances that Mr. Whitelaw's view most obviously breaks down. No difference in meaning exists between ἔφθασε δράσας and φθάσας ἔδρασε, and a very slight difference (if any) in point of view. The Homeric νεῖσε καλέσας, the Attic ἐτυχε...ἐλθὼν, and the Hellenistic ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπε can none of them be explained as either ingressive or causal: and 'priority of thought' has nothing to do with a past tense. A word on the general probabilities. It will be observed that Mr. Whitelaw's view is briefly this: the aorist participle originally denoted past time; it then came to denote causality whether this be past or not; and (when none of these views are possible) it denotes 'priority of thought,' and so may denote effect: a very Proteus of a participle. No one would argue thus εἰ μὴ θέσιν διαφυλάττων: his thesis is the 'priority' of the aorist participle by hook or crook. But (1) There is no philological reason (so I am assured by Mr. Cookson, who can speak with authority on this point) for believing that the aorist participle originally expressed *past* time. (2) The analogy of the usage of the aorist infinitive, and almost the existence of an aorist imperative, points to the same conclusion. Thus βούλεται ἐλθεῖν cannot plausibly be explained on his hypothesis of priority. In fact the past sense was originally due to the augment. (3) His view does not explain why the non-temporal (or not obviously temporal) aorist is practically confined, in its adverbial use, to cases where the subject is the same as that of the main verb. If we suppose, on the other hand, that the aorist participle was originally quite timeless and denoted a *qualitative* connexion between the acts implied by the

two verbs, it is obvious that this could only commonly exist where the subjects were the same: the principle thus established, analogy would make the rule virtually absolute, as we find it to be. It is probable that the growth of the genitive absolute, as a formula for an independent statement, had a good deal to do with the tendency to treat the aorist participle as a past tense: even the complete disappearance of the corresponding aorist-present (except εἰμί, εἶμι, φημί) could not effect this in the case of the infinitive: but in that of the participle its effect has been to make the normal instances of the instrumental aorist, as I have said, occur either in past time or in comb on with another aorist.

FRANK CARTER.

I take this opportunity of adding to the instances of the substantival aorist (p. 5. (2)) Dem. xviii. (*De Cor.*) 285 (320) παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ ξυμβάντα, and to those illustrating the *absolute past* use of the attributive aorist (p. 3.) Ev. Matth. x. 4, ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτόν.

Note 1.—On the Ingressive Aorist. Prof. Gildersleeve in a note inserted in C. D. Morris's edition of Thuc. I. says on ἔσχον (c. 12. 3): "This is the only *second aorist* which appears to be used ingressively, the present which is 'process' of holding connoting 'state'." Prof. Goodwin (who does not use the word ingressive) says (*M. and T.*): "The Aorist of verbs which denote a *state* or *condition* generally expresses the entrance into that state or condition." There is no inconsistency between these views, and the great mass of ingressives are from denominative verbs in -εά, εὔω which necessarily fulfil both conditions. The apparent exceptions to Prof. Gildersleeve's canon disappear on close examination. Thus ἔγνων is aorist of γινώσκω = yet to know, not know simply: ἐφάνη (as in Dem. xviii. 308) is similarly aorist of φαίνομαι = come into sight (like English 'appear'), as shown by the Homeric ἡοὶ φαινομένην I 618. So εἶδον means 'I had a look at,' and so ἡσθόμην. It may be doubted whether even ἔσχον is a certain case; Thuc. i. 12. 3 Δωριῆς τε ὀδοηκδοστῶ εἰτε ἐν Ἡρακλείδαις Πελοπόννησον ἔσχον may mean 'With the help of the Heracleidae they had Peloponnese'; the aorist expressing simply no wish to emphasize continuity of possession.¹ I am inclined to think (considering how doubtful are many of the examples) that possibly the usage may be confined within even narrower limits; that perhaps the ingressive aorist is only possible where the verb is derived from, or closely allied to, some noun denoting the corresponding condition. ἡράσθη is doubtful: it is usually quoted as ingressive, but on the other hand it may simply mean that the act of loving is regarded as concentrated in a single moment; cf. Marlowe's 'Whoever loved, that loved not at first sight?' I

¹ So perhaps also Pind. *Ol.* ii. 10 (16), Pyth. i. 65 (125). It is true that in all these cases the meaning of the verb, aided by differentiation from the imperfect, would naturally lead to the ingressive sense of the aorist. But are there any instances of σχών = καταλαβών?

am led to suggest with a good deal of hesitation the above limitation by the case of *δυνήθεντες* (quoted by Krüger from Demosthenes), in the sense of 'having obtained power (*δύναμις*)': surely it could not have been used in the sense of 'having become able to do so.'

Note 2.—The use of the Greek Perfect in connexion with indications of time. *When a temporal adverb, or its equivalent, is used with the perfect or pluperfect, it refers to the time of the act; except where the perfect has no corresponding present in use.*

The following examples are from Demosthenes, *De Corona* and c. *Milicam* :—

(1.) Certain cases :—

(i.) xviii. (*De Cor.*) 114. Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν...πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται. Here the whole weight of D.'s argument rests on the fact that Nausicles had received his crown *during his term of office*: and this forbids us to take the participle as imperfect.

(ii.) Immediately below, as part of the same argument, we have Νεοπτόλεμος—ἐπιστάτης ὢν—τετιμῆται.

(iii.) C. *Mil.* (xxi.) 181. οὔτε γὰρ πομπεύων...παρεδρεύων...ἔχων...τοιαῦτα πεποίηκεν (where the participles are similarly precluded by the argument from being imperfect).

(iv.) xviii. (*De Cor.*) 120. μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρύχθαι, where 'are a thousand times over those honoured with a proclamation' is not happy, even if the meaning were 'a thousand times each,' which it is not.

(v.) xviii. 130. ὃς γὰρ ποτε—ὃς γὰρ λέγω; χθές μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόην ἂμ' Ἀθηναίους καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονεν.

(vi.) xviii. 291. τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε, which obviously does not mean the 'results of that epoch,' but the 'events.'

(vii.) xviii. 298. ῥέπων...συμβεβούλευκα, where again the present sense of participle is 'protected' by the argument.

(viii.) xviii. 314, 319. τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων : 317. τοῖς πρότερον γεγενημένοις.

(2.) Probable cases :—

(ix.) xviii. 125. τῷ κεκρίσθαι πολλάκις πρότερον.

(x.) xviii. 257. ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανώσθαι.

(xi.) xviii. 263. ἐν οἷς ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν...ῥῶμαι.

(xii.) xviii. 322. οὐκ ἐξαίτουμένος...προεδέωκα (where the argument makes it virtually certain that the part. is present).

(3.) Open Cases :—

(xiii.) xxi. 175. τί πεποιηκότες...τίνος ὀργῆς τετυχέκασι.

(xiv.) xviii. 310. σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε. The acts of Aeschines were previous to the result which accrued, not merely previous to the state in which Athens was when Demosthenes spoke.

It is an interesting question how far this rule (to which I have not been able to find any exceptions) should modify our usual ideas about the perfect. My own opinion is that it should, if further research (which I hope to give) should demonstrate it conclusively. We should substitute for the notion of a 'state' that of an 'act with a permanent result,' such result lasting down to present time in the case of the perfect, down to some past time indicated by the context in that of the pluperfect. This will suit the use of the perf. infin. after δεῖ, etc. much better. [It remains however quite distinct from the English perfect, which represents simply a past act viewed from a present standpoint. Thus 'I have never seen' = οὐπώποτε εἶδον; 'I have already struck you' = ἤδη πάταξα (*Ar. Frogs* 645).] The sequence of the subj. is not to be viewed as having

reference to this result, instead of the act itself. Nor is it to be considered as 'vivid,' as this explanation fails to account for the *invariable* character of this sequence. It is rather an example of the use (which is older than the vivid use, being found frequently in Homer) of the subjunctive after a past tense where 'the action expressed by the subordinate clause is still future at the time of speaking.'—(Monro, *H. G.* 298 (2)). Where a verb has no present in use, the rule does not seem to apply, apparently because no *act* is called to mind, and the result is simply stated: thus *πρότερον οἶδα* would not, I think, be possible Greek. So with *ἤμαι, κείμαι* and their compounds, *e.g.* Dem. xxi. 206. *καθῆτ' Εὐβουλος... ὅθ' ὁ δῆμος κατεχειροτόνησε*. On the other

hand when a perfect (or pluperfect) from a present in use is to be used with an indication of time referring to the *state* not the *act*, periphrasis must be employed, *e.g.* Dem. xviii. 23 *ἦν πρεσβεία ἀπεσταλμένη τότε* = was then sent on a mission: *ἀπέσταλτο* would mean had at that time been sent and was away. Prof. Goodwin (*M. and T.* 45) has anticipated this distinction to some extent, but does not connect the employment of periphrasis in the passage with the mark of time, which here necessitates the periphrastic form. This rule is important and has, I believe, escaped notice hitherto, probably owing to the difficulty of representing the Greek perfect in English translation.

NOTES ON SONANT Z (ζ).

THURNEYSSEN's theory (*K.Z.* xxx. 351 *sqq.*) that a sonant z (ζ) existed in I.E. beside conson. z is admitted by Brugmann (*G. Gr.*² p. 64) to be 'not without probability.' Some further instances may perhaps be added to Thurneysen's list, and there are one or two points which need discussion.

The following seem fairly certain:—

1. *κρίβανος*. Lat. *carbo* (**carz*bon-), I.E. **kr̥z*b- and **k̑z*b- the double form being due to sentence-accent; for loss of z cf. *hordeum* (*Grdr.* i. § 594); -*rz*b- → -*rb*- like -*rz*d- → *rd*.

2. *σκάριφος*. Lat. *scribere*, Umbr. *screih*-tor, Osc. *scriftu*, O.H.G. *screvon* 'incise,' *ščerbina*, 'cleft,' 'crack' (Bersu *die Gutturalf.* p. 172, Van.² p. 316) beside *σκάριφον* 'a splinter,' and *κάρφος*, *κάρφω*, Lith. *skrepti* 'dry,' pres. *skrebiu* (Brug. *Grdr.* i. p. 405), assuming that from I.E. root = 'dry' came a noun = 'dry straw,' 'stalks,' 'chips' (cf. *κάρφος*) and thence a new verb = 'to use dry stalks' *e.g.* *papyrus*, 'to write.' (On this cf. *Encycl. Brit.* Art. 'Alphabet,' 'Book,' *βύβλος* (whence *βιβλία*), Lat. *liber*, *codex*, A.S. *hoc* &c.) The meaning of the O.H.G. apparently comes from the idea of splitting through dryness. So we have the following equivalents:—

I.E.	{ * <i>s</i> ker	Tfst. * <i>s</i> k̑r	-bh- <i>i</i> ó-	<i>σκάριφον</i>
	{ <i>Grdr.</i> i. § 589. 3.			
I.E.	{ * <i>k</i> er	* <i>k̑</i> r	-bh- <i>és</i> -	<i>κάρφος</i>
	{ * <i>s</i> ker-s ⁻¹	* <i>s</i> k̑r	- <i>z</i> -bh- <i>ó</i> -	<i>σκάριφος</i>
				Lat. <i>scribere</i> .

Ugr. would show **sk̑r̥*φος which passed to *σκάριφος* by Anaptyxis: *scribere* seems to show that in Italic *z* passed to *ī* probably before *zbh* → *sp* if Brugmann's law (*Grdr.* i. § 594) holds good: thus Uralt. **scr̥z*bh- → **scribh*- → *scrib*-.

3. *παρίχος*. Skr. *tr̥ṣyati*, Goth. *þaurs-jan*, Lat. *tostus* (**torstus*) (Stolz *L. Gr.*² pp. 311, 367), also O. Ir. *tart* (**tarst*), beside *παρχύω* and *τέρσομαι*, I.E. **tr̥z*-*gh*- and **tr̥*-*gh*-. Ugr. **tr̥*ίχος passed to **παρίχος* by Anaptyxis (Brug. *G. Gr.*² § 29). For root-determ. -s- cf. *σκάριφος* note 1.

4. *φρίξ* *πέφρικα* *φρίσσω* *φρίκη* &c. Skr. *bhr̥ṣ*-*tiṣ* 'point,' *hr̥ṣ*ta 'excited,' Lat. *fastigium*, **farst*-, (*r*), *frīgus*, I.E. **bha**rs (Brug. *Grdr.* i. § 595). Tfst. *bhr̥z*-*ḡ*, **bh̑*-*s*-*t*- (*s*- probably root determinative). The *κ* in Gk. probably arose in *φρίξ* **φρίγος*, which through the identity of the nom. sg. and dat. plur. would follow the analogy of noun stems with final breathed guttural, whence *φρικός* (cf. *ὄρνυξ*, *ὄρνυκος*, *ὄρνυγος*, and for confusion of *κ* and *γ* in such stems Osthoff *Perf.* 311, 619 *sq.*, *M.U.v.* p. 67, Brugmann *Grdr.* ii. § 86 p. 243, § 130 *anm.* p. 385). *φρικτός* and *φριξα* would help the confusion. This seems simpler than the assumption of a double form of the root (Fick and Leo Meyer, quoted *M.U.v.* p. 63), while Osthoff's Lat. **fric*-us takes no account of the Skr. cognate or the Lat. **farstigium* and the confusion of gutturals in Gk. seems at least as probable as their confusion in Latin (cf. generally *M.U.v.* 62 *sqq.*).

¹ For the root determinative -s- cf. Brug. *Grdr.* ii. § 8 *Anm.* 2 and -s-lo- *ib.* p. 186.

5. χῖλος. Skr. ghas 'eat,' Zd. gaūh. I.E. *ghzłó.¹

6. βδέω. I.E. *bzd- Czech. bzdeti¹ (Brug. *Grdr.* i. §§ 334, 594, 597) seems to show that *z* disappeared in Gk. between two voiced mediae the second of which was *δ*.²

The following words may perhaps be added :—

7. βριθός. cf. βρύς, Skr. gur-ú-ṣ : I.E. *gūr-ús ; may possibly be analysed βρ-ιθ-ός I.E. gr-*z*-dh-ú- (for root determ. -s- and -dh- cf. Brug. *Grdr.* ii. p. 20). But since according to Thurneysen's rule *z* after labials passed to *ṽ*, we should expect *βριθός. Probably Urgr. *g^u passed to *β* later than the law requiring *z* $\rightsquigarrow$ *ṽ* after labials or the change *ṽ* $\rightsquigarrow$ *ι* may be compared to that in πένυτος, φέρυ (Brug. *G. Gr.*² § 60).

Nom. Zd. nemé Skr. sádas

Instr. Zd. avébis, aḡébis Skr. sádobhiṣ Pali. manebhi (sádēbhiṣ)

1. Arisch.

From the parallel forms of the -er- and -en- stems, e.g. Skr. dhātṛbhiṣ rājabhiṣ and from the weak forms of the sing. (cf. Brug. *Grdr.* ii. p. 388), we should expect weak forms in the instr. and dat. plur. of the -es- stems, i.e. I.E. nom. sg. *āg-os, instr. plur. *ag-*z*-bhi(s). Now if, as seems clear, the original Arisch form was -ēbhis, this might well represent I.E. *z*. cf. Skr. ēdhi = **z*di &c.

2. Greek.

The original weak forms of the instr. plur. of the -es- stems are entirely lost.

3. Latin.

sēdibus is generally explained as coming from *sedesbos or more correctly *sedezbos ; but from *-ezbh^h (if we may so represent the ground-form,³ cf. V. Henry *Grammaire*, p.

8. ῥίς ῥῶνός and ? ῥίον. Lith. virsz-ús, O.C.Sl. vrích-u cf. Lat. verruca (versuca) I.E. root *uer-s- (Brug. *Grdr.* i. § 588, ii. p. 299, G. Meyer² § 29.), Urgr. *Fp^z-v-ós $\rightsquigarrow$ *Fp^h-v-ós $\rightsquigarrow$ ῥῶνός. It seems impossible to separate the two words (but cf. G. Meyer² § 163 ῥίς) though the *ι* in ῥίον can hardly be for *ι* (*ῥίον). At any rate G. Meyer's explanation (§ 29) is unsatisfactory.

9. The instr. plur. of -es- stems (Bloomfield *A. J. P.* iii. 25 sqq., Osthoff *Perf.* 36 sqq., Stolz *L. Gr.*² pp. 344, 345. R. Seymour Conway *Verner's Law in Italy*, App. B). Accepting Bloomfield's view that the original form of the instr. plur. of -es- stems in Arisch had a non-diphthongal -e- we have the following parallels :—

Gk. ἔδος Lat. *sedos $\rightsquigarrow$ sēdēs
Gk. ἔδεσφι Lat. sēdibus.

229. J. S. Voc. i. 100) we should expect -esp^h (Brug. *Grdr.* i. § 594). Now the probable I.E. paradigm and the weak forms of the instr. plur. in Arisch⁴ point to a pro-ethnic Italic *sed-*z*-bh^h which would become *sēdibus (cf. scribere) ; *sēdibus $\rightsquigarrow$ *sēdibus by the analogy of the perf. sēdī, and sēdibus would pass to sēdibus by the analogy of civibus &c. probably helped by the expiratory accent in Latin (Brug. *Grdr.* i. § 680, Stolz *L. Gr.*² § 73. 2). sēdibus was the starting point for the passing of -es- nouns to -i- nouns (Stolz *L. Gr.*² p. 326).⁵

From Thurneysen's list frīo fricare frīvolus must probably be removed (cf. Osthoff. *M.U.v.* 107 sqq.) and connected with a root mrī, but of the several other explanations given for trīvi τριβω none seem so convincing as *I.E. trzgo. (cf. Stolz *L. Gr.*² p. 285. and p. 871 (Hoffmann's), also *M.U.v.* p. 111 (Osthoff's). Otherwise the list seems fairly well established : but it may be remarked

⁴ Cf. also Umbr. fratus (? fratfs) karnus (? karnfs). Lindsay, *Classical Review*, ii. p. 277.

⁵ The nom. sg. -ēs appears to have arisen in pro-ethnic Italic from adjectives in -ēs by the proportion e.g. *pub-*z*-bhjos : pub-ēs = *sed-*z*-bhjos : sēdēs. Such an explanation would at any rate avoid the assumption of an I.E. fem. noun in -ēs (Brug. *Grdr.* ii. p. 397 Anm.) for which there is no evidence outside Italic.

¹ Velar *g* is printed *g* in italic type.

² Mr. Darbishire remarks that Lat. pēdo shows an I.E. p- and that there is no law that *z* would voice a preceding breathed consonant ; but even assuming an I.E. p- in such forms as vowel + -bzd + vowel, *z* can be pronounced as a consonant and would then voice the preceding breathed consonant, hence b- would spread by analogy to forms where *z* was of necessity pronounced as a sonant.

³ Mr. Conway points out to me that the old Oscan form of dat. plur. luisarifs (Büch. *Rh. Mus.* 114 (1889) p. 328), where -fs = original *-bh^hss, gives an additional proof of pro-ethnic Ital. *-bh^hss as dat.-abl. instr. plur. suffix.

that Thurneysen does not explain the apparent irregularity in *horzdeum and *torstus beside scribere trivi &c. It appears to be a question of Satzsandhi.

I.E. sā ḡhrzdhā tód ḡhrzdejom

κπιθή *horzdeum

Similarly *τπιχη *torstus.

After vowel-ending words the pronunciation of *ḡhrzdh- for instance was easy enough, but the impossible combination *dḡhrzdh- was avoided by simple expedient of pronouncing the r as a sonant and z as a consonant, i.e. -dḡhrzdh-.

Physiologically, it is easy to understand the passing of z $\rightsquigarrow$ ī or ū. The voiced sibilant owes its sibilance to the voice being directed on to the teeth, not by the tip but by the blade of the tongue (Sweet *Hdbk.* p. 39). The sibilants in Gk. and Lat. appear to have had but a weak hiss and this when unaccented (especially between consonants) would tend to become weaker. In the case of z the blade of the tongue falling a little from the z position and the voice being allowed free exit, the vocal organs would be just in position for producing a close high front un-

rounded vowel ī (Gk. and Lat.) or after labials for an open high front rounded vowel ū (Gk.)

It may be helpful also to notice how closely the phenomena of z are paralleled by those of ŋ in Skr. Gk. and Lat.

Thus before consonants :—

Weak forms. I.E. ŋ- : z- *Strong forms.* en- : es-

Skr. a- : ē- an- : as-

Gk. a- : ī-(ū) en- : es-

Lat. en- : ī- en- : es-

These facts together with the phenomena in the examples given by Thurneysen and those suggested above seem fairly to prove the existence of z in I.E. It may also be urged that in no other way can the occurrence of τ or ū in Gk. and Lat. beside a voiced s or a sound giving evidence of an original s be adequately explained. For example in κπιθή if -ρτ- represents I.E. r the τ is inexplicable, if it represents I.E. -rz- $\rightsquigarrow$ -ρσ- before θ we should expect *κρασθή. So a *κρσφος would become *κρασσος *κρασος (cf. *ισφος ἴσσος ἴσος).

F. G. PLAISTOWE.

CAMPBELL'S AESCHYLUS.

Aeschylus. The Seven Plays in English Verse.

By LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.) 7s. 6d.

A DISTINGUISHED scholar in a recent review in these columns of Dr. Verrall's version of the *Ion* turned impatiently from the question of its merits as a translation, a mere matter of taste, to the more solid ground of the value of the four or five emendations in the text to which Dr. Verrall had called attention in his preface. It seems a hard saying that the *Classical Review* should refuse to interest itself in the guise in which a Greek author is presented to English readers, and yet in face of the license which must necessarily be accorded to a translator in verse, especially in rhymed verse, profitable criticism certainly becomes difficult. Perhaps the best way to avoid beating the air is to proceed at first by in-

stances. The description of the onset at Salamis (*Persae* 386-407) brings out all the best qualities of Prof. Campbell's blank verse:

But when fair day with milk-white steeds
appeared

And covered all the land with gladdening
rays,

Then rose from that Greek armament a
song

Both loud and musical, and the island
rocks

Re-echoed, shouting battle. *On our side*

Fell disappointment, wonder and dismay,

Shattering the general hope. Not as for
flight

Pealed forth the Hellenes that high Paean-
hymn,

But with good courage rallying to the
fray.

All yonder side blazed with the trumpet's
blare.

Then with one impulse, at the pilot's
word,
All oars were dipped and smote the seeth-
ing brine,
And swiftly their whole battle hove in
view.
Their right wing in good order led the
way,
Then all their navy followed: then one
heard
A cry that grew: 'Sons of Hellenes, on!
Save Hellas, save your children, save your
wives,
Your fathers' graves, the temples of their
gods,
From slavery! Fight to defend your
all!'
Then from a sea of Persian voices roared
The counter clamour. For the hour was
come.

This is good poetry: it is also a faithful rendering both of the letter and of the spirit of the original. In the two lines italicized we note an instance of legitimate expansion—the obtaining a similar effect in a slightly different way; we note, too, the wise refusal to attempt to reproduce the Persian messenger's use of *βαρβαροι* for his own countrymen, a probably unconscious Hellenism on the part of Aeschylus which could not be transferred to an English version without exaggeration.

The *Persae* has given us a good example of Prof. Campbell's blank verse; we may turn to the *Agamemnon* for a specimen of his lyrics and take a passage which has proved a stumbling block to many translators, the opening of the third great chorus (ll. 681-699).

Who gave the ill-omened name,
So fraught with terror for the time to be,
So true to her career of blame?
War - won, war - wed, war - wakening
Helenè?
Was he some prophet-spirit unknown to
fame,
With pure presentiment
Fore-speaking Time's event?
The name of Helen tells of ships aflame,
Of souls to Hades sent,
Of countries ravaged, cities overthrown.
From out the delicately curtained
bower,
Borne by the West-wind's earthborn
power,
In Paris' nimble galley forth she went,
And when they touched on Simois'
shore,

With cythus and myrtle overgrown,
A many-shielded pack
Following the viewless track
Of their swift oar,
Came bent on slaughterous feud and fierce
arbitrament.

'Career of blame' is not very happy, but this passage also is good poetry: and if it be no longer a faithful translation, it is at least a faithful paraphrase. 'Paris' nimble galley' is not written down in the original, but it is part of the picture which the original calls up, and thus the expansion of *ἔπλευσε* imports no fresh idea.

Thus far Prof. Campbell has been shown at his best. Lines such as

Into one vessel pouring oil and vinegar
You will not see them lovingly combine

suffice to prove that under stress of a prosaic metaphor his blank verse will halt at times, and to render *αἶλινον αἶλινον εἰπὲρ τὸ δ'εὖ νικάτω* by

Then be your burden sad with sounds of
wail,
But let the happier note prevail!

is to fall far below the concise simplicity of Conington's

Sing sorrow, sing sorrow, but triumph the
good!

Again the translator's failure in the beautiful lines *Agam.* 432-436 is surely absolute. They are rendered:

And now the soul of friends is sore
To think whom they shall see no more.
Whom they sent forth they know,
But to their bitter woe,
No well-loved form, but urns of crumb-
ling earth
Return to each man's natal hearth.

The italicized padding is terribly weak and the final couplet is only worthy of an eighteenth-century translator, in whom its phrases 'well-loved form' and 'natal hearth' and the ambiguous meaning of 'urns of crumbling earth' (which suggests urns made of clay) would be quite natural.

The comparative length of our different quotations gives a fair idea of the merits and demerits of Prof. Campbell's translation, which often exhibits a sustained excellence, while its lapses are brief and infre-

quent. Certainly no one of the four previously existing translations of the seven tragedies possesses nearly so great merits, nor even in the *Prometheus Vincetus* (though perhaps the play in which he succeeds least) and the *Agamemnon* has Prof. Campbell any reason to shrink from comparison with the fifteen and twenty competitors who

here confront him. He is never pedantic, never pompous, rarely tame; the general level of his verse is high, and he possesses the happy capacity of combining, throughout long passages, an admirable fidelity to his author with a freedom and charm which are not often found in translated verse.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

DAKYNS' TRANSLATION OF XENOPHON.

The Works of Xenophon, translated by H. G. DAKYNS, M.A. in four volumes. Vol. I. Books i. and ii. of the *Hellenica*, and *Anabasis*. Macmillan and Co. 10s. 6d.

THIS is the first of four volumes in which Mr. Dakyns proposes to publish a translation of the entire works of Xenophon. It will, if continued with the same accuracy and care as the first volume, be a work of great utility, and will reflect credit on the enterprise of author and publisher alike. It is excellently printed, convenient in size, and furnished with good maps. Mr. Dakyns has brought to his task the high recommendation of enthusiasm for his subject, and great diligence in studying and digesting all that has been written upon and can be known of his author. The volume begins with about fifty pages of what he calls 'Notes,' in which he discusses the sources of the Life of Xenophon, the age of Xenophon himself, the composition and connexion of the *Hellenica* with the other works. He holds that the *Hellenica* consists of three parts 'composed under different moral and physical circumstances, the impress of which they bear, and at different periods of the author's life.' As to Xenophon's birth-year he rejects the story of his presence at the battle of Delium B.C. 424, which would imply that he was twenty (or rather twenty-one according to the newly found treatise of Aristotle), and infers from various considerations that he was born about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. As to the *Anabasis* and the curious question of the production of an earlier one by the mysterious Themistogenes, his 'own impression is that Themistogenes, whose personality seems to be established, brought out the original edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis* or a portion of it; possibly the first four books only. Possibly Xenophon preferred to publish the work in the first instance in this manner, as it were anonymously—because it was so full

of personal matter.' These are some of Mr. Dakyns' judgments on disputed points in regard to Xenophon. The conclusions in them and others are not exactly novel; but they are put well and with full consideration of other theories. The 'Life' which occupies about eighty pages more is interesting and teems with evidence of careful work on all points of doubt, of which the elaborate notes on pp. xcix—ci. dealing with the questions of Xenophon's marriage and exile are conspicuous instances. If it is not ungrateful to criticise a work of so much care and genuine love of its subject, one would be inclined to find fault with it on the score of fancifulness. Mr. Dakyns will often fill a page with conjectures and imaginary details of what Xenophon was doing or thinking at a particular time, which we feel to be charming, but sometimes fail to recognise as business. In the same way some of his literary criticisms are apt to appear high-flown or Boswellian in their extra-appreciation; for instance (p. cxxvii.):—

'It is to Xenophon that we owe the truly fine phrase "They magnify themselves on their lowliness"—τῷ ταπεινῷ εἶναι μεγαλύνονται—which has the very ring of a magnificat.'

As to the translation itself, which of course is the main point of the book, it is possible to give it very sincere praise, and yet to note some points in which one is inclined to be critical. The problem which a translator has to solve is how to give the exact meaning of an ancient author, observing the modifying effect of particles, tenses, moods, and order of words, and yet to produce sentences which may strike an English ear as not wholly unlike those of a good English writer. Mr. Dakyns recognises the difficulty: he means to give up trying to represent the particles, and sets before himself two models—for the simpler parts of Xenophon the language of the English Gospels, for the more pretentious parts the style of modern journalism (p. ix.). For myself I

believe that a conscious imitation of any model, good or bad, is a mistake; and that a translator should write the best style he can command, but his own. And it seems to the present writer that Mr. Dakyns has sometimes failed to make his translation pleasing precisely because he was not writing naturally, but was conforming to some imaginary model of style, and has only succeeded in being somewhat artificial. For instance, p. 1. ὥς ἦνοιγε is translated 'as he shook himself free of the narrows.' And in the whole of the difficult passage, *Hell.* 1, 4, 13—17, giving an account of the various comments made on the career of Alcibiades by the Athenians, the translation is certainly skilful: 'He had been the victim of plots, hatched in the brains of people less able than himself, however much they might excel in pestilent speech.' But 'hatched in the brain' seems to smack of 'modern journalism' and has nothing in the Greek (ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλλαντων ἐκείνου δυναμένων) to account for it: while the 'however much' seems a doubtful turn to give to the participle μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων. Again p. 36 [*Hell.* 1, 7, 32] of the generals at Arginusae τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου 'There are witnesses ready to attest the truth of this: the men who escaped as by a miracle.' Is not 'as by a miracle' an unnecessary modernism, and besides misleading? The point seems to be that such persons were saved without the intervention of the ships sent to pick them up. In the same page too Xenophon says of the assembly, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου. Mr. Dakyns' 'at the show of hands the tellers gave the majority in favour of Euryptolemus' amendment' is quite a journalistic amplification of 'they voted' or 'they passed.' The same word ἔκριναν is rendered three lines below 'the verdict was in favour of.' Again p. 61 (*Hell.* 2, 3, 53), ἡμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες καλοὶ καγαθοὶ, θαυμάζω εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς—'yet I do marvel, good sirs and honest gentlemen, for

so you are, that you will not help yourselves.' The introduction of the words italicised does not appear to help out the sense, and has an air of artificiality not pleasing. More serious is the question on p. 62 whether 'seeing the companions of Satyrus at the bar' can be held to represent ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ. These instances are from the *Hellenica*. Turning to the *Anabasis*, p. 110 (*An.* 1, 9, 5) 'aptest of learners' does not well represent φιλομαθέστων. Nor was it necessary to interpolate 'he would tell lies to no one,' as though Xenophon were making a general statement of Cyrus' character instead of confining it to a particular sphere of action, *i.e.* his dealings with parties to a treaty. In the same page 'to outdo his friends and his foes alike in reciprocity of conduct' is a strange and very ugly phrase. Once more, on p. 205 (*Anab.* 4, 8, 11), ἔπειτα ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγων, περιττεύουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι—'again if we advance several deep, the enemy will none the less overlap us.' Surely they would do so all the more, for the line would be shorter the deeper it was. The introduction of 'none the less' gives exactly the wrong sense.

Such and some more of the same nature, generally in the direction of amplification and rather elaborate style, are the defects which have struck me in Mr. Dakyns' translation. I am glad to have done with them, and to have come to the point where it is proper to congratulate him on a sound and interesting piece of work, which it is exceedingly desirable should be brought as soon as possible to completion. The question whether it was wise to interpolate the *Anabasis* between Books I. and II. of the *Hellenica* and the other books is not one of great importance. It is good in so far as it presents the reader with a certain consecutiveness in history; it would perhaps for some purposes have been more convenient to follow the ordinary arrangement of the Greek Texts. E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

ARISTOPHANES.

De Praepositionum usu Aristophaneo. Scripsit SERGIUS SOBOLEWSKI. Mosquae. Typis Universitatis Caesariae. 1890. pp. vi., 229. [Index and table of statistics separate.]

To those who are jaded with the statistics offered by the ordinary 'programm' and

academical dissertation this contribution to historical syntax should come as a welcome relief. The author has succeeded in making his work something more than an ingenious exercise in arithmetic. He has, in the first place, appended a short argument upon various readings to all the examples in which any textual question arises, and he has also

shown how strictly Aristophanes follows, in an important branch of syntax, the usage of Attic prose. In fact, it appears that Aristophanes is as strict in the use of prepositions as the orators themselves. He eschews *ἀνά*, *περὶ* with dat., *ἀμφί*, *μετὰ* with dat., and *παρά* with dat. used with inanimates, except in places where he is clearly imitating or parodying the diction of the poets; and he of course confines *σύν* to its Attic sense. With regard to *σύν*, Sobolewski's statements are far clearer and more satisfactory than those of Golisch and Lutz.

The articles on *εἰς* and *ἐνεκα* are preceded by some useful remarks on the form of those prepositions. About *ἐνεκα* the author has nothing new to tell: he thinks that it may be taken as proved that *ἐνεκα* is the Attic form, *εἴνεκα* being Ionic and *οὔνεκα* old Attic. Recent critics have made a dead set on the form *οὔνεκα* in Thuc. vi. 56; yet something may, I think, still be said in favour of retaining the old form in preference to the *ἐνεκα* of inferior MSS. If Thucydides uses *ἀμφί*, *ἀνά*, and *περὶ* with dat., and is a little free in using the dat. of inanimates with *παρά*, I do not see why we should deny him the use of *οὔνεκα*. Besides, while it is easy enough to account for the alteration of *οὔνεκα* into *ἐνεκα* in late MSS., it is by no means easy to account for the substitution of *οὔνεκα* for the common form. Indeed, it is quite possible that Thucydides used the longer form in other places where it has now disappeared. But to pursue this question would lead us into the crooked ways of Thucydidean orthography, which Elmsley vainly thought that he had made straight once for all in 1804. As for the forms *εἰς* and *ἐς*, Sobolewski holds that neither in Ionic nor in Attic was the form *ἐς* ever used in speaking: it is an old literary form which even the tragedians used only occasionally. He effectually disposes of the absurd notion that *ἐς* was used before consonants and *εἰς* before vowels. But it is rather disturbing to one's prejudices to be told that Thucydides never meant to use the form *ἐς* at all, and that, though he wrote the short form, he meant it to represent *εἰς*. It is however plain that a lot of work lies before Thucydidean scholars before any definite results can be obtained with regard to the alphabet that Thucydides used. Stahl is certainly not justified in saying that there are no indications that the historian used the old Attic alphabet. At present I certainly incline to think with Dr. Rutherford that the balance of probability is in favour of the shorter alphabet; and Sobolewski seems to think the same. He concludes that in the

fifth century *ἐς* was the usual form in writing, but that it stood for *εἰς*. He points out that in tragedy the metre far oftener requires *εἰς* than *ἐς*: so that, if Thucydides used the shorter form, he went further than the tragedians themselves. And yet it can be shown that in many respects Thucydides is more modern in his diction than they.

From the article on *ἐκ* two points of interest may be deduced, though neither of them can be definitely settled until the uses of *ἐκ* have been collected from all the authors. Firstly, Aristophanes does not use *ἐκ* with the passive for *ὑπό*. Thucydides does this occasionally, and there are very faint traces of it, as I have already pointed out (*Classical Review*, iii. p. 436), in the orators. It is plain that this use of *ἐκ* is un-Attic; though by some unaccountable freak it lingered long with the one word *ὁμολογῶ* (the new papyrus contains an example). This word *ὁμολογῶ* is probably the only verb which supplies Attic prose instances, of all the following constructions for the agent: *ὑπό*, *παρά*, *ἐκ*, *πρός*, dat. (with *aorist* pass., in Isaeus 5, 17). Also Aristophanes uses extremely few adverbial phrases with *ἐκ*; in fact he confines himself to the following: *ἐκ προνοίας*, *ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος*, *λόγου* and *τρόπου*, *ἐξ ἴσου*, *ἐκ τοῦ* (*τῶν*) *δικαίου* (*-ων*). Thucydides has many more, but even he confines himself to common phrases, such as *ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου*, *ἐξ ἀνάγκης*, except in the speeches and the loftier parts of the narrative. Isocrates has only *ἐκ παντὸς*, *τούτου* and *οὔτου*, *τρόπου*, *ἐξ ἴσου*, *ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ*, *ἐξ ἐτοίμου*, *ἐξ ὑπογίου*. A few others could be added to these from other orators, but no orator makes free use of such phrases; and all of them avoid experiments except Demosthenes, who, in some cases that are confined to him among the orators, seems to have taken a hint from Thucydides (as in *ἐκ προφανοῦς*, *ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα* 1, 1; *prooem.* 3; *ep.* 1, 11; *ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος* *ep.* 3, 36—all found in Thucydides. Hence it is clear that there were only a few such phrases in ordinary use; though it was possible for authors to coin others on the analogy of the common ones. But these new phrases were used only in the literary, not in the spoken language.

The arrangement of the examples under *ὑπὸ* and *γεν.* would be improved by the separation of the perf. pass. of verbs from other tenses. When this separation has been made we can see again how closely Aristophanes conforms to prose usage. The list of perfects pass. with agent expressed by *ὑπὸ* is as follows:

A. *Agent personal; Subject personal or quasi-personal.*

Eq. 352. πόλιν ὑπὸ σοῦ μονωτάτου κατε-
γλωττισμένην.

Vesp. 699. ὑπὸ τῶν αἰὲ δημιζόντων ἐγκεκύ-
κληται.

Av. 1299. ὄρνυγι ὑπ' ὄρνυγοκόπου πεπληγ-
μένω.

Lys. 325. ἐμπεπρήσθαι Καλήκην ὑπὸ τε
νόμων ὑπὸ τε γερόντων.

Lys. 423. ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποκέκλημαι.

Plut. 1083. διεσπλεωμένη ὑπὸ μυρίων ἐτών
(jest for ἀνδρῶν).

B. *Agent non-personal; Subject personal.*

Ran. 1214. πεπλήγμεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ληκύθου.

In A, the ordinary prose rule requires ὑπό,
not the dat.; but in the following four pas-
sages the ordinary prose rule would be the
dat., since the subject is non-personal:

Eq. 51. τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεμαγμένην.

Eq. 1164. μυστίλας μεμυστιλημένας | ὑπὸ
τῆς θεοῦ.

Lys. 26. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρᾶγμ' ἀνεζητη-
μένον.

Lys. 1008. τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ξινομώμοται |
ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

It is clear that in all these four the agent
is brought into special prominence so that
the more emphatic form with ὑπό is used.
These are precisely similar to the instances
from the orators collected in *Classical Review*
iii. p. 439. In *Ran.* 1244 λέλεκται τῆς
ἀληθείας ὑπο, Aristophanes is quoting Euripi-
des, and the expression would be impossible
in prose.

There is only one example of class B in
Aristophanes. Of course with inanimates
the dative can always be used, whether the
subject be personal or not. The use of ὑπό
with things is regularly limited when the
verb is in the perf. pass. to personal sub-
jects: that is, by the nature of the case, as
far as we can go. Side by side with the
solitary Aristophanic example, I will place
the examples from Thucydides and the ora-
tors. They are as follows:

Thuc. iii. 3. τεταλαιπωρημένοι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου.

Thuc. vii. 73. ὑπὸ τοῦ περιχαροῦς πρὸς πόσιν
τετράφθαι.

Thuc. viii. 4. πόλιν ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ ξυμπεπτω-
κύναι.

Antiph. *Tet.* A. β. 7. ὑπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκπε-
πληγμένους.

Antiph. *Tet.* B. γ. 1. ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς συμφορᾶς
ἡνάγκασται.

Lysias 12, 3. ἡνάγκασμαι ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενη-
μένων.

Isocr. 5, 40. πόλεις ὁμαλισμένας ὑπὸ τῶν
συμφορῶν.

Isocr. 5, 124. διεσθαρμένους ὑπὸ τῆς τρυφῆς.

Isocr. 8, 104. διεσθαρμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπι-
θυμιῶν.

Isocr. 15, 33. οὐδεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς δεινότητος βέ-
βλαπται.

Isocr. 15, 142. ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου ἐξηγρίωνται.

Isaeus. 9, 37. ὑπὸ φαρμάκων διεσθάρθαι.

Demosth. 9, 39. ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε... ἡ Ἑλλάς.

Demosth. 55, 20. πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων.

Demosth. 55, 28. βεβλάφθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων.

Demosth. 55, 30. διεσθαρμένον ὑπὸ νόσου.

Demosth. 57, 45. γεγόνασιν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς
πόλεως συμφορῶν ἀσθαί.

Aeschin. 1, 90. καταμεμαρτυρημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ
βίου.

Aeschin. 3, 7. τέταχθε ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων.

Aeschin. 3, 207. τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας
διυριθμημένους.

Aeschin. 3, 232. ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐγκαταλελειφ-
θαι.

Dinarch. 1, 85. ἐτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν ψηφισμάτων
ἀπολωλέναι.

Dinarch. 1, 85. αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
ψηφισμάτων ἐαλωκότα.

There are no examples in Andocides, Hy-
perides, and Lysurgus. It is plain (a) that
in any of these cases the simple dat. might
have been used; in fact, Thuc. has τεταλαι-
πωρημένος with dat., Isocr. ὁμαλισμένος, and
there are similar doublets in Antiphon and
Aristophanes: (b) that this personification of
the inanimate agent is not usual with the
perf. pass. unless the subject of the verb be
personal. There are the following exceptions
in the authors now being considered:

Aristophanes *none*.

Thucydides *none*.

Antiph. *Tet.* B. α. 1. τὰ ὁμολογούμενα ὑπὸ τε
τοῦ νόμου κατακρίνεται ὑπὸ τε τῶν ψηφισμα-
των.

Lysias *none*

Isocr. 11, 21. ταῖς ἀγνείαις ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων
προσ τεταγμένας.

Isocr. 12, 169. νόμον... οὐχ ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρωπίνης
κειμένη φύσεως ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ δαιμονίας προσ τε-
ταγμένης δυνάμεως.

Isocr. 15, 278. πίστεις... τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου
πεπορισμένας (due to the desire for sym-
metry).

Isaeus *none*.

Demosth. 19, 98. ὑπ' ἀβελτερίας ἢ δι' εὐήθειαν
πέπρακται.

Demosth. 23, 57. πολλὰ τῶν ἀπειρημένων ὑπὸ
τῶν νόμων, τοῖς δ' ἔθεσι... ἐπιχειρῶν κ.τ.λ.

The rest have none. In each of these six
passages, it is obvious that the rhythm of
the sentence would be destroyed by the sub-
stitution of the regular dat. for the excep-
tional ὑπό. It is always dangerous, as Sobol-
ewski justly remarks, to presume that we
can decide what was rhythmical and what

was unrhythmical to a Greek ear; but in the present case, when all these exceptions are placed side by side, the reason of the slight irregularity in the syntax becomes so obvious, that no doubt can possibly remain. The only example which is not at first sight obvious is Isocr. 15, 278; there τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου corresponds to τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν εὐ διακειμένων... τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διαβεβλημένων just be-

fore, and forms an antithesis to τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βίου.

In conclusion Sobolewski deserves congratulation upon the successful accomplishment of a laborious and disinterested task, in carrying out which he has displayed considerable erudition, and has throughout shown how well he appreciates his author.

E. C. MARCHANT.

SOME FRENCH BOOKS ON PALAEOGRAPHY.

Fac-similés des Manuscrits Grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du ix^e au xiv^e siècle. Par HENRI OMONT. Paris. Ernest Leroux, 1890—91. 60 francs.

Fac-similés des Manuscrits Grecs des x^e et xvi^e siècles d'après les Originaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Par HENRI OMONT. Paris. A. Picard, 1887. 12 fr. 50 c.

Manuel de Paléographie Latine et Française du vi^e au xvii^e siècle. Par MAURICE PROU. Paris. A. Picard, 1890. 12 francs.

WITH indefatigable industry Monsieur Henri Omont has added another important work to his many contributions to the history of Greek Palaeography. The Facsimiles of dated Greek MSS., from the ninth to the fourteenth century, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, of which the second and concluding portion has just been issued, once more bears witness to the wealth of Greek MSS. stored in the great national library of Paris. Under no other roof could so many dated specimens have been taken from the shelves to be submitted to the photographer's camera; and under no other roof has the Greek palaeographer so wide a field for his researches. All who are interested in such study owe their best thanks to Monsieur Omont for thus sharing with them his intimate knowledge of the French collection, and none would wish for a more infallible guide.

In a brief Introduction the editor gives an excellent bibliography of the printed materials for the study of Greek Palaeography, placing in the front rank those collections of accurate facsimiles which the rapid improvements in photography in recent years have made possible. That photography is destined to play in the immediate future a yet more important part in palaeographic studies follows as a matter of course on the cheapening of once expensive processes. The extremely moderate scale of prices issued by the au-

thorities of the Bodleian Library a few weeks ago, at which they are prepared to supply photographic copies of their MSS., is a step towards the realization of once-Utopian dreams: the copyist, liable to the failings of frail humanity, will no longer be the terror of the doubting scholar, who will henceforth have the unerring sun for his clerk, and that too at a price which will defy the competition even of the coming Chinaman. The Introduction is followed by a complete list of recent facsimiles from MSS. bearing dates from A.D. 800 to A.D. 1593. These exceed three hundred in number.

Monsieur Omont's collection comprises one hundred and twenty-one facsimiles contained in one hundred plates, and ranges from the year 890 to 1390. Only one plate falls in the ninth century; nine are of the tenth; twenty-nine of the eleventh; eleven of the twelfth; twenty-two of the thirteenth; and twenty-eight of the fourteenth century. It is curious to observe the paucity of examples of the twelfth century as compared with those of other periods; and that this paucity is general and not confined to the Bibliothèque Nationale is shown by a similar proportion among facsimiles from other sources. All the dated examples of the ninth to thirteenth centuries in the Bibliothèque are included; but of the large number of the fourteenth century only thirty-four are given out of a total of sixty-one, the remainder being described in an appendix.

The first facsimile, from Lives of Saints and Homilies of the year 890, is a contribution to the few existing dated examples of the ninth century, the MSS. of this period of which facsimiles have been published being only nine in number. Out of these, Oxford is the fortunate possessor of two, the d'Orville Euclid of 888, and the Clarke Plato of 895. The next plate, which heads the tenth century, is from the Clement of

Alexandria written in the year 914 by Baanes, notary of Arethas, Archbishop of Caesarea. This beautifully written specimen has a particular interest for us as one instantly recognizes the hand of the writer of the Harley Lucian, which can thus be accurately placed early in the century. The identification was first announced by Ernst Maas in *Mélanges Graux* (*Observationes Palaeographicae*), 1884. Arethas, it will be remembered, was also the possessor of the two Oxford MSS. just referred to.

We may leave the more formally written MSS. of the collection to be studied at leisure, only remarking how stereotyped a form of writing may become when used for a particular class of literature and for particular purposes, and how difficult it is sometimes to decide the periods of such exactly written Greek MSS. as those of the Gospels and ecclesiastical works usually are.

Let us turn to a style of writing of which there are fewer examples, but which holds an important position, as many classical MSS. are written in it. This is the light flowing hand, neither fully cursive nor formally calligraphic, but something between the two, which may be termed the scholastic hand, as distinguished from that of the ecclesiastical scribe. In the present series there are some MSS. which may be grouped under this class of writing. The first is a St. John Chrysostom (plate v) of the year 954; next, a commentary on Gregory Nazianzen (pl. viii) of 986; and a St. Ephraem (pl. xxi) of 1049. Of somewhat the same character but rather more formal are examples in plates ix, xv, and xviii, of the years 992, 1029, and 1045.

There is also the smaller, cursive and involved hand which appears in MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and of which it is often difficult to determine the exact period. For this the student will find assistance in the examples of the Porphyry on Aristotle (pl. lii) of the year 1223, St. Gregory of Nyssa (pl. lviii) of 1272, *Etymologicum Magnum* (pl. lxi) of 1273, various works (pl. lxxi) of 1298, Paul of Egina (pl. lxxii) of 1299, St. Gregory Nazianzen (pl. lxxiii) of 1301, and Barlaam and Josaphat (pl. lxxviii) of 1321.

The plates are excellently produced; and the collection is, within its limits, the most valuable contribution of its kind to the study of Greek Palaeography of the middle ages that has yet appeared.

The other work of Monsieur Omont, the title of which stands at the head of this article, is not a recent publication. It was

issued in 1887. But as it forms a natural supplement to the work which has just been noticed, and as it has not been specially brought before the readers of the *Classical Review*, a word may be said in its favour. It consists of fifty facsimiles from MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, written chiefly by the native Greek copyists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who, driven out by the Ottoman invasion, made their way into Italy and Western Europe, and placed their skill as calligraphers at the disposal of foreign patrons, or became correctors at the presses which sent into the world the earliest specimens of printing in Greek. Bearing in mind the number of classical Greek MSS. which were multiplied at this period, the means of identifying the handwriting of the scribes employed has a value for purposes of textual criticism as well as for palaeographical investigation.

The majority of the refugee copyists were natives of Crete; but other parts of Greece also sent their contingents. Three of the scribes, however, are Italians, viz. Bartolomeo Comparini, of Prato, Bernardo Feliciano, of Venice, and Valeriano Albani, of Forlì; and one is a German, Christoph Auer, an accomplished penman, who copied at Rome during the years 1541—1548 a series of MSS. for Georges d'Armagnac, Bishop of Rodez, ambassador from France to the Papal Court. Most of these calligraphers worked in Italy; a few in France or Spain; and one, Demetrius Cantacuzenus, copied in London a collection of extracts from Herodotus as early as 1474, many years before the soul of Sir John Cheke was vexed by an unlearned age.

The conception of Monsieur Prou's Manual is good, but it is weakly carried out in detail. A sketch of Latin and French Palaeography illustrated with a series of facsimiles and followed by a dictionary of abbreviations might have been made practically sufficient as a handbook, had Monsieur Prou been less superficial in certain divisions of his subject. We thought that the day was past for doubting the genuineness of the Latin Dacian waxen tablets; and there is something humorous in the reference to de Wailly's demonstration, in 1841, of their spuriousness, and yet, strange to say, Mommsen inserts them in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* and Wattenbach also cites them, 'sans élever aucun doute sur leur authenticité.' Monsieur Prou is on safer ground when he discusses the early writing of his own country; but in the name of the Anglo-Saxon race we must protest at the very poor continental-written specimen of a so-

called Hiberno-Saxon MS. which he gives to represent the beautiful calligraphy of our forefathers. Lastly, why should the contracted words in the dictionary of abbreviations be in facsimile of MS. writing, very poorly executed? This is one of the chief objections to Chassant's useful little book on abbreviations. The student requires to see the form of abbreviation or contraction in

clear type showing the principles followed, and he can then apply what he learns to a MS. of any age. It is causing needless trouble to make him unravel a contraction in poor facsimile of the fifteenth century in order to read it in the MS. before him which may be of any other date.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

STOWASSER'S *DUNKLE WÖRTER*.

Dunkle Wörter. Lexicalisches, von I. M. STOWASSER. Vienna: Tempsky, 1890. (32 pages.) 1 Mk.

THE difficulties of Latin etymology are so great, that any serious contribution to the subject ought to be cordially welcomed. Dr. Stowasser's little book is such a contribution. In the course of thirty-two pages he discusses, with real learning and originality, some ninety Latin words; and though in some cases he pushes his theories to the verge of paradox, in many others his views are highly plausible, if not certainly right. I will first mention some instances in which I am unable to agree with him. *Novicius* he derives not from *novus*, but from *novus* and *vicius* (*novi-vicius*, 'new to the house'). No doubt the quantity of the ante-penultimate causes a difficulty. According to analogy, as Wölflin has pointed out, the second syllable should be short, the denominative adjectives in *-icius* having as a rule a short *i*, the verbals a long one. There is however a difficulty which must be removed before Stowasser's explanation can be accepted. *Novi-vicius* should mean not 'new to the house,' but 'belonging to a new house.' *Amoenus* (pp. 4, 5) is derived from *ad*, *moenia*, *amoenus locus* being explained as = a suburban place. The word, however, is so constantly associated in usage and meaning with *amor* that it is difficult to detach it from this connexion. A base *āmū-* is required, which may perhaps, as I have elsewhere suggested, be found in the proper name *Amūlius*. When Dr. Stowasser rejects the commonly accepted derivation of *nutrix* from *snū-* to flow, and proposes to refer it to *novus* and *trī-*, comparing *παδο-τριβείν*, he omits to deal with the fact that Catullus uses *nutrices* as = the breasts. *Caeremonia* from *χαίρε* and *monium* (= *munium*), 'the duty of saying Hail,' passes the limits of probability. *Caeremonia* means 'care,' 'thoughtfulness,'

and is thus sometimes in Cicero connected with *cura* (see *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, p. 398). It seems to me to be most naturally referred to *kū-* = think, *cavilla*, *cura*, *κοεῖν*, and Sanskrit *kavis*, wise. I find it difficult to accept Mr. Wharton's reference to *caedo*. That *persona* (p. 7.) should come from *per* and *ζώνη* ('Verkleidung') is against the analogy of most other words compounded with *per* in this sense, which denote action (*per-iurium*, *per-fuga*, *per-perus*, etc.). And was *ζώνη* so far domesticated in Latin as to mean clothing? *Propero* is as easily derived from *pro-paro* ('to get something out') as from *προ-φέρω* (p. 10). There is more to be said perhaps for identifying *prosperus* with *προσφερός* (p. 9.), and Dr. Stowasser has done good service by calling attention to the form *prosferari* in good manuscripts of Nonius. He objects to deriving *omen* from *os*, and proposes *obs-minari*, to threaten or pretend, from which *omen* should be a later formation. May not *omen*, however, be directly descended from *au-* to speak, and be thus connected with *au-tumo*, which modern etymologists, with no particular reason, derive from *avis*?

There are however a good many cases in which Dr. Stowasser appears to have hit the truth. *Alapa* (p. 22) he regards as Semitic (Hebrew *khelaph* a hammer) and as thus identical with the Greek *κόλαφος*. The Semitic origin of *tunica* and *χιτών* (Aramaic *kithuna* and Hebrew *kithonet*) is excellently defended by evidence from Latin poets (p. 6); and Dr. Stowasser is quite right in insisting on the adjectival character of the form *tunica*. *Mica* has been for some time connected by etymologists with *μικρός*; Dr. Stowasser (p. 3) goes further, and makes it a borrowed word (Greek *μικρός*, *μίκης*, *μικζόμενος*). So too with *stuprum*, which means properly a hard blow, so defeat, disgrace, shame, and is borrowed from the Greek *στυφρός* hard. (p. 8). *Tuditare* is quite right-

ly referred to *tudes tuditis*, a hammer (p. 22); not less happy is the derivation of *fundito* from *funda* through a lost *sfundare* to sling (p. 23), and of *violare* (p. 26) from *viola*, 'to make red,' so to mar or defile. *Parricidium* from a lost adjective *parrus* = 'open' (*si parret*, 'if it is clear') is a very plausible etymology (p. 19).

It would be wrong to take leave of this most interesting and suggestive essay without mentioning several excellent textual emendations proposed by its author. In the *Gromatici* p. 306. 21 *terminus coctus testacius ullageris*, *ullageris* is corrected into *vel lagenaris* (p. 3). On pp. 6 and 7 *absedet*

is restored from the MSS. to Novius ap. Nonium p. 148. 25, and *cilotrum* changed to *silotrum* = *psilotrum*. *Absedeo*, by the bye, is found in Boethius. The verse out of Plautus's *Cornicularia* quoted by Varro (*L. L.* 7. 52) *qui regi latrocinatus decem annos Demetrio* (annos x Nonius p. 134) is simply and convincingly restored *qui regi latrocinatus decimano's Demetrio* ('a first-class king.')

It is much to be hoped that Dr Stowasser will continue and extend his fruitful labours.

H. NETTLESHIP.

STUDIES BY STUEMUND'S PUPILS.

Studemund's Studien auf dem Gebiete des archaischen Lateins. Erster Band, Zweites Heft. (Weidmann, 1890.) 7 Mk.

THE present volume belongs to the valuable collection of papers written by members of the school of Studemund. The first part of the first volume contained *Quaestiones Metricae* by A. Luchs, *De Retractatis Fabulis Plautinis* by L. Reinhardt, *De Syntaxi Interrogationum Obliquarum* by E. Becker (the best treatise on dependent questions in old Latin). The second volume has just been published (1891). The second part of the first volume, now under review, contains treatises (i.) on the Genitive of the Latin Pronouns by A. Luchs, (ii.) on Exclamatory Particles by P. Richter.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to the critic of such carefully sifted collections of instances as are here given to the world. They do the work of Bacon's 'tabulae instantiarum,' supplying the means by which the soundness of an emendation may be tested. If emendation is to be 'sober,' i.e. scientific, it must proceed on the basis of rigidly excluding what cannot be shown to be in accord, even in details, with the usage of the author in question; the proposers of emendations must be prepared to sacrifice what seem to them their happiest thoughts, if their conjectures can be shown not to rest on evidence—in particular the evidence of what the author himself thought fit to write in similar instances. Without this check emendation loses itself in a wide field of possibilities, and all safe ground is removed from under the feet. Working under these limitations the critic may be able to

make permanent contributions to the improvement of texts. No doubt the difficulty of his task is increased, but he has the satisfaction of knowing that he is perhaps not 'writing in sand.' 'In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister.'

The centre of Luchs' position is the doctrine that the genitives *illius*, *istius*, *ipsius*, etc. were pronounced in two ways, and two ways only, in old Latin: (i.) as palimbacchiacs (— — —), (ii.) as two syllables—*illis* *istis*, *ipsis* etc. before vowels, *illi*, *isti*, *ipsi* etc. (or perhaps *illis* etc.) before consonants. He disbelieves in a short middle syllable in old Latin; and also in the accentuation on the first and the last syllable (*illiús* etc.), showing that the few passages that can be quoted (e.g. *Casina* v. 4, 16) in favour of this accentuation are by no means of unimpeachable authority. As to the scansion as two syllables, it is well known that the forms *illi*, *isti*, *ipsi*, etc. are expressly attested by Priscian (vi. 3). Luchs explains them as originating, not by analogy with the so-called 2nd declension of nouns, but by loss of the final syllable of the fuller forms *illius*, *istius*, *ipsius*, etc., the final *s* being dropped, the preceding vowel weakened to *i* and the resulting *ii* contracted to *i* (*illius*, *illiu*, *illii*, *illi*). One of his arguments against the analogy theory is that in that case analogy ought also to have produced datives in *o*, which however do not make their appearance until comparatively late, when the analogy of the gen. in *i* had set up association between nouns of the 2nd decl. and the pronouns in question. Incidentally Luchs denies that the genitives *equi*, *boni* etc. are properly locatives, and ascribes their

origin also to loss of a final syllable (from *equo-ius*, etc.). This highly questionable derivation, however, is no essential part of his argument.

I believe that the investigation of Luchs is quite on the right lines. The evidence points to a scansion as two syllables in many cases in which *illius* has hitherto been generally accepted. (C. F. W. Müller in his *Plautine Prosody* p. 341 maintained the scansion as two syllables, though he explained it differently from Luchs.) But I am not quite convinced of the truth of the pronunciation *illis, istis*, etc., before vowels. I am inclined to think that the verses in question may be explained more simply, by dropping of final *s* and *elision of the preceding vowel*. Thus why should we not scan *Aul. Prol. 35*

Is ádulescentis illius (= ill') est auónculus
Phorm. iv. 3, 43,

Ut ad paúca redeam ac míttam illíus
inéptias,

and so forth? See Cicero, *Orator* 153, on the pronunciation of old Latin (*saepe brevitatis causa contrahebant ut ita dicerent... vas' argenteis, palm' et crinibus* etc.), where the elision is admitted even of a long vowel.

The principle of dropping of final *s*, not only before consonants as so often (e.g. *esti' nunc, solu' sis*), but also before vowels, has been very happily utilized by Leo in a programme (*Index Lectionum in Academia Rostochiensis*, 1887) in which he shows that a number of passages in the *Bacchides*, hitherto supposed to require emendation, are on this view sound; e.g. 90

Ille quidem hanc abdúcet: tu nullu' ádfueris,
si nón lubet,

and I have applied the same principle to *Rudens* 1006

TR. *Élleborosus sum.* GR. *Át ego cerrítu':*
húnc non amittám tamen,

where see my note. I would also remark that the combination *istius modi* may often, if not always, be scanned *istíu' módi*: cf. *uníu' módi* Haut. i. 2, 31, *illíu' módi* Adelph. iii. 3, 87.¹

The paper of Richter on Exclamatory Particles is most admirable; I can speak

¹ Pseud. iv. 7, 73 cannot be scanned as Luchs scans it (p. 368): for, as Seyffert has shown, *nempe* always has the first syllable short when followed by a consonant (= *nepe*).

from personal experience of its great utility. Many of these words have been completely misunderstood by grammarians, who have concerned themselves more with classical than with Plautine Latin. Thus for instance the common view that *hem* is the sound of a man clearing his throat is quite inadmissible: it is an interjection expressing emotion. Many curiosities of the language of the comedians (e.g. *bat, bombax, butabatta, cuccuru*) are discussed in a most interesting manner. Even where the *catalogue raisonné* of Richter does not serve as an explanation of all the facts, it is suggestive. Thus his treatment of the very important word *em*² raises the question—how does *em* come to take an accusative (e.g. *em manum* 'here is my hand') and what is the relation of this usage to that of *ecce* with accus. (e.g. *ecce me*)? I have attempted to give an answer on this point in an excursus to my *Rudens*; the discussion of it would take up too much space here, but I will indicate the main result: the uses of *em* are precisely parallel to those of *ecce*—(i.) = 'there is,' 'voilà,' with an accusative or a dative, or both; here *em* with its object or objects forms a complete sentence, cf. *em scelera* Andr. 785, *ecce Gripi scelera* Rud. 1178: (ii.) = 'there!' 'look!' in a sentence which is grammatically complete without the interjection, cf. *em istaec ratio maxumast*, Trin. 413; *ecce avortit*, Mil. 456.—I would add that I do not see the advantage of separating instances like those on p. 487 (d), e.g. *em specta*, Bacch. 1023, from those on p. 492 f., e.g. *em serva*, Adelph. 172.

In the treatment of the particle *eu* a new view is suggested by Richter as to the meaning of *eu* (as a particle of asseveration) when it stands before *hercle, edepol* or *eccastor*.

Under the heading *ah* I note an omission on p. 398 (A), where Rud. 420 is not included: on p. 401 the instance Rudens 1143 disappears if we accept, as I think we should, the MS. reading:

TR. *Hóc habet!* GR. *Solútust.* DAE. *Aperi.*

PA. *Video cistellam.* DAE. *Haécinest?*

(*Aperi*, not *Ah perii*, as *Acidalius* and *Fleckeisen* read.)

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

² Often confused in MSS. with *hem*, an entirely different word. In my translation (below) of *em* as 'there is' or 'there!' I by no means desire to imply approval of Richter's derivation of the word from *ibi*, by dropping the *i* and liquifying the *b*: Richter compares *interim*, *interibi*.

Selected Letters of M. Tullius Cicero. A. P. MONTAGUE. Philadelphia, 1890.

THE edition contains about fifty letters from the last twenty years of Cicero's life, arranged in chronological order. The choice of letters may in general be considered fairly satisfactory, although perhaps undue prominence has been given to the letters to Atticus. It is however difficult to discover upon what principle of selection Cicero's reply (*ad Fam.* xv. 6) to Cato's refusal to vote him a triumph is chosen, while Cicero's request for a triumph (*ad Fam.* xv. 4) and the reply of Cato (*ad Fam.* xv. 5) are both excluded. In a similar way the editor has left out the letter of condolence which Servius Sulpicius wrote to Cicero after Tullia's death (*ad Fam.* iv. 5), but inserted the reply of Cicero (*ad Fam.* iv. 6). So far as the writer's examination of the book has gone,—for the editor has given no list of the letters chosen,—there are no letters from other writers than Cicero. Even in so limited a collection it would have seemed advisable to include a letter or two from Caelius, or Marcellus or Matus at the least.

The Introduction, which is largely made up of rhetorical passages quoted from various sources, fairly bristles with errors when the editor allows himself to make a statement outside of quotation marks. That the letters did not 'pass out of knowledge before the middle of the twelfth century' (p. 7) is established by Detlefsen *Zur Geschichte von Cicero's Briefen an Atticus*. On page 8 is found the following: "In 1345, near Verona the poet Petrarca discovered a MS. of the eleventh century containing the letters *Ad Atticum*, *Ad Quintum*, and *Ad Brutum* and somewhat later, at Vercelli, he discovered the letters *Ad Familiares*. 'The original MS. of the letters *Ad Familiares* is still in existence, and so is Petrarch's copy; but of the letters *Ad Atticum*, etc., the MS. found at Verona has again been lost, only the copy taken by Petrarch being extant' (Teuffel, *Hist. Rom. Lit.*, translated by Wagner, London, 1873). Petrarch's MS. of the letters to Atticus, etc., known as the Codex Medicus, is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence." Had the editor been familiar with the Büchel-Stüpfle collection which has been in existence for a number of years and is in the ninth edition, he might have found upon page 46 the following statement: 'Hier ist auch der Beweis geführt (i. e. in an essay by Anton Viertel), 1. dass Petrarca die Briefe ad Familiares überhaupt noch gar nicht kannte und 2. dass die beiden angeblich eigenhändigen Abschriften Petrarca's, welche sich in Florenz befinden gar nicht von Petrarca sind.' Even in a later edition of the very book which Mr. Montague quotes one reads, 'Die Briefe ad Familiares sind nicht gleichfalls von Petrarca gefunden worden' (Teuffel's *Gesch. der röm. Lit. Fünfte Auflage*, p. 360), and on page 359 'Die Hs. in welcher Petrarca diese Briefe (i. e. the letters to Brutus, to Quintus, to Octavian and to Atticus) fand ist wieder verloren gegangen.' The reason for this oversight on the part of the editor can perhaps be understood from the fact that in the lists of commentators and editors which we find upon pages 8 and 134 the names of Stüpfle, Hofmann, Frey, and even Tyrrell do not appear.

The editor's statement on page 10, 'Had our author dreamed that the letters to his intimate friends would become public property, many of them would never have been written,' can scarcely be harmonized with Cicero's own remark upon the same point, *ad Att.* xvi. 5, 5, 'mearum epistolarum nulla est συναγωγή sed habet Tiro instar septuaginta. Equidem sunt a te quaedam sumendae. Eas ego oportet perspiciam, corrigam; tum denique edentur.'

As the editor remarks in his preface that 'in the

first part of the Notes somewhat frequent assistance is given in passages that may seem difficult, in order that the student may be encouraged in becoming acquainted with epistolary Latin' one naturally expects to find some of the characteristics of epistolary Latin as distinguished from more formal Latin remarked upon, but a fairly conscientious examination of the notes fails to reveal any references to the peculiarities of epistolary Latin even in passages where it is required, as in *ad Fam.* v. 12, in which letters diminutives, compounds of sub (subrusticus for example) and colloquial arrangements of words are passed over with equal indifference. The notes like the letters lack an index.

We had hoped that American scholarship had passed beyond the stage to which this book belongs.
Yale University. F. F. ABBOTT.

Livy. Book xxvii. Edited by H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1890. 2s. 6d.

THIS is quite as good an edition as that of Book iv. by the same editor, and is likely to be very popular as the book, containing as it does the account of the battle of Metaurus, is one of the most interesting in Livy.

The text is that of Madvig's second edition (1882), with some variations which are mentioned in the 'Notes on the Text.' The editor is wrong however in thinking that Madvig reads *trepidantium* in c. 1 § 8 and *fuisse* in c. 33 § 10. The words appear in the text to be sure, but they are altered in the *Errores ante usum libri emendandi* to *pugnantium* and *fuissent* respectively.

Mr. Stephenson says that 'for the sake of younger scholars' he has retained 'some old-fashioned spelling.' 'In particular,' he writes, 'following Madvig, I have printed *es* always in the third declension plurals.' But by an oversight he has *Baliaris* xx. 7. and *cohortis* xli. 6.

I do not know on what principle he prints '*plebiis*' in xxxvi. 9 (text and notes).

Besides the above I have noticed only three misprints: *munerum* for *munerum* in ix. 9, *cederent* for *crederent* in xxvi. 3, and *inter* for *iter* in xlv. 6.

There is a clear general introduction, and another on the Latin Colonies. Mr. Stephenson hints that the Carthaginian opposition may after all have been right in refusing 'to a brilliant adventurer the means to glorify himself at his country's expense, by making a conquest which could only be effected by the sheer exhaustion of his opponents, and which must either be worthless to the conquerors, or impossible to retain.'

Surely Hannibal was neither an 'adventurer' nor selfish, and if, as is obviously the case, there was not room in the world for Rome and Carthage, his skilful attack was the best and wisest thing that he could have done for his country. We cannot tell whether Hannibal proposed to himself the absolute conquest of Rome as his ultimate object. Livy may be right in making him say '*non interitum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare.*' (xxii. 58. 3), and in stating that Carthage was actually commissioned to offer terms of peace to the Romans. Dr. Arnold suggests that the Roman writers may have exaggerated the opposition against Hannibal at Carthage; however this may be, it can hardly be doubted that Carthage did not throw her whole strength into the war, and certainly she ought either to have done this or to have recalled Hannibal.

Mr. Stephenson well points out the absurd exaggerations about Marcellus' victories. It would be interesting to add up the number of Hannibal's

losses, as estimated by Livy, during the time that he was in Italy. Mr. Stephenson also comments on the improbability of Scipio's victory at Baecula being as great as Livy or Polybius represent it, even if it be not purely fictitious. He is no doubt right in accusing Polybius of a Scipionic bias, but there is no reason to disbelieve in the victory in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. Historians and commentators have, I think, been rather hard on Scipio. Spain is a large place, and Hasdrubal no doubt knew his way about it much better than the Romans. The victory may be fictitious; but it is not disproved by Hasdrubal's march into Italy.

Mr. Stephenson's notes are very good, and give just the information that is needed, but here and there a little more thought given to the arrangement of a note or a little more fullness to the expression would have greatly improved it.

For instance in the note on xii. 7 it is said 'Livy uses both *ut* with subj., c. 9. § 9, and the infin. after *inducere in animum*.' This might lead a schoolboy to think that the two constructions could be used indifferently.

The note on *antesignani* (xviii. 2) is obscure. It is not until the end of the note that it is hinted that the difficulty really lies in the application of the word to an army on the march.

Again on xviii. 8 there is the following note, '*stare* "pointed to the enemy saying that, &c." The note should be on *ostendebat* not on *stare*.

In the note on *dictatorem* (xxix. 5) two other notes are included, one belonging to § 4 and the other to § 6.

There should, I think, be a note on xvi. 5: '*Carthalonem autem, praefectum Punici praesidii, cum commemoratione paterni hospitii positus armis venientem ad consulem miles obviis obtruncat*.' Nothing is known about the connection between Carthalo and Fabius, but on such points the comment that nothing is known is worth making. According to Livy (xxi. c. 18) Q. Fabius was the chief ambassador who declared war against Carthage after the fall of Saguntum. He may on that occasion have been entertained by Carthalo's father. Weissenborn suggests that a connection of *hospitium* between Roman and Carthaginian families may often have existed.

In a note on v. 16. it is said 'After the battle of Lake Trasimenes Fabius was appointed dictator by resolution of the people, because one consul was dead and the other absent,' and it is apparently meant that this was also intended to be done on the present occasion. But the two cases have really little in common. Fabius was nominated by the people as pro-dictator because communication with the surviving consul was difficult, but in the present instance there is no question of the people nominating the dictator, but of their compelling the consul to nominate the dictator of the senate's choice.

In the note on xlv. 7 Mr. Stephenson says

'*dum...reficeret...ad noscendum*'] two final clauses in different forms, to give Nero time to refresh &c. and for the purpose of getting acquainted with the enemy.' Here he has made a slip: a reference to the text will shew that *sumeret* corresponds to *reficeret*, not *dum...reficeret* to *ad noscendum*.

There is an index to the notes and a useful plan of Tarentum. The book is, it is needless to say, excellently printed. M. T. TATHAM.

We have received a copy of the two volumes of the *Theological Monthly* for 1890. The articles are not generally addressed to classical scholars but there are two to which we should like to call attention. They appeared in the July and September numbers and are written by Dr. Weymouth on 'The Rendering into English of the Greek Aorist and Perfect,' with especial reference to the R.V. of the New Testament. Their general drift may be seen from a single sentence near the conclusion. "While it is strictly accurate to render *δευτεραίοι ἤλθομεν εἰς Ποτιόλους* by 'On the second day we reached Puteoli', it is not a whit less accurate to render *τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην ἀφῆκες* by 'Thou hast left thy first love', Rev. ii. 4: 'thou leftest' is inaccurate and wrong'."

In support of this contention Dr. Weymouth urges what all will allow, (1) that in comparing any two languages it is difficult to find any pairs of words of the very simplest character—nouns, adjectives, verbs—that coincide in all their uses; and that (2) nobody maintains the exact correspondence of the tenses of verbs in any other pair of languages.

(3) 'The other tenses of the Greek verb and the English verb do not coincide: why should the past tenses be supposed to do so?' Under this head Dr. Weymouth argues that our familiar use of the present in a future sense ('We start to-morrow') seems quite unknown in Greek classical prose' and is exceedingly rare in poetry. Attention is also called to the use of the present in Greek similar to that in the Latin '*jampridem cupio*.' Many examples are cited such as *ἀπέχονται* in Hom. Il. 14. 206; *μῖμνω* in Soph. Aj. 601; *μένει*, Soph. Trach. 44; *ἀδικεῖ*, Dem. Phil. II. 70, 5; *φράζει*, Ar. Av. 50; &c. &c. The English rendering of this Present is often with the Present Complete Continuous, as *ἐμὲ ἀνέχεσθαι*, 'that I have been allowing,' Plat. Apol. c. 18. But the same English is often the Greek Imperf., as *ἀφῆρουν*, 'I have been warding off,' Eur. Med. 455; *ἀνέβραττεν*, 'she has been stewing,' Ar. Ran. 510.

(4) Our attention is next called to the distinction between *narrative* and *non-narrative* Greek. Dr. Weymouth has taken the trouble carefully to compare many chapters of the narrative and of the non-narrative parts both of Thucydides and of Herodotus to ascertain the relative frequency of use of the several tenses. The following table shows the result in percentages.

	Pres.	Hist. Pr.	Impf.	Aor.	Perf.	Plupf.	Fut.
<i>Narrative—</i>							
Thuc.	5	9	45	34	1	4	2
Herod.	21	1.5	34	32.5	2	1.5	7.5
<i>Non-narrative—</i>							
Thuc.	55	0	8	13	6	0	18
Herod.	55	0	4	19	7	1	14

¹ This is a little overstating the case, see *Madv. Gr. Gr.* § 110 *rem* 3, Kruger §§ 53, 6—9.

The difference is very marked. But the question is, how are these Aorists to be rendered in English? In narrative almost invariably by the Simple Past: that is not disputed. But outside the limits of narrative, how then? (a.) Our idiom prefers the present in such phrases as 'The Chronicle states—,' 'Clarendon records—,' and so on; but in Her. I. 12 *ad fin.* we have 'Ἀρχίλοχος ἐπεμνήσθη. (b.) And in conversation or debate: ἡμερὸς μοι ἐπῆλθε, lit. 'a desire *has come over me*,' Her. I. 30; and so εἶδες in the same sentence. And in c. 32 Cræsus asks, 'But is my happiness so set at naught by you that you *have not deemed* (ἐποίησας) me worthy &c.?' Besides numerous other examples, including some from the N. T. (in which A. V. and R. V. agree), some of C. R. Kennedy's renderings of Dem. Symm. pp. 181, 182 are quoted: 'I *have taken* (ἔσχον) exceeding pains'; 'whenever you *have had* a common wish (ἡβουλῆθητε)'; 'nothing *has ever escaped* (ἔξέφυγεν) you'; none of your designs *have been executed* (ἐγένετο). Thus the necessity for often translating the Aorist by the English Perfect is to a certain extent admitted, but, the writer affirms, 'the propriety of such rendering is by no means *sufficiently* admitted, and the Perfects in the passages just quoted seem to have been adopted almost by mere instinct, not guided or controlled by any grammatical principle. I hope to establish a principle.' This promise he proceeds to redeem when—

(5) He contends that scholars have allowed themselves to be misled by the incorrect name of 'Past Indefinite' given in most English Grammars to what he prefers everywhere to call the Simple Past. In Greek the α-όριστος of the Indicative (for he limits the discussion to that mood) is always indefinite: even in narrative 'it is altogether indefinite still, and the definiteness is supplied by the notes of time that appear somewhere in the context.' But in English suppose 'a soldier alludes to battles of his earlier days, a sailor to his voyages, an engineer to his works, &c., all without giving any hint as to the time except only that the event or act was somewhere or other in past time; what is the form of expression? 'Many a battle *have I fought*'; 'I *have often sailed* in those seas'; 'I *have built* bridges of all kinds'; 'I *have planted* hundreds of acres of Scotch firs'; 'German I *have learnt*, but not Polish.' This being the regular form in all such cases, he regards it as our true Past Indefinite, and therefore 'the *normal* equivalent of the Greek Aorist.' 'The French grammarians name *j'ai parlé* the Prétérit Indéfini,

while *je parlai* is the corresponding Definite tense, and our I *spoke* is the same.'

(6) But not only is the Aorist often equivalent to our Perfect, it answers sometimes to our Pluperfect—never to the Greek Pluperfect¹—as ἐτάχθησαν in Her. VIII. 21; sometimes to our Present, as in the Homeric similes, and in such expressions as ἡρυσθῆσας, 'you are blushing,' ἐδάκρυσας, 'you are weeping'; while sometimes it indicates the beginning of a state or condition, as βουλευσας, 'having been elected on the senate,' Xen. Mem. I. 1. 18, ἐπιστεύσατε 'you embraced the faith,' Rom. xiii. 11. Also 'the Aorist Participle in a Future Perfect sense, though overlooked in the Grammars, is worth notice.' Examples are νικήσαντι, Hom. Il. 3. 138; νοστήσαντα, Il. 13. 38; συναντήσαντα, Eur. Ion 534; κυρήσας, Eur. Phœn. 490; and in N.T. ποιήσας, Rom. x. 5; κοιμηθέντας, 1 Thess. iv. 14.

(7) And what of the Perfect? Is the Greek Perfect really equivalent to the English Perfect, as is commonly assumed? The latter has already been shown to be often a Past Indefinite; but it is also a Present Complete, as in 'I *have finished* my letter,' or—where the Present would be used in most or all European languages except English—'I *have now lived* ten years in this house.' But the Greek Perfect 'is a Present Complete (I think) always: I doubt whether it is ever a Past Indefinite.' Its leading characteristic is that it predicates, not an action or event (as the Aorist does), but a *present state* resulting from an action or event. This point Dr. Weymouth illustrates fully, and discusses several apparent exceptions. He shows also that while the English Perfect is so commonly used with *never* or *often*, it is far more frequently the Aorist that is employed with οὐδέποτε or πολλάκις.

(8) He next compares the A.V. and the R.V. respectively of the N.T. with the productions of our classical English writers in respect of the tenses employed in non-narrative passages. 'I have examined,' he says, 'numerous chapters of the Epistles—the English R.V.—and classified all the Indicative verbs in them to a total of 650. I have similarly examined non-narrative writings—dedications, prefaces, dialogues, but mainly letters—of several of our classical English authors, classifying the verbs to a total of 2000 . . . The letters &c. were those of Pope, Gay, Kirke White, Byron, Coleridge, Southey, Charles Lamb, W. S. Landor, Trench, Mrs. Browning, and especially (but eschewing narrative) Macaulay.' The percentages of results follow.

	Pres.	Impf.	S. Past.	Perf.	Plupf.	Fut.
Pope, &c.	57·55	·2	16·95	14·25	1·95	9·1
St. Paul in R.V.	52·92	·15	26·46	10·92	·46	9·1
do. A.V.	50·15	·15	19·69	16·77	·61	12·61

Unfortunately there was no exact list kept of the passages examined in R.V., and others were afterwards examined in A.V. in which fewer Presents and more Futures occurred; but as to Simple Past tenses and Perfects, the ratio is almost precisely the same in A.V. as in Pope &c. for

16·95 : 14·25 :: 19·69 : 16·55,

while the usage in R.V. differs considerably. 'Would it be possible to adduce evidence more conclusive than the Revisers showed too little consideration for the genius of the English language?'

(9) (10) We have not room to enlarge on Dr. Weymouth's further contention (a.) that the English Simple Past often represents rather the Imperfect than the Aorist in Greek; and (b.) that it in many cases imports an idea of definite time which is not in the original.

(11) Lastly he has arrived at some interesting

¹ Here again Dr. Weymouth goes too far, see Madv. § 114 *rem.* 2.

results by a careful reading of Lucian's *Deorum Dialogi*, selected as containing but little narrative. In those Dialogues he finds in all 154 Aorists Indicative. Of this total 83 are in narrative passages; four refer to a definite time just past; twelve may be

translated indifferently by the Simple Past or the Perfect; one may be best rendered by the Present (*ἐγέλασα*, 'you make me laugh'); but 'the remaining fifty-four seem to me *all* to require, or at least to prefer, the Perfect in English.'

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE FIRE-SIGNALS IN THE *AGAMEMNON*.

To the EDITOR of the CLASSICAL REVIEW.

MAY I say a word respecting the references to this matter on pp. 220 and 238 of the last number of the *Review*? There seems to be some danger that the question may be misapprehended. What is the farthest distance at which a bonfire can be seen, is a question which has, I conceive, no bearing at all upon the story of Aeschylus. For myself at least, so far from asserting that a bonfire upon Athos could not be seen from Makistos, I have expressly assumed that it could. The impossibility which I (and, so far as I know, all others before me) attribute to the story, is an impossibility relative to the whole circumstances given. That impossibility would not be affected in the least, if it were known that the poet had himself seen a bonfire across the interval marked; and it would remain, even if such a bonfire had been seen and interpreted as a signal.

Quite apart however from the *Agamemnon*, it is a historic question, at what intervals fire-

signals have been or are likely to have been established. And upon this we may observe, that the limit is not the longest distance at which the fire may possibly be seen, but the distance at which it is fairly certain that the fire will be seen, and seen unmistakably. To establish a signal beyond this limit would be worse than useless. Does this condition allow an interval of 100 miles, or of 50 miles, or of anything near that distance? Surely we can all say from our own experience, that to arrange a chain of beacon-signals, and to leave in it deliberately a gap of 100 miles, would be sheer insanity. Everything must yield to evidence; and when or if evidence shall be produced that a chain of beacons with such a gap in it was established by the Greeks or others, we shall allow that, however unwise, the thing was done. Meanwhile we shall presume that it never was.

A. W. VERRALL.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

THE following is a list of the passages in which a fresh revision of the MS. has established readings different from those given in the printed text, or has made it possible to fill up lacunas which were there left blank or only tentatively supplied. Corrections which have already been mentioned as certain in the notes which the editor of the *Classical Review* has permitted me to add to the suggestions sent to him are not repeated here. There still remain some passages in which further study may discover the true MS. readings:—

P. 3, l. 14. [ἴ]στασαν. There is room for [καθί]στασαν in the lacuna.

P. 5, l. 2. ἐν [ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο δευ]τέρα. I think ἦν should be substituted for ἐγένετο. The other letters printed between the brackets are faintly legible, and are written in a very straggling manner.

P. 6, l. 17. ἐς. MS. χρόνον (written in abbreviated form).

P. 17, l. 6. κατεκύρωσε. MS. κατεκύρωσεν.

P. 22, ll. 1, 2. τοῦ[τους ἐκλή]ρουν. Perhaps τοῦ[τοις] ἐ[πε]κλήρουν. Between τοῦ and ἐ there is only space for one letter, but something has been written above the line, and perhaps the scribe wrote τοῦς first, and corrected it to τουτοις. In ch. 59 (p. 147, l. 15)

the phrase *ἐπικληροῦσι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὰ δικαστήρια* occurs, which is partly parallel.

P. 24, l. 8. *ἐς τὰ τε ἄλλα καί*. MS. probably *καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα*.

P. 27, l. 14. *σταθμόν*. MS. *σταθμά*.

P. 42, l. 10. *Ἀνακείω*. The first letters are faint and roughly formed, but I feel tolerably satisfied that the reading is *Θησεῖω*.

P. 43, l. 7. *εἰρή[καμεν]*. I think *εἴρηται* [ἦδη], if the hiatus is allowable.

P. 43, l. 9. *θ[εσμοῖς]*. MS. *ἄλλοις*.

P. 43, l. 12. *ὥστε δια[μπε]ρές ἐγεωργοῦνται*. MS. *ὥστε διατρέφεσθ γεωργοῦντας*. The first *γ* was at first badly formed, and a second has been written above it.

P. 44, l. 1. *διαλ[άττ]ων*. I do not think there is room for so much in the lacuna, and *διαλ[ύ]ων* should probably be read, though the *υ* must have covered a good deal of ground.

P. 45, l. 4. *[ὠφέλησεν]*. MS. *προ[σ]ίγγετο*. I see Mr. Richards has proposed *προσηγάγετο* in the last number; but though the space between the *ο* and *γ* is rather wide for two letters, it will hardly hold four.

P. 48, l. 19. *ἀγενεῖς*. MS. probably *ἀσθενεῖς*, which has the advantage of giving an improved sense to *ἅμα*. The first *σ* is, however, strangely formed, and part of the *θ* is obliterated.

P. 49, l. 8. *κατεῖχεν*. MS. *κατέσχεν*.

P. 49, l. 19. *Λακεδήμονος*. MS. *Λακεδαίμονος*.

P. 58, l. 2. *δωδεκάτῳ*. MS. *δωδεκάτῳ*, though there has been a little confusion over the first syllable.

P. 58, l. 4. *καταλιπόντες*. MS. *διαλιπόντες*. [So **W.** p. 112.]

P. 67, l. 2. *πολλῶν ἡθροισμένων*. Read *ἡθροισμένων πολλῶν*. The words were at first written in the order as printed, but an *α* has been written over *ἡθροισμένων* and a *β* over *πολλῶν*, to transpose their order.

P. 74, l. 7. *ῆ*. MS. *ην*, of course wrongly.

P. 76, l. 7. *πολέμων*. MS. *πολλῶν*.

P. 100, l. 11. *οὐδεῖς*. MS. *οὐδεῖς οὐδέν*.

P. 101, l. 5. *τάξωσι*. MS. *τάξωσιν*.

P. 109, l. 6. *ἐξάγουσι*. MS. *διάγουσι*.

P. 113, l. 10. *κλῆς*. MS. *κλείς*.

P. 119, l. 8. *κλ[ηρωτοῖ]*. Read *κλ[ηροῦται]* δ', and transpose comma. [Cf. **W.** p. 116.]

P. 120, l. 5. *τὰ . . . πεπραμένα*. MS. *τὰ εἰς [ι γ] ἔτη πεπραμένα*. There is the mark of a numeral, and the figure looks most like *γ*, but it is very faint.

P. 120, l. 6. *τῶν* MS. apparently *τῶν [ὀφ]ει[λε]τῶν*.

P. 120, l. 9. *τὸν τὰ πρ . . .* MS. apparently *τόν τε πρῶτον καὶ [ὀπόσον]*, or

[ὅσον], as it is doubtful whether the lacuna will hold six letters. [Cf. **T.** p. 181.]

P. 120, l. 17. *πωλ[οῦσιν]* Read *πωλ[οῦσιν. ἔστι] δέ*.

P. 120, l. 20. *ε . . .* [κατακυροῖ]. MS. apparently *εἰσφέρει*.

P. 121, ll. 2-5. This passage should apparently run *παραδίδωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθ' ἕκ[αστα τῶν] ἐπιστυλίων, ὃν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δέ τὰ χρήματα καταβλη[θήν]αι [καὶ ἃ] παλειφθῆναι τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀποκείται χωρὶς ἵνα μὴ προεξ[α]ίφθῃ*.

P. 141, ll. 2-5. This mutilated passage should apparently run *[εἰ]ν τις ἢ λε[λητοῦρ] γη[κέν]ν[αι] φῆ π[ρό]τερον ταύτην τὴν λητοῦρ-γ[ίαν, ἢ ἃ]τελής εἶναι λελη[τοῦρ]γῆκος ἐ[τέραν] λητοῦργίαν καὶ τῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ [τῆς ἀτελ]είας μὴ ἐξεληλυθό[των, ἢ τὰ μ'] ἔτη μὴ γεγονόσαι*. The first part of this emendation is due to Dr. Sandys, p. 117.

P. 145, l. 6. . . . *αι[ο]ι*. The remains of letters visible here are sufficient to show that the word is not *σκοταῖοι*, though I cannot yet make out what it is. Moreover, as Mr. Paton has also pointed out, the procedure here spoken of is not that of the Areopagus.

P. 145, l. 14. *ποιεῖται*. MS. probably *θύει μέν*.

P. 147, l. 15. *πάντα*. MS. *οἱτοι τά*.

P. 157, l. 5 [τῆς] *φυλῆς ἐκάστης*. MS. [τῇ] *φυλῇ ἐκάστη*.

P. 158, ll. 4, 5. *κατὰ τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσαγγελία*. MS. apparently *καὶ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσάγει[αι]*.

F. G. K.

ON THE USE OF THE HIATUS IN THE ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

MR. NEWMAN has already in the *Classical Review* noticed that the author of the *Πολιτεία* has generally avoided hiatus. As the point may be of some help in determining the question of authorship, it is worth while calling attention to the facts.

(1) A definite rule is observed throughout the greater part of the work. Generally hiatus never occurs except in the following cases:—

(α) After *καί*, the article in all cases, numerals, and the following words: *δέ, τε, τινά, ἔπειτα, εἴτα, ἀλλά, μήτε, μηδέ, πάντα, σφοδρά* (37), *διά, περί, μάλιστα*. (I have not attempted to distinguish cases of hiatus and elision.) The rule as to *μή* is not quite clear.

Hiatus is avoided at a pause as well as in the middle of a sentence.

(β) There are a large number of passages, some of considerable length, quoted from laws and other documents; in these of course the rule does not hold. The contrast between them and the other parts of the work is in consequence very marked. (Cf. *c.g.* ch. 28 with the latter part of 29.)

(γ) There are also a considerable number of what may be called technical expressions; in these hiatus is not avoided. These include all expressions used for fixing a date: *c.g.* *ἐνθὺς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ*

Τελεσίνοιο ἄρχοντας (p. 59); constitutional terms: *c.g.* ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου (p. 13), πεντήκοντα ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς (p. 54); and legal technical expressions: *c.g.* ἡ ἀτίμους εἶναι (64), ὅς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστοῖν ἢ γεγωνός (74), περὶ τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλῃ (94), μὴ εἶναι ἐλευθερον (108).

These occur of course much more frequently in the second division of the work than in the first.

I may add the expression ἡ ὄνομα ἦν, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν (41, 46).

(2) There are exceptions to this rule, but they are very unevenly distributed. I give below a list of all that occur in the first 107 pages, *i.e.* in the historical portions of the work. From this it will be seen that at the beginning clear and undoubted exceptions are very rare (in the first forty pages, omitting p. 20, there are only five): they become rather more frequent later, but are still rare. In the second portion the first few pages are as free as any parts of the first part: then cases become more frequent and at the end the rule is almost completely neglected (*cf.* p. 131, 158). It appears that the author had to insert so many technical expressions in which gross cases occur that at last he gave up troubling about the matter. It is curious too to note that in the first part the most striking exceptions to the rule often occur directly after a quotation (*cf.* p. 88).

These facts will I think be of some value on the following points.

(1) In determining the text: we may I think safely lay it down as a rule that no conjectural emendation, for the first portion at least, must be accepted which violates the law. I have below called attention to a few places where this is useful.

(2) In determining the character and authorship:

a. As Mr. Newman points out, it is clear that the work was written not hastily but with great care; not as a collection of facts for private use, but as a text-book to be published, on which the author's reputation would to some extent depend.

β. The two parts were written by the same author, for where the use of the second differs from that of the first it does so for a very clear reason: and in both the beginning is carefully written, in both exceptions grow more frequent as the work proceeds.

γ. As to authorship. It was not at any rate written by any one of the school of Isocrates, for the rule is much laxer than that which he taught his pupils. More than that, there is I think very considerable evidence that it is from the hand of Aristotle himself, for the usage in this matter is very nearly the same as that of some of his best authenticated works.¹

There is great variety in the usage of Aristotle in this matter; in some works *c.g.* the *Rhetoric*, *Poetics*, a great part of the *Ethics* and the *Physics*, he seems to pay little attention to it. But generally his practice is to avoid hiatus so far as is compatible with the severely scientific subjects of which he treats and the great number of technical terms that he uses. It will especially be noticed that the introductory paragraphs of each work, sometimes of each book, are written with great care: thus in the *De Anima*, the *Poetics*, the beginning of each book of the *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, and the *Ethics*. In the *Politics* the contrast is very marked between the first and succeeding pages of the first book. In some cases also, *c.g.* in

the *Ethics* and the *Sophistici Elenchi*, the last paragraph is written with great care. In cases where the change is not so sudden, Aristotle invariably gets more careless towards the end of a work. Throughout the *περὶ οὐρανοῦ*, the *μητεωρολογικά*, many books of the *Metaphysics*, the first book of the *Ethics*, the *Politics* (with the exception of most of the first book and part of the seventh) and the *De Anima*, hiatus only occurs frequently in those passages where there is a frequent use of historical terms and the subject matter is one of much difficulty; it is especially noticeable that in the historical introduction prefixed to the *Metaphysics* and to the *De Anima* giving an account of previous speculations (*Met.* Bk. I. ch. 3-5), hiatus is very rare. Contrast also *De Anima* pp. 6-7 (403^b 20 etc.) with pp. 100-1 (434^a 22 etc.). For a striking case of the contrast of the two styles see *Metaphysics* Λ. ch. 8. In *Met.* A. iii. 3 is a good instance of the way in which quotation of the words of an author causes neglect of the rule in an otherwise carefully written passage.

In the places however where Aristotle avoids hiatus, his rule is just the same as that observed in this work.

If then we compare this work with the undoubted works of Aristotle we find in both the same use: in both cases hiatus is avoided, but the rule is much laxer than that followed by the school of Isocrates: in both cases it is avoided at a pause as well as in the middle of a sentence: in both however this rule is never allowed to interfere with scientific accuracy of expression; it is at once neglected when in the one case philosophical terms, in the other marks of time or legal expressions have to be used: and finally in both we find that the author at the beginning of each part of the work is very careful, but gets more careless as he goes on, and allows the use of technical terms and quotations to affect his own style.

I venture to add as a further evidence of Aristotelian authorship five cases of exceptions to the rule.

P. 7, 13 occurs σημείον δέ· ἔτι καὶ νῦν.

P. 42, 1. 3.—Λυγδάμιος τοῦ Ναξίου, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων.

P. 76, 1. 3.—ἔχειν τὰ μέτρια, ἔτι δέ.

P. 146, 1. 16.—κατὰ τοῦτο χρώνται· ἔτι δὲ τὰς εἰσαγγελίας.

P. 80, 1. 10.—ἀγαθοῦ πολλοῦ ἐργον.

Here we have three expressions—σημείον δέ, ἔτι δέ, ἐργον—very characteristic of Aristotle's most technical philosophic style introduced in a work written otherwise in a quite different manner, and in each case associated with non-observance of the law of hiatus: the hiatus (if the text is correct) shows that each of these passages is not very carefully written; it is scarcely far-fetched to suppose that Aristotle when writing carelessly would involuntarily fall back into his philosophic style.

I add a list of all passages in the first part where there is a real or apparent breach of the rule. It will be seen that, omitting passages which are clearly corrupt, there remain about 35 in 104 pages. Of these 11 occur in 3 short passages; in two cases 3 in one line; in another 5 in 8 lines; of the others 5 I have already referred to; some, *c.g.* on p. 21, are due to obvious reasons; and it is probable that of the remainder still more will disappear as the text is better established.

P. 5, 1. 2.—ἐν [ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο]. *Log.* ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

P. 6, 1. 7.—ὁπότερος πον ἔχει μικρόν, [καὶ ἐγένετο δὴ ἐν τοῖς τοῖς χρόνοις.

The πον has already been objected to on other grounds, *C. R.* p. 106, where is read ὁπότερος ἔχει μικρόν [διαφέρει ἐγένετο δ'. The hiatus cannot stand.

¹ I have used the first volume of Benseler's *De Hiatu*, the Appendix to his edition of the *Arceopagitica*, and the second volume of Blass' *Altische Beredsamkeit*. I have however depended entirely on my own examination of Aristotle.

P. 7, 1. 3.—σμηῖον δέ· ἔτι *v. supra*.

P. 9, 1. 11.—ἀπεδίδото [ῆ] πολιτεία. The article seems to be necessary.

P. 20, 1. 2.—ἀνακείται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει εἰκὼν Διφίλου, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπ' ἰγέρραται τάδε.

Here there are three cases in one line: it is almost impossible not to suppose some very serious corruption of the text.

P. 21, 1. 2.—τελεῖ, οὐδ'. The hiatus is probably left on purpose to mark the pause between question and answer.

P. 23, 1. 1.—ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἀνακαλεσαμένη.

P. 24, 1. 3.—οἷς οὐκέτι χρώνται (οἶον [εἰκὸς] γέ] γραπται. The reading is doubtful. Cf. *C. R.* p. 225.

In the next line ἐκ τοῦ ναυκραρικοῦ ἀργυρίου is a quotation from the actual words of the law.

Ib. 1. 10.—κυρία οὖσα may perhaps stand, but the repetition from chap. 3 is suspicious.

P. 26, 1. 2.—[δικάσσαι] ὑπέρ. *Leg.* δίκην λαβεῖν. Cf. *Plut. Solon*. Ch. 18.

P. 26, 1. 8.—ἀνάγκ[η] ἦν: τὰς: *Leg.* ἀναγκαῖον or, as is suggested in *C. R.* p. 177, ἀνάγκη πολλὰς.

Ib. 1. 9.—τὰ δικαστήρια ὄνται. ? τοὺς δικαστάς.

P. 27, 1. 1.—ἔχρ[η] δὲ δῆμος κ[ύριος]. The only reading which has been proposed that avoids the hiatus is τὰ δικαστήρια which is hardly convincing. *C. R.* p. 177.

P. 25, 1. 8.—μ[ὴ] αἰρ[ε]ται. *Leg.* τίθηται, *C. R.* p. 108.

P. 39, 1. 1.—[πράττει οὐ]θέν. *Leg.* οὐκ ἐπιθεῖν, *C. R.* p. 110.

P. 42, 1. 3.—Ναξίου: ἔτι δε. Cf. *supra*.

Ib. 1. 15.—τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν.

P. 44. ll. 8—17.—In this passage there are five marked cases. γίγνεται ἐκ (l. 8), ὀδύναι, ἔφη (l. 9) seem due to the conversational style. ἀτελεῖ ἀπάντων, if the reading is right, may be classed as a technical expression. There remain 1. 11 ἀπεκρίνατο ἀγνοῶν, 1. 16 παρμαί[σ]ετο ὤς.

P. 45, 1. 8—10.—A law quoted.

P. 46, 1. 2.—ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν. Cf. *supra*.

P. 48, 1. 5.—ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες. Cf. p. 92. 1. 2 θώρακα ἐνδεδικώς.

P. 48, 1. 19.—γένοντο ἀγεννεῖς.

P. 57, 1. 4.—ἐγένετο ἡ πολιτεία.

P. 59, 1. 6.—χρώμενοι τῇ εἰωθίᾳ τοῦ δήμου πραότητι ὄν. Is this a gloss?

P. 62, 1. 1.—τάλαντα ἑκατόν.

P. 64. 1. 11.—ἡ ἀτίμους εἶναι. A technical expression.

P. 65, 1. 8.—ἐκάστω δικάω.

P. 66. 1. 5.—ὁ μὲν τὰ πολέμια ἀσκῶν, ὁ δὲ τὰ πολιτικά δεινός εἶναι <δοκῶν>. Read as Mr. Richards suggests in the *Academy* (April 18) δοκῶν for ἀσκῶν, and omit δοκῶν after εἶναι.

P. 69, 1. 2.—ἐγένετο ἔτη.

P. 72, 1. 6.—περιείλοντο αὐτῶν.

P. 72, 1. 8.—Ταναγραλοῦ ἡ.

P. 72, 1. 14.—ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν.

P. 73, 1. 6.—ἀπόλλυσθαι, [ᾧ]στε.

P. 74, 1. 6.—μὴ ἐξ. A legal expression.

P. 74, 1. 9.—πρώτον εὐδοκμήσαντος. *Leg.* πρῶτον, cf. *C. R.* p. 112.

P. 76, 1. 3.—μέτρια, ἔτι δε τὰ χωρία πάντα ἀφρακτα ἦν. There may be some corruptions here: the following works ὅπως ἐξῆν τῷ βουλευμένῳ are clearly a repetition of the same words occurring above.

It is probable from *Plutarch (Pericl.* 9) that the words τοῖς δεομένοις should be substituted in one place. τὰ μέτρια also is a curious expression.

P. 77, 1. 18.—Κλεανέτου· ὅς.

P. 80, 1. 2.—γεγονέναι οὐ.

P. 80, 1. 10.—πολίτου ἔργον. Cf. *supra*.

P. 81, 1. 2.—βασιλεία [ἀσμενο]ν. *Leg.* μάλλον, cf. *C. R.* p. 133.

P. 81, 1. 7.—βέλτιστα εἶναι. The actual words of the oath.

P. 82, 85, 86—7, are quotations from documents.

P. 88, 1. 9.—ἐπιψηφίσαντος Ἀριστομάχου, ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐπὶ Καλλίον. ἐπὶ Καλλίον is here a mark of time.

P. 88, 1. 11.—οἱ δε τετρακόσιοι εἰσήσαν.

P. 91, 1. 9.—ἐκότεροι εἰρήνην ἄγειν. Quotation.

P. 92, 1. 2.—θώρακα ἐνδεδικώς.

P. 94, 1. 9.—κύρος δ' ἦν.

P. 94. 1. 12.—τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλῃ. The actual words of the law.

P. 95. 1. 2.—μὴ ᾧ. Perhaps a quotation from the law.

P. 100—1.—Quotations of a document.

P. 104, 1. 2.—Ἐλευσῖνι [ἐξοί]κῃσαντες. *Leg?* μετοικήσαντες.

P. 104, 1. 12.—ἐγένετο [ῆ] κατὰστασις τῶν. Omit ἡ. See *C. R.* p. 181.

P. 105, 1. 2.—ταῦτα [ἐξ]έχουσα. *Leg.* παρελθούσα, cf. *C. R.* p. 115, 181.

J. W. HEADLAM.

In continuation of some remarks that appeared in the *Classical Review* for April I have jotted down some further notes on the language of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία.

P. 14, 1. 9. ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογεῖται. This Ionic use of ἐκ with passive verbs is found now and then in Attic verse and prose, but nowhere in Aristotle.

P. 16, 13. περὶ πλείονος ποιήσασθαι. According to Eucken ποιεῖσθαι περὶ πολλοῦ &c. occurs once only in Aristotle (*Eth.* 8. 10. 1160b 15) though it is found twice in the *Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν*.

P. 19, 11. σημείον δὲ φέρουσι κ.τ.λ. Cf. 6. 3. This phrase seems not to occur in Aristotle, though he might often avail himself of it.

P. 19, 12. ὥς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος κείμενον. The Index A. gives three examples only of ὥς ἂν with a participle. The first of these (*An. Post.* 1. 3. 22b 9) is essentially different, and ἂν has there its full force. The other two are in the *Περὶ ἀκουστών* and are moreover rather different from this. This has therefore no Aristotelian parallel.

P. 32, 6. μεψιμοῖρια would properly be a ἕξις, and so it is in the *Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν* 1251b 25, the only passage cited in Index A. Cf. however the uses of *πλεονεξία* and other words.

39, 8. ὁμοφρονήσαντες is not Aristotelian and seems to have no better sanction in Attic than its use by Xenophon. On the other hand it is a favourite word with Herodotus (cf. *Classical Review* for April p. 184). ἡγήλαται in p. 52. 1. 13 seems to be another Herodotean word.

P. 41, 3. ἀπομιμῆσθαι is not found in Aristotle. ἀπομιμήσις occurs in the *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1420b. 16.

P. 42, 13. πρόπυλον. This form is cited from Herodotus, Hippocrates, a Smyrna inscription, &c. and seems to be another Ionism.

P. 46, 3. παρωνύμιον in this sense is given by L. and S. as belonging to Plutarch. But ᾧ παρωνύμιον ἦν Θετταλός may well be an adscript.

P. 49, 2. The Index A. gives οὐχί as occurring only in two passages of the *Poetics*. Vahlen however (*Beiträge*, p. 327) declares it to be much more frequent.

P. 56, 2. The Index A. gives *Eth.* 10. 6. 1176b 15 as the only passage of Aristotle where σφᾶς αὐτοὺς = ἑαυτοὺς is used. It cites also one passage from the *Rhet. ad Alex.* In this treatise it occurs also p. 83, 1. 7: p. 85, 1. 4: and elsewhere.

P. 58, 7. τῶν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν. Demosthenes has

ἐν δυνάμει, but Aristotle not even that. Cf. however *Elh.* 1. 5. 1095b 21 τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις.

P. 61, 4. μεθίστατο. Aristotle follows the Attic writers in using the active voice of this verb, not the middle, for 'banishing.'

P. 79, 1. ἐπιθήσιν—ἄλλον ὁβολόν. Aristotle's usual word is προστιθέναι.

P. 82, 7. τούτων χάριν. This retrospective sense of χάριν (which like ἔνεκα usually looks to the future, and not like διὰ to the past) is not common in any author and, so far as the Index A. and Eucken's remarks on the word go, seems not to be known at all in Aristotle. But the distinction is often not noticed, and Aristotle may have the use after all. P. 61, 1.2 ὧν χάριν ὁ νόμος ἐτέθη is perhaps prospective not retrospective: but it is hard to say.

P. 89, 11. μήνας μὲν οὖν ἴσως τέτταρας. The rare use of ἴσως = μάλιστα with numbers seems not to occur in Aristotle.

P. 90, 1. 18. διὰ τάχους is not found in Aristotle, though διὰ ταχέων is.

P. 98, 4. κύριος εἶναι θανατοῦντας. For κύριος with a participle the Index quotes only ἀποψηφίζόμενον μὲν γὰρ κύριον δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸ πλῆθος κ.τ.λ., *Pol.* 4. 14. 1298b 39, 36 (the same phrase repeated).

P. 100, 2. πρὶν ἢ Πανσανίαν τ' ἀφικέσθαι. πρὶν ἢ with an infinitive is read very doubtfully in one passage of the *Metaphysics* (Eucken, who seems wrong in thinking that an infinitive must be understood after πρὶν ἢ in another passage). πρὶν with inf. 'haud raro in usu est.'

P. 102, 6. ἐπινοεῖν, though a good enough Greek word, occurs only in the *Περὶ κόσμου*.

P. 104, 7. In like manner ἐνστήσασθαι with accusative occurs only in the *Προβλήματα*.

P. 124, 3. ἐντὸς τριῶν μῶν. ἐντὸς with numbers seems not to be Aristotelian.

P. 145, 1. ἐὰν δέ.....τούτω δ' ἐν Φρεαττοῖ δικάζουσιν. This does not fall strictly within the two cases in which Eucken allows δέ in the apodosis to Aristotle: but ἐὰν is after all only a slight variation upon ὅς ἂν, and after a relative Aristotle sometimes puts δέ in the apodosis.

παρὰντίκα in p. 29, 1. 8 and the use of δὴ with a superlative in p. 103, 1. 14 κάλλιστα δὴ have been already pointed out by Mr. Newman as going against Eucken's rules of Aristotelian usage. If Eucken is right in saying that Aristotle never uses an optative with a final conjunction after a past tense, but always the subjunctive, then p. 48, 11. 17—19 κατηγόρει...ἵνα ἀσεβήσαιεν ἅμα καὶ γένοιτο ἀγεννεῖς is of considerable importance. The subjunctive is however almost invariably in the treatise, and the writer, like Aristotle, prefers ὅπως to ἵνα in such cases. Eucken seems also to hold that Aristotle does not couple single words by τε καί, unless they are infinitives or participles. But this rule can hardly be absolute. We have for instance πατήρ τε καὶ υἱός in *Pol.* 8. 6. 1305b 8. Such passages therefore in our text as p. 72, 1. 4 ὅ τ' Ἐφιάλτης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς or p. 99, 1. 9 Καλλιβίου τε καὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, prove little or nothing, though substantives with their articles are perhaps thus coupled in our text more frequently than is Aristotle's way, e.g. p. 140, 1. 4 ὅ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ πολέμαρχος, p. 119, 1. 11, &c.

It seems worth while to subjoin a list of some other words and phrases, less noticeable than those given above, which do not appear to be used by Aristotle. Such are αἰτῶν ἀνάπνειν (p. 15, 1. 8): βλασφημεῖν (p. 16, 1. 5. It occurs only in a fragment of a dialogue): ἐπίσκοπος (p. 24, 1. 8. The verb is often used by Aristotle, but not in this sort of sense): βραβεύειν (p. 26, 1. 9): μεταθέσθαι used absolutely (p. 28, 1. 14): συμπροθυμείσθαι (p. 42, 1. 1): κυαμεύω

(p. 59, 1. 8): ἀγῶνας ἐπιφέρειν (p. 69, 1. 9): ἀντιστασιώτης (p. 77, 1. 9): ἀπένγωσαν ποιεῖν (p. 106, 15 'resolved not to make.' Aristotle uses ἀπογινώσκειν for 'despair'). The few technical terms, such as συμβουλεύειν (p. 84, 1. 9), ἀντιδίκησις (p. 122, 1. 6) and others, are different in kind.

In conclusion we may notice how far noticeable words and phrases that are common in Aristotle occur in this treatise, confining ourselves to such as are suitable to a historical and political work, and therefore comparing mainly the language of the *Politics*. Mr. J. B. Mayor has noticed the absence of κἂν εἰ and ὅτε μὲν...ὅτε δέ. Another notable absentee is καί—δέ. P. 72, 1. 7 καὶ ἀνγρήθη δὲ καὶ Ὁφιάλτης is the only place in which I have noticed it, and here it seems so inappropriate as probably to be wrong. It would therefore be unwise to restore it by conjecture to p. 29, 1. 12. ἐτι or ἐτι δέ (p. 42, 1. 3: p. 26, 1. 3), ὅλως (p. 15, 1. 8: p. 35, 1. 4), σχεδόν (p. 53, 1. 9: p. 80, 1. 1), λίαν (p. 40, 1. 3), occur but seldom, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ pretty frequently, I have not noticed ἄρα, nor τοίνυν, nor τάχα, nor ἴσως (except in p. 89, 1. 11, mentioned above), but they may possibly occur. Familiar phrases like λέγω δέ, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεῖ μὴ λανθάνειν are missing. ἁπλῶς and φύσει are not found in their Aristotelian sense, though both occur. The verb προαίρεισθαι is found once (p. 75, 1. 11, where I think we ought to read προήγετο for προηρείτο), θεωρεῖν occurs p. 27, 1. 4. Familiar verbs that seem altogether wanting are διορίζεσθαι, ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἐπισκέψασθαι, εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μεταβάλλειν (but μεταβολή is used), ὀρέγεσθαι, ἐφίεσθαι. Among substantives we miss μέθοδος, ὅρος or ὑπόθεσις τῆς πολιτείας, προαίρεσις, πολίτευμα, εἶδος or γένος ('kind'), παρέκβασις, ὑπεροχή, σκοπός, τιμή ('office': or is p. 32, 1. 17 an example? It is not clear that the word is not Solon's), κοινωνία (the verb occurs two or three times). There is a good deal about democracy, but we miss the technical terms ἐσχάτη, ὑστάτη, τελευταία, ἄκρατος δημοκρατία. Nothing is ἀποπον and no person or thing is either σπουδαῖος or φαῦλος.

I find on the other side nothing whatever that seems to me characteristic of Aristotle as distinguished from other writers. There are of course plenty of words that he uses (ἀποδιδῶνα, κατασκευάζειν, ἀνίστασθαι, πολιτικῶς, παρέργως, πατρικῶς, &c.), but, as far as I can judge, no word that has a distinct Aristotelian stamp.

This statement of facts rests on two or three careful readings of the treatise. It is however possible that some errors as to the use of particular words have found their way into it. A statement made by me in the *Classical Review* for April, p. 185, that the Index A. gives only one instance of ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν from Aristotle (*Met.* iii. 5. 1009b 16) may here be supplemented by the remark that it occurs also in *Rhet.* i. 2. 1357a 25 and *Pol.* i. 2. 1252b 9, and therefore probably elsewhere. In this matter the Index is misleading.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

P. 48, 1. 19. ἀγεννεῖς.

Is not a word required which will indicate the result of destroying their friends, as ἀσεβήσαιεν indicates the result of destroying τοὺς ἀναίτιους? ἀσθενεῖς is tolerably near the MS.

P. 150, 1. 6. Φυλῆς.

Mr. Kenyon suggested φυλακῆς in his note. The confusion between these words occurs in the MSS. of Thucydides also: vi. 100 *init.*, vi. 101 § 5, viii. 92. § 4, and doubtless elsewhere.

P. 152, 1. 7. ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς &c.

Comparing the emendations suggested on page 119, l. 8 and l. 14 and the editor's note on p. 149, l. 18, I should propose ἓνα ἐκάστης φυλῆς.

τὸν ἡγ[ησά]μενο[ν] will then require alteration: there appears not to be room enough for a word to have been erased in the MS. after ἡγ[ησά]μενο[ν]: yet τὸν ἱππέων is necessary. If τὸν ἱππέων ἡγησόμενος were the original reading ἱππέων might be accidentally omitted in copying, from the similarity of the first letters of the next word [ΙΠΗΤ]: then τὸν ἡγῆσόμενος would be an obvious change after ἓνα.

J. R. WARDALE.

The following emendations are proposed by M. Gennadios in Ἀκρόπολις for March 19 and subsequent numbers:—

P. 2, l. 6. Supply τότε οἱ τὸ ἀρχαῖον.
P. 3, l. 9. It would be correct to say either τῆς πολιτείας μὴ μετέχειν οἱ τῶν ἀρχῶν μὴ μετέχειν. But the present reading is impossible. At any rate omit κατά.

P. 5, l. 3. Read διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι.
P. 6, l. 9. Read perhaps Ἀνθεστηρίων.
P. 9, l. 2. Omit καὶ before κολλάουσα.
P. 9, l. 3. For γάρ read δέ.
P. 16, l. 5. Read ἐβλασφήμουν.
P. 24, l. 7. For ἔτι read perhaps ἐπὶ τό.
P. 28, l. 8. Read εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κάνωπον.
P. 33, l. 5. Read διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀργῇ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησαν.

P. 41, last line. Transpose πάλιν after ἀνασάσασθαι, comparing p. 45, l. 1.

P. 49, l. 8. κατεῖχεν. Read κατέσχευεν.
P. 53, l. 10. After στασιάζοντες supply πρὸς τούτους οἱ κατὰ τούτων.

P. 72, l. 14. After ἡγεμόνα insert σπουδαῖον.
P. 77, l. 2. Read προπάτας.....εὐδοκιμοῦντας, omitting the following τά.

P. 103, ll. 21—23. For ἄρχειν read ἀρχήν, for ἔτι προστιθέσιν read ἐπιπροστιθέσιν, for δημοκρατήσαντες read δῆμον κρατήσαντες.

P. 106, l. 13. Insert οἱ before ὁλίγοι.
P. 125, l. 1. Gennadios corrects (with M) ἐντὸς ἰσταίων.

P. 125, ll. 6, 7. Gennadios thinks that it is impossible for the Athenians to have spoken so lightly of the carrying off of corpses from the streets. Such a thing would be παρ' Ἀγγλοῖς μόνοις ἀνεκτὸν καὶ καλόν. He suggests that κύνας may have been lost.

P. 44, l. 6. Gennadios thinks some such word as Φελλᾶς may be concealed under παττάλα, and that πέτρας is a gloss to explain it, and for ἐκέλευεν [ἐρ]εσθαι he suggests ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶ φάνα.

P. 44, l. 10. For δεῖ read δεῖν.
P. 41, l. 7. Omit προσκυνῶντες as a gloss on θαυμάζοντες, and for the latter cf. Xen. *Hell.* i. 6, 11.

P. 43, l. 9. For θ[ε]σμοῖς read ὁμιλίας or ἐντεύξαι.

P. 42, l. 13. For πρόπυλον read Προπύλαιον.
P. 112, l. 6. Omit ἀναγινώσκειν, and in like manner the second ποιοῦνται in p. 148, l. 10.

P. 119, l. 5. Insert τῶ before δικαστήριον.
P. 119, l. 12. Here and p. 123, l. 17 read Νίκας Νικῶν (with a capital).

P. 78, ll. 7, 8. For διεδίδου read διεδίδουν, for κατέλυσε read κατήνυσε.

P. 79, l. 8. Read πρὸς τὸ παραντίκα.
P. 41, l. 9. For ὡς read ἀθίς.
P. 41, l. 14. For συνώκισε read ὥκισε.
P. 95, last line. Read δυναστείαν αὐτῶν.
P. 96, l. 2. Read ἐπετίμα.
P. 106, last line but one. Read ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ.

Those which follow are taken from the Ἐφημερίς, March 20.

P. 3, l. 14. For τοιαύτη read ἥδε.
P. 11, l. 9. For τετρακοσίου καὶ ἓνα τοὺς read τετρ. κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.

P. 36, l. 7. For προσεκεκόσμητο read προσεγεγέννητο.

P. 48, l. 5. Read τὴν δ' οὖν ὅλην.
P. 67 *fin.* For δικασταὶ read ὁπλίται.

P. 82, l. 7. προσκάληται. Read προκάληται.

P. 93, last line. ἐκ προκρίτων ἐκ τῶν χιλίων. Read ἐκ προκριθέντων χιλίων.

P. 98, l. 4. For θανατοῦντας read θανατοῦν.

P. 103, ll. 21—23. Read οὐχ ὥπως τι προστιθέασιν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων οἱ δῆμοι κρατήσαντες.

P. 106, l. 2. Insert καὶ ἀμαρτάνειν.

P. 120, l. 9. Read τὸν τε πριάμενον καὶ ὃ, τι ἂν πρίηται.

P. 120, l. 13. τε[λοῦντος]. Read τε[λευτώντος].

P. 125, ll. 6, 7. Read τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν ὀχετοὺς καθαίρουσι.

A review, chiefly historical, by Professor H. Weil has appeared in the *Journal des Savants* for April. He proposes to read ἐνεώτερον or νωθέτερον for νεώτερον in p. 72, and διακοσίων μῶν for δέκα μῶν in p. 10.

P. 19, l. 8. For the use of ποιεῖν cf. *C.I.A.* 4. Fasc. 2, 27, b. (= Ditt. *Syll.* 13) v. 7, ἐὰν δέ τις πλείω καρπὸν ποιῇ ἐτή[σ]ιον εἰτ]ε ὀλέξω, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀπαρξέσθαι.

P. 50, l. 12. Cf. Isocr. 15, 232. Κλεισθένης ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, λόγῳ πείσας τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας δανεῖσαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων αὐτῶ τὸν τε δῆμον κατήγαγε κ.τ.λ. Does not this confirm the MS. reading εὐπόρῃσαν χρημάτων?

P. 64, l. 9. Cf. [Dem.] 26, 6. Ἀριστείδην μὲν γὰρ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων μετασταθέντα ἐν Αἰγίνῃ διατρίβειν ἕως ὃ δῆμος αὐτὸν κατεδέξατο. Hdt. 8, 79. ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη. Suid. s.v. Ἀριστείδης, διέτριψεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ φυγάν. Ξέρξου δέ ὡς αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ προσβουσαμένον καὶ τρισχιλίους δαρεικοὺς...δίδοντας οὐδὲν ἐπιστρέφειν ἀφ' οὗ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πλοῦτος κ.τ.λ. This circumstance explains the provision that henceforth persons ostracised were to reside *outside* Geraestus and the Scyllaeae promontory. According to Plutarch (*Cim.* 17) Cimon when ostracised appeared at Tanagra.

P. 65, l. 7. Mr. Rutherford asks whether ἐξαπορήσαντες τοῖς πράγμασι is Greek. Isocrates (4, 147) has ἀπορήσας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι.

P. 67, l. 7. I was inclined to suspect the uncomprounded verb λαβόντες before I perceived it to be an echo from Isocrates. Cf. 4, 72, 5, 62, 7, 7, 8, 30, 70, 74, 104, 12, 103: he has παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν in 4, 100, 8, 101, κατασχεῖν in 4, 102, 8, 126. Compare also 8, 95 διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι κακῶς ἐχρήσασθαι τοῖς πράγμασι with p. 92, 4 of this treatise, the use of πολιτικός and πολιτικῶς in 4, 79, 151, 9, 46, *Ep.* 2, 3 with p. 39, 6, the account of Theseus in 10, 36, 12, 129 with p. 105, 3, and Plut. *Thes.* 25.

P. 72, l. 13. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους συνέπεσε μὴδ' ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν τοὺς ἐπικειστέρους ἀλλ' αὐτῶν προσεάσαν Κίμωνος τὸν Μιλτιάδου, νεώτερον ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὀψέ προσελθόντα.

There seems some corruption here. On p. 74 we read εὐδοκίμησαντος Περικλέους ὅτε κατηγόρησε τὰς εὐθύνας Κίμωνος στρατηγῶντος νέος ὢν. If the allusion here is to Cimon's trial after the capitulation of Thasos, Pericles according to the writer was a young man in 464/3 B.C. How then can Cimon be called 'rather young' in the period following the death of Ephialtes, *i.e.* after 462/1 B.C.? This is even more

extraordinary than the presence of Themistocles in Athens in 462/1 B.C. May not *νεώτερον ὅντα* conceal a word or words alluding to Cimon's absence from Athens whether on foreign service (Plut. *Cim.* c. 15, *Per.* c. 7), or in consequence of his ostracism? Then the writer adds that he came back too late (*κατελθόντα*?) to stay the tide of innovation. But I can suggest nothing that follows at all closely the ductus litterarum: *νεωστὶ* may have been the first word. Aristides II. p. 203 D has an extraordinary story about Cimon: *ὅτι μὲν τῶνιν οὐχ εἰς τῶν κομψῶν οὐδ' οἷος ὑπελθεῖν καὶ κολακεύειν Κίμων ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν δὲ τὰ πατρώα ἐβελήσαντες αὐτῷ παραδόντες· μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπίτροποι μαρτυροῦσιν· οὕτως ἐνθῇ καὶ μάλλον ἀρχαῖον ἡγούτο.* Cf. III. p. 515, 8, 517, 28 sqq., Plut. *Cim.* 4, 15. At first I fancied that this was the clue and that the right reading was *νωρότερον ὅντα* and *πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν*, but then *μὴδ' ἡγεμόνα* is awkward and unnatural, and the example quoted in L. and S. for the comparative *νωρότερος* is from Heliodorus: Plato only uses *νωρότερος*.

P. 80, l. 3. *τῇ πόλει πάσῃ πατρικῶς χρωμένους.* Cf. Aristides 119, 16, II. p. 161 D. *τῇ μὲν χρηστότητι καὶ ταῖς ἐπικεικίαις ἐν πατρὶς ὧν τάξει τῷ δήμῳ (Περικλῆς), τῇ δὲ καθεργεῖν ἅπαντας καὶ πάνθ' ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἔχειν πλέον ἢ τυράννος.* Plutarch's phrase is *πατρικὴν ζωνόντες εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον* (*Nic.* 2). Is not this due to a misapprehension on the part of Plutarch or the authority he was copying? Certainly the natural interpretation of Plutarch's words is 'having a hereditary affection.' Cf. *C.I.A.* 2, 121, v. 8, *ὅντες πατρόςθεν φίλοι τοῦ δήμου*, *Vit. X. Or.* 852, A. p. 94, l. West. Λυκούργος Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδης παραλαβὼν παρὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προγόνων οἰκίαν ἐκ παλαιού τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὖνοίαν, Reiske's Index to the Orators, s.v. *πατρικὸς*.

P. 91, l. 3. Cf. Aelian. *V. H.* 3, 17. *οὐκ ἐπεψήφισεν Ἀθηναῖος (Σωκράτης) τὸν τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν θάνατον.*

P. 120, l. 20. The supplement *κατακυροῦ* δὲ is rightly condemned. A good commentary on the passage is furnished by *C.I.A.* 4. Fasc. 2, 53 a, (418/7 B.C.) v. 3 sqq. *Ἀδούσιοις ἐλπεῖν· εἰρᾶς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Κόδρου καὶ τὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῆς Βασίλης (Plat. *Charm.* 153 A) κ[α]ὶ μισθῶσαι τὸ τέμενος κατὰ τὰς συναγραφάς, οἱ δὲ πωλητὰι τὴν εἰρ[ε]ν[ί]αν ἀπομισθώσαντων, τὸ δὲ τέμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπομισθώσάτω κατὰ [τ]ὰς ξυνογραφάς . . . τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον ἐς τὴν εἰρᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τεμένους εἶναι, πράξει δὲ ταῦτα πρὶν ἢ ξένοιαι τῆνδε τὴν βουλὴν ἢ εὐθύνεσθαι χιλιάσι δραχμῇσι ἕκαστον κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα. v. 11 sqq. : Ἀδούσιος εἶπε· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μ[ε]νίσθωσάτω καὶ οἱ πωλητὰι τὸ τέμενος τὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῆς Βασίλης κα[τὰ] τὰς ξυνογραφὰς εἰκοσι ἔτη. τὸν δὲ μισθωσάμενον εἰρᾶς τὸ ἐν[ε]ρ[γ]ὸν τὸ Κόδρου καὶ τὸ Νηλέως καὶ τῆς Βασίλης τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέλεσιν, ὁπ[ο]σ[θ]ν δ' ἂν ἄλλῃ μίσ[θ]ωσιν τὸ τέμενος κατὰ τὸν ἐναντὶν ἕκαστον, καταβαλλέτω τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας τοῖς ἀποδέκταις[s], οἱ δὲ ἀποδέκταις τοῖς ταμίαις τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παραδιδόντων κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃ τὰ ἐνηφιμισμένα ἢ ἄλλος τις οἷς προστέτακται περὶ τούτων, ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγιίδος πρυτανείας, εὐθυνέσθω μυριάσι δραχμῇσιν. τὸν δὲ ἐ[ω]νημένον τὴν ἰλὺν ἐκομίσσασθαι ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἐπὶ τῇσδε τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδόντα τὸ ἀργύριον τῷ Νηλεῖ ὅσον ἐπρίστω. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐξαλειψ[ά]τω τὸν πρίσμων τὴν ἰλὺν ἐπειδὰν ἀποδῷ τῇμίσθωσιν, τὸν δὲ μισθωσάμενον τὸ τέμενος καὶ ὅσους ἂν μισθώσῃται ἀντεννογραφῶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς τὸν τοῖχον καὶ τοὺς ἐγγυητάς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσπερ κείται (περὶ) τῶν τεμενῶν. v. 29—v. 38 the 'lex locationis.' Cf. E. Curtius, 'Das Nelenion in Athen.' *Sitzungsb. d. Ak. d. W. zu Berlin*, 1885, p. 437 sqq. The lease in this inscription is for twenty years, but in *C.I.A.* 1, 283 (434 and 433 B.C.) we find 'sacred land in*

Rheneia' leased for ten years. Cf. a Delian inscription of 250 B.C.: *ἐμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἑτὴ δέκα κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν* (Homolle, *Les Archives de l'Intendance Sacrée à Délos*, p. 19, n. 1.) Similarly in 321/0 the deme Peiraieus lets *τεμένη* for ten years (*C.I.A.* 2, 1059), and a lease of land for the same period is granted by a *φρατρία* (τὸ κοινὸν Δυαλέων *C.I.A.* 2, 600) in 300/299 B.C. In an inscription of 329/8 B.C. the *Βασιλεὺς* is associated with other officials: 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. III. 1883, p. 110 sqq. β. 29 [τῶν τεμενῶν] ἔμισθωσαν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ πάρεδροι καὶ οἱ ἐπιστάται οἱ Ἑ[λ]ευσινίοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων (Nebe, *de mysteriis Eleusiniis* *tempore et administratione*, 1886, p. 25).

P. 123, l. 15. *τὰ παραδείγματα.* Some light is thrown on the construction of a *παράδειγμα* or architect's plan (Hdt. 5, 62), by an unedited inscription from Delos belonging to the year 279 B.C. which is cited by Homolle, *Les Archives de l'Intendance Sacrée à Délos*, p. 13, n. 4: *εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ προτύλου πίνακα ἡγοράσαμεν παρὰ Χρησίμου ΔΤΤ.*

ἐπισκευάσαντι τὸν πίνακα Θεοδήμῳ ΤΤ. λευκώσαντι τὸν πίνακα ἀμφοτέρωθεν ΤΤΤ. The wood used for the *πίναξ* is also mentioned: *τοῦ φοίνικος τοῦ περιγενομένου ἀπὸ τοῦ παραδείγματος.*

P. 123, *ad fin.* καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν νικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὰ Παναθήναια συνεπιμελείται (ἡ βουλὴ) μετὰ τοῦ ταμίου τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. Cf. *C.I.A.* 2, 739, a fragment of the accounts of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ in 334/3 B.C. v. 7 sqq. *τάδε ἔχομεν[ε]ν χρήματα — εἰς τὰς νίκ[ας] καὶ τὰ π[ο]μ[π]εῖα ἐπὶ τῇ[s] — τι[δ]ος[ε] πέμπτῃς πρυ[ταν]είας [παρὰ] ταμίῳ στρατιωτικῶν.* Are the officials mentioned in 739, v. 5, τῶν εἰρημένων [*εἰπὶ τὰς νίκας καὶ τὰ πομπεία*], and in 740, v. 4, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πομπεία . . . ἀιρεθέν[ε]ς members of the βουλὴ?

The decree of Stratocles in honour of Lycurgus (*Vit. X. Or.* 852, c. p. 94, 14, W., *C.I.A.* 2, 240, C. Curtius, *Philol.* 24, p. 83 sqq.) suggests that they were not; note *ἐτι δὲ αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρήματα πολλὰ συνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀρόπλοισι καὶ παρασκευάσας τῇ θεῇ κόσμον, νίκας τε ὀλοχρυσοῦς πομπεία τε χρυσὰ καὶ ἀργυρὰ καὶ κόσμον χρυσοῦν εἰς ἑκατὸν κληφύρους κ.τ.λ.* Compare also *C.I.A.* 2, 162 (which is assigned by U. Köhler to 335/4 and contains fragments of a proposal or proposals moved by Lycurgus on the subject of the Panathenaea), *Vit. X. Or.* 841 D, p. 60, 14, W., Paus. 1, 29, 16. Androtion, who held a similar commission (D. 22, 73, Ἀνδροτίωνος ἐπιμελουμένου ἐποιήθησαν, 78 Ἀνδροτίων ὁμῶν πομπείων ἐπισκευαστής), was elected (D. 24, 177, αἰρεθεὶς ἐπὶ ταῦτα), but the speeches against Androtion and Timocrates do not make it clear whether he was ἐπιμελητής during the year in which he sat in the βουλὴ and *C.I.A.* 2, 74 which contained details on this point is unfortunately mutilated. For the fifth century cf. *C.I.A.* 1, 32 (about 435/4 B.C.), B. v. 2, 331 ε. B. *Ἐπιστάται τοῖς Νίκαις*, Schol. Arist. *Ran.* 720.

P. 134, l. 8 sqq. πρότερον μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἦν χειροτονητός, καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πιστοτάτους [ἐχειρ]ιστόνουν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις πρὸς ταῖς συμμάχαις καὶ προξεν[ί]αις καὶ πολιτείαις οὗτος ἀναγράφεται.

The present tense, ἀναγράφεται, though not certainly wrong, is suspicious; the last example of the name of the 'Secretary of Prytany' in the position described is in 356/5, *C.I.A.* II. 66 b. The writer is alluding to the practice of engraving the name of the secretary, with or without the name of the archon, at the head of the *στήλη*, frequently in letters larger than those used in the rest of the inscription. Com-

pare the following examples. *C.I.A.* i. 59 (the decree conferring the citizenship on Thrasybulus in 410/9) [Ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου ἄρχοντος]. [Δόβων ἐκ Κηδῶν ἐγραμμάτευσεν. Then in smaller letters the usual form of praescript: [ἔδοξεν τῇ] βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἰπποθωντί[ς ἐπυράνευε, Δόβων ἐγραμμάτευσεν, Φιλιστίδης ἐπεστέταί, Γλαυκίππος ἄρχε. *C.I.A.* ii. 66, 6 (an alliance concluded in 356/5) [Γ]ραμματεὺς Δυσίας Δ[υ]σ[. . . εὺς]; then in smaller letters Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Κερσίποριν τὸν Θράκα καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ πρὸς Λύπειον τὸν [Παίονα καὶ πρὸς Γράβ]ον τὸν Ἰαλλύριον. Ἐπὶ Ἑλπίνου ἀρχόντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντί[δος πρώτης] πρυτανείας, κ.τ.λ. *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 136: Κυδῆνωρ Κυδῆνορος Ἀλαμπεκίθην ἐγραμμάτευσεν; then in smaller letters Ἀβυδηνοὶ πρόξενοι καὶ ἐδεργέται Ἀθηναίων, followed by the names and the usual praescript, [ἔδοξεν τῇ] βουλῇ, Ἐρεχθίδης ἐπυράνευε κ.τ.λ.; the inscription is assigned by the editor to the first quarter of the fourth century. Sometimes the name of the secretary was placed at the foot of the decree but this is very rare: only two instances are known, one a decree granting προξενία, assigned to the first quarter of the fourth century (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 170), the other an inscription of 394 B.C. (*Revue Arch.* 1878, p. 119).

I cannot discover this style in any inscription that can be placed with certainty between 356/5 and 320/19. On the other hand there are clear examples of the omission of the secretary's name. Thus *C.I.A.* ii. 109 is a treaty of alliance between Athens and Mytilene concluded in 347/6, and it has at the head the name of the archon only. The same is the case with *C.I.A.* ii. 183, a decree of 332/1 conferring προξενία (cf. *Mitt. d. d. arch. Inst. in Ath.* 1883, p. 211, a προξενία of 325/4 B.C.), and with ii. 179 b, a decree of 330 conferring either προξενία or πολιτεία. Between 321 and 318 a new title appears, which has occasioned much discussion, that of the ἀναγραφεὺς, and the name of this official sometimes occupies the place which in the fifth century and part of the fourth was assigned to the secretary. Cf. *C.I.A.* ii. 191. Ἀναγραφεὺς Α[.] Πολυκρίτου Λαμπριεύς. [Ἐπὶ Νεαρίχμου ἀρχόντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιστοχίδος πένπτης πρυτανείας κ.τ.λ. ii. 299 b. [ἐπὶ Ἀπολλο]δώρου ἀρχόντος δευτέρου, ἀναγραφεὺς δὲ Ἐπιχοῦρον σίου. After 318 B.C. I have found no example of the presence of the secretary's name except in the ordinary praescript. In view of the imperfection of the evidence it would be rash to assert that between 329 B.C. and 321 B.C. the form described by the author of the *Constitution of Athens* was never used, but it is at any rate worth observing that the facts at present at our disposal do not confirm his statement. Two other points may also be noted in this connexion. The writer only mentions *συμμαχίαι*, *προξενία*, *πολιτεία*, but the name of the secretary is prefixed to *C.I.A.* iv. Fasc. 2, 27 b. (=Ditt. *Syll.* 13), a fifth century (439 B.C. according to J. H. Lipsius) decree regulating the offerings of first-fruits at Eleusis. Secondly he says that 'formerly they used to elect to the office the most notable men.' Here again the record is very defective. Between 450 B.C. and 403 B.C. there are only about twenty-eight names certain (see Hille's list, 'De scribis Atheniensium publicis,' *Leips. Stud.* i. p. 240, for the names known up to 1878), although in this period and for some decades after the year of Euclid the secretary probably changed with the Prytany. Only one name in the list is familiar, Ἀγύρριος Κ[αλλυπιδεύς] *C.I.A.* ii. 1 b. (404/3 according to Köhler), the last person in the world whom we should have expected the writer of this treatise to class among 'the most notable and trustworthy' citizens. The same inscrip-

tion gives another name of interest, Κηφισοφῶν Πα[ιανί]ε[υ]ς[s], v. 20: he appears again in *C.I.A.* ii. 652 as one of the ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν for the year 398/7 B.C. i.e. he was probably a 'Pentakosiomedimnus' and perhaps would come up to our author's standard of respectability. Cf. Isae. v. 5, 9, 12, and the genealogical tables in Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit.* iii. Beilage, 211 sqq. *C.I.A.* i. 309, a. v. 7 (which according to A. Kirchhoff may possibly belong to 435/4 B.C.) contains the name Τιμόθεος . . . | . . . os: this might be the father of the famous Conon. For the fourth century down to 322 B.C. we have the names of a larger proportion of the secretaries, for it seems that the secretary ceased to change with the Prytany somewhere between 368/7 B.C. and 363/2 B.C. (cf. *C.I.A.* ii. 52 b. 52 c. with *C.I.A.* i. 54, 55), and thirty-eight names are fairly certain. But there is no one 'famous.' In the year 378/77 Καλλιβίος Κηφισοφῶντος Παιανιεύς was secretary (*C.I.A.* ii. 17): he may have been like his father, a man of substance. His son Κηφισοφῶν Καλλιβίου Παιανιεύς was a member of the βουλῇ in 343/2 (*C.I.A.* ii. 114); the Prytany secretary for this year Κλεόστρατος Τιμοσθένους Αἰγυλιεύς is probably the son of Τιμοσθένης δ' Αἰγυλιεύς, a friend and partner of Phormio (*Dem.* 49, 31). The other secretaries of this period are, I think, personages totally unknown.

P. 137, l. 4 sqq. Κληροῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς Σαλαμίνα ἀρχοντα, καὶ εἰς Πειραιεῖα δήμαρχον, οἳ τὰ τε Διονύσια ποιοῦσι ἐκατέρωθι καὶ χορηγοῦς καθίστασιν. The word δήμαρχον is surprising. Are the letters *δημ* clear in the papyrus? The facsimile here is almost illegible. That the state should appoint an official to superintend the Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Πειραιεῖ is natural, for the festival was a δημοτελής ἑορτή. Cf. *C.I.A.* ii. 741, A. a. (334/3 B.C.) v. 6 [ἐν Διο]νυσίων τῶν [ἐν Πει]ραιεῖ παρὰ Βωων]ῶν Η Η Η Δ Ε, d. v. 6, (331/0 B.C.).

Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ παρὰ στρατηγῶν But it is remarkable that the title should be δήμαρχος. Peiraeus was not in the same position as Salamis. The latter was a κληρονομία but Peiraeus was a deme and 'demarchs' were generally appointed by and responsible to the δημόται. There is no evidence (apart from this passage) to show that Peiraeus was exceptional, except so far as the activity of the 'demarch' was restricted by the presence of ἀγορανόμοι and ἀστυνόμοι and other state officials. The inscriptions give no help; they simply speak of 'the demarch.' Cf. *C.I.A.* ii. 573 (middle of fourth century) v. 7—9. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸν δήμαρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις ἀντίγραφα τῶν συνθηκῶν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν δημοτῶν. These are the functions of an ordinary 'demarch.' *C.I.A.* ii. 589 (first part of third century), v. 20, sqq. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ προεδρίαν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ὑπαμποιῶσι Πειραιεῖς τὰ Διονύσια οὗ καὶ αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσι κατανέμεται καὶ εἰσαγέτω αὐτὸν δὲ δήμαρχος εἰς τὸ θέατρον καθάπερ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἱ δέδοται ἢ προεδρία παρὰ Πειραιέων. This is a decree of the deme Peiraeus in honour of an Athenian citizen belonging to another deme. It might be suggested that in the days before Peiraeus was the port of the capital the Dionysia of the village were conducted by the head of the deme and that the old title (δήμαρχος) of the president was preserved in deference to local and religious sentiment, when the state assumed the management of the festival. On this hypothesis Peiraeus had two δήμαρχοι, one an official appointed for the Dionysia with its dramatic performances, the other the usual head of a deme. But the two inscriptions quoted do not countenance such an explanation.

W. WYSE.

P. 46, line 8. Read <οί> χίλιοι.

P. 47, line 8. As Thuc. (vi. 56) has οἱ συνομο-μοκότες perhaps we should read here συνομοτῶν for πολιτῶν, inserting οὐ before πολλῶν as already suggested.

P. 48, line 11. Read οὐ[μ'τοῖ (μέντοι) ἐ]δύνατο.

P. 50, line 8. It is no objection to Prof. Tyrrell's reading ἀγαθοῦς τε καὶ εὐπατριδῶν that Athenaeus, Suidas and the Etym. M. have the same readings as given in the text. All it proves is that they got the scholium from the present work, in an early copy of which the mistake probably arose. Similarly the mistakes in the text of Pollux make it almost certain that he got from the present work the distich on p. 20. Of course the scholium should be printed in four lines.

P. 53, last line. For οὐν ἐνείμει read ἀνένειμε. (For confusion between οὐ and α compare p. 30 last line but one.)

P. 78, line 7. As this MS. suffers a good deal from lacunae I should read καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα <τοσαῦτα> διεδίδου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατέλυσεν <α ὕ τ ὃ ν> Καλλι-κράτης.

P. 84, lines 2, 3. I think that Ἑλληνοταμίαι may be right; but I should cut out καὶ that follows it, and I should also expunge οἱ διαχειριοῦσιν. The twenty Ἑλληνοταμίαι are then the ten usually so called with their ten πάρεδροι (Gilbert: *Staats*. i. 236). The former, who have the actual administration of the moneys, are not to take part in the deliberations of the βουλή, though chosen from it. In line 6 προ-κρίνοντας does not agree, as Mr. Kenyon appears to take it, with πάντα τούτους, but with the subject of ἀρεῖσθαι. We are not told who make the πρόκρισις.

P. 88, line 3. For γίνονται probably read ἐγγίγγνται. The words from ὅταν to the end of the chapter are of course a direct quotation from a document, and perhaps should be so marked. For similar quotations cf. p. 95, line 1, p. 138, line 12.

P. 93, last line. Read, I think, ἐκ τῶν πεντακισ-χιλίων. The πεντακισ- would easily be lost, being written as an abbreviation. I prefer this, on the whole, to the correction ἐκ προκρίτων χιλίων because it seems that Theramenes and his party took their stand throughout on the constitution of the 5000, and left the oligarchs on the question of reducing the 5000 to 3000. I note with pleasure that this ill-used statesman comes out the better for the new light this treatise gives us. In p. 77, line 15, and p. 78, line 5, it would be tempting to read for τῶν ἐτέρων, τῶν ἐταπεινῶν, were we not expressly told that Theramenes had nothing to do with the clubs.

P. 101, line 10. Insert δι' before ἔλκοσι.

P. 103, line 12. Perhaps ἀποθανόντος γὰρ <τού-του>.

P. 121, line 1. I propose as a restoration παραδί-δωσι τοῖς ἀποδέκταις αὐτὰ ταῦτα καθε[καστα μετ'] ἐπισ-τολίαν ὧν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ χρήματα καταβλη[θέντα δεῖ] ἀπαλειφθῆναι τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀποκείται χωρὶς ἵνα μὴ προσ[ε]κ[κα]λῶσι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας] i.e. that they may not call on men to pay up before the proper time.

P. 122, line 12. For εἰσάγουσιν read δικάζουσιν. (I gather from Mr. Wyse's note on p. 130, line 9, that he has anticipated this.)

P. 122, last line but 5. For ἀνάγουσι read ἐγκαίουσι. Ἐγκαῖμα is the word used by Eustathius; see Mr. Hicks' note.

P. 129, line 6. Perhaps τὰς φαύλας δίκας.

P. 141, line 4. Perhaps read ἡ τὸν χρόνον αὐτῶ [τῆς χορηγ]ίας μὴ ἐξηγνῆσθαι διὰ τὸ μ[ε]τέη κ.τ.λ.

P. 142, last line but 1. Perhaps

πρὸς δ' ἐν[α] ἀπο[τμην]τῆς γίγνεται.

E. S. THOMPSON.

Atheniensium Respublica, c. 51.—In the current number of the *Bulletin Hellénique*, pp. 149–155, M. Homolle remarks that the inventories from Delos for 279 B.C. mention thirty of the cups that the Athenians gave every year, and twenty-three of the wreaths that they gave every four years,—assuming that two damaged wreaths in a box belonged to this set. And he also remarks that the inventories for 334 B.C., which come next in date, mention eleven of these cups and twenty of these wreaths, so that the last cup would have been given in 315 B.C. and the last wreath in 322 B.C. He argues that, as the Athenians certainly left Delos before 310 B.C., the cessation of their gifts after 315 B.C. is attributable to their departure and marks the exact date. But then one would like to know why there was not a twenty-fourth wreath for 318 B.C.

The new treatise, I think, suggests the reason. It states that the Athenians held a festival at Delos every four years; but adds parenthetically and every six years also, and then alludes obscurely to the archonship of Cephisophon in 329 B.C. Suppose that the interval was increased in 329 B.C. from four years to six: the twenty-second and twenty-third wreaths would then belong to 324 B.C. and 318 B.C., and would properly complete the series. And the supposition is not unreasonable; for there is no other record of festivals at Delos every six years, and such festivals would presumably have been recorded, had they existed for any length of time.

CECIL TORR.

THE new 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία contains (1st ed. p. 61) the following reference to the ostracism of Xanthippos:

καὶ πρῶτος ὠστρακίσθη τῶν ἄπαθεν τῆς τυραννίδος Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος—on which the note says 'This ostracism of Xanthippos is not elsewhere mentioned except in the extract from Heraclides quoted above in note on ch. 18.'

It has doubtless been already remarked that the case of Xanthippos is one of the only two instances of ostracism of which archaeological evidence has come down to us. In the excavations on the Akropolis in the summer of 1886, there was found in the 'Perserschutt' East of the Parthenon the fragment of a late black-figured vase on which is clearly incised the inscription

ΧΣΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ
ΑΡΙΦΡΟΝΟΣ.

Studniczka, who publishes this fragment in the *Arch. Jahrb.* 1887, p. 161, remarks that the fragment proves that the banishment of Xanthippos took place before B.C. 480, and states that this event is placed soon after the banishment of Aristides, as shown by the Berlin fragment of the 'AΘ. Πολ. in the *Abh. d. preuss. Akad.* 1885, p. 31. But this chronology is inconsistent with the evidence of the London papyrus. The mistake arose from a conjectural restoration of the Berlin fragment in question. Diels supplies it thus:

[πρῶ]τος ὠστρακίσθη τῶν [τοιούτων Ἀριστέ]ιδος
[εἰτα] Ξάνθιππος.

Whereas the actual text runs (p. 61): πρῶτος ὠστρα-κίσθη τῶν ἄπαθεν τῆς τυραννίδος Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος. ἔτει δὲ τρίτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα Νικοδῆμον ἄρχοντος . . . ὠστρακίσθη δ' ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς Ἀριστέιδος ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

Previously to this discovery, only one other instance was known of an ostrakon which had been used for ostracism. This is the one published in Benndorf,

X

Gr. u. Sic. Vasenbilder p. 50, pl. 29, no. 10, recording the name of Μεγακλῆς [Ἰππο]κράτους Ἀλω-πεκῆθεν, whose ostracism is also here mentioned (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* p. 60). It is inscribed upon a fragment of a black-glazed vase which seems to have been cut into a circular form for this purpose. It was discovered, like the other, in the 'Aufgeschütteten Boden' on the E. side of the Parthenon, and doubtless, as Studniczka (*ibid.*) remarks, is to be referred to the ostracism of the uncle of Perikles.

It is noticeable that both these ostraca are fragments of painted vases. If we may allow, what I believe to be the case, that Greek painted ware was primarily intended for solemn functions such as dedication at the tomb or temple, prizes in the sacred games, &c., and was in Greece at any rate rarely or never applied to ordinary uses as the crockery of daily life, we can easily understand that painted fragments would be specially appropriate in an emergency of this kind. The solemn character of the process of ostracism would have made it almost a religious function; and it may well be that fragments of the peculiar dedicatory painted ware would be specially chosen for this function, as being also distinguished from the ordinary ostraca. Millin, *Peint.*

de V. ii. p. 122, describes a tomb near Bari which contained 155 fragments of painted pottery; out of which, however, only part of one vase could be reconstructed, and apparently all the fragments belonged to different vases. He quotes the opinion that the tomb was that of a poor man who could not afford to buy whole vases. At any rate it shows that painted fragments were not without significance.

In the similar method of banishment in use at Syracuse, the form of procedure was termed *petalismos*, because the name of the person against whom it was directed was inscribed upon *petala*, leaves of olive. A special distribution of painted ostraca would have in some degree checked plurality of voting by unscrupulous tribesmen, as the painted fragments would be less ready to hand. After a general voting had taken place, the ostraca, like the broken vases of the temples, were probably all buried together; and hence it is that, though at least 6000 votes were required for each case of ostracism, and though pottery fragments are so durable, we have only as yet two examples of the ostraca of ostracism. Possibly some day excavation may reveal a *favissa* of this kind.

C. S.

NOTES

A CARTHAGINIAN AMBASSADOR MENTIONED IN A GREEK INSCRIPTION AT ATHENS.—In the note, *ante* p. 242, this inscription is mentioned as though it were unpublished and unknown. It has been edited by Köhler in the *C.I.A.* ii. 235; also by Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 123, by Hicks, *Manual*, 142, and by others. Only one word is quoted, *ᾠδμῖλκας*, and that is quoted wrong. The suggestion, that this word must refer to Bomilkar, had already been made by all the editors. And the emendation, *α* for *δ*, had already been rejected by Prof. Köhler on the ground that Bomilkar's real name was Bod-Melkarth, so that the *δ* is justified. Then M. Homolle's paper is mentioned as though it were unknown; and is quoted from the abbreviated report in the *Revue Critique* instead of the full report in the *Revue Archéologique* which was duly vol. in the *Classical Review* for November, 1887, vol. i. p. 287. And M. Homolle's argument is thoroughly misunderstood. He argued that the nominative of the word here was not Bodmilkas, representing Bod-Melkarth, but Iodmilkas, representing some such name as Ya'ad-Melkarth; and that the nominative of the word in the inscriptions at Delos was Iomilkas, representing this same name, not Iomilkos, representing Yekho-Melek.

C. T.

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PLATO *Republic* 532 B. (See *Classical Review*, Oct. and Dec. 1890. Vol. iv. pp. 357 and 480.) *πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα θεῖα καὶ σκιὰς τῶν ὄντων.*—Mr. Adam and Professor Campbell are inclined to accept Nägelsbach's emendation in the previous clause, *ἐν ᾠδυναμῖα βλέπειν* for *ἐπ' ἄδυναμῖα βλέπειν*. If this is right ought we not to accept the emendation *θεῖα* for *θεῖα*, overlooked by Baiter, though proposed by Ast at least as early as 1820? This completes the restoration of the sentence to its natural form, *ἀδύς τε...καὶ μεταστροφῇ...καὶ...ἐπ' ἀνόδος καὶ...πρὸς μὲν... ἄδυναμῖα βλέπειν πρὸς δὲ...θεῖα*. If the construction

πρὸς φαντάσματα θεῖα seems strange it may be justified by the preceding clause, in which *πρὸς τὰ ζῶα ἄδυναμῖα βλέπειν* is natural.

E. J. PALMER.

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ARIST. *Ranæ*, 1433.

μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν,
ἦν δ' ἐκ τρέφῃ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

Read *ἐκτραφῇ*.

H. RICHARDS.

* *

HOR. *Ep.* I. ii. 31.—This line at present stands:
ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam.

V. reads *somnum*, and Bentley has supported this, conjecturing *cessantem*. Even then the line is unsatisfactory as it brings into prominence to the exclusion of every other feature the special characteristic of the Phæaciens that they were fond of sleep. But in Homer *Odyssey* viii. 248 the banquet is one of their favourite pursuits, and in *Odyssey* ix. 7 Odysseus says that he cannot conceive a greater joy than when

δαιτυμόνες ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούσζανται ᾠδοῦ.

On the strength of these quotations I would suggest that Horace wrote *cenam*; with this either Bentley's *cessantem* might be read or cessanti agreeing with *cui* in the previous line.

A. S. O.

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OV. *Rom. Am.* 207 (*Classical Review* v. p. 95).—Mr. Palmer proposes 'amite,' for 'alite.' He thinks it not inconceivable that Horace wrote 'amite lēvi.' I confess I do. But what is the difficulty of 'alite capta'? Surely a decoy bird previously captured is useful in catching its congeners.

E. D. S.

* *

OVID, *Trist.* III. xi. 33—36.

Omnia vera puta mea crimina, nil sit in illis,
quod magis errorem quam scelus esse putes:
pendimus en profugi—satis tua pectora!—poenas
exilique graves exilique loco.

In this passage Mr. S. G. Owen, whose admirable work on the *Tristia* I cordially appreciate, seems to have been led by Merkel into making a curious slip. This appears not only from his putting a colon after *putes* (where Merkel's text has a full stop), but from the note in his smaller edition, where *sit* is made apodosis to *puta*. This would give a meaning exactly the opposite of what Ovid could have intended: 'Suppose all the charges against me true, there would be none of them you could consider error rather than crime'! All the passages cited by Mr. Owen in the introduction to his edition of Book I. (pg. 1.) show that Ovid would have said that *all was error and nothing crime*: e.g. *Trist.* III. vi. 25—

nullum scelus est in pectore nostro
principiumque mei criminis error habet.

To put a note of interrogation at *putes* would give but a weak sense, and to read *quin* for *quod* in line 34 has little support from one MS. (V) which has *qui*. The best remedy is to put a comma at *putes*, taking the whole couplet as protasis, to which *pendimus...poenas* is apodosis:—'Suppose all the accusations against me true, suppose that none of them can be palliated as an error rather than a crime, still I am suffering punishment in my exile severe enough both in the fact and place of my banishment,—glut your resentment. My fate might move even a hangman's tears. You alone think me not crushed enough.'

The only peculiarity is that the two members of the protasis have different moods,—*puta* and *sit*. But *sit* is equivalent to *puta esse*, and the sequence of the pres. indic. *pendimus* is illustrated by *A.A.* iii. 594 *has artes tolle, senescit amor*, a passage referred to by Mr. Owen.

P. SANDFORD.

* *

THE EXILE OF JUVENAL.—One of the 'Vitae' of Juvenal (iv. Dürr) and one of the scholia to vii. 92 state that Juvenal was exiled to the 'Scoti.' The words of the first are 'sub honoris praetextu fecit eum praefectum militis contra Scotos, qui bellum contra Romanos moverant.' The scholiast's words are: quod Traianus sic ultus est, ut ipsi Iuvenali daret praeposituram belli ('Galli' cod.) Scotici...ubi cotidie incursus Scotorum est. It seems worth pointing out that the name Scoti was never given to the Scotch at all until the tenth or, at the earliest, until the end of the ninth century A.D.; proofs of this may be found in Skene's work *Celtic Scotland* ad. init., and in Zeuss' *Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*; in fact the statement is a truism, I believe, to all Celtic scholars. Assuming even for the authors of the allegation that Juvenal was sent against the Scoti, a date as late as the tenth century, and assuming that they had cognisance of an older 'Vita' in which Juvenal was alleged to have been sent to the Caledonians, it seems highly improbable that they should have altered the name of the classical Caledonians into the novel name of Scots, the Irish immigrants into Scotland. This circumstance seems to me considerably to weaken the evidence that Juvenal was ever exiled among the Scotch; though I believe, with Friedländer, that he not improbably in the course of his military service as a young man may have visited them.

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In Wilkins' recent *Roman Literature Primer* the following statement occurs (p. 35): 'The best authorities now assign as the year of his (Lucilius') birth that following the death of Ennius (168 B.C.).'

The most recent and best authorities with which I am familiar (e.g. Teuffel, *Ges. d. röm. Lit.* p. 235 (1890), Schanz, *Ges. d. röm. Lit.* p. 90 (in Müller's *Handbuch* vol. viii.), and Ribbeck, *Ges. d. röm. Dicht.* i. p. 227) and all journals and publications I have been able to consult give only the date 180 B.C. (Moritz Haupt's plausible conjecture, *J.J.* 102, 72, 365, as contrasted with that given in Hieronymus, 147 B.C.).

What are the authorities to which reference is made?

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THE DANGER OF QUOTING FROM MEMORY.—Perhaps few men have a better stored memory than Archdeacon Farrar, but it would be a relief to some of his readers if he would either take the trouble to verify his references himself, or see that it was done by some one else. The following are only a selection from a long list of inaccuracies, not including mere misprints or wrong figures, noticed in a cursory perusal of his edition of the Book of Wisdom in the *Speaker's Commentary*. It is difficult to understand how the General Editor could have failed to correct some of them.

Pp. 426, 477.

'Corpus onustum

Hesternis vitis animam [animum] quoque praegravata una,

Atque affigit humi [humo] divinae particulae aurae.'

P. 432. The 'well-known and exquisite' line of Moschus, εἰδομένη εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀνέμωνα νήγρετον ὕπνον, is not so well-known but that it is quoted with the substitution of νήδυμον for νήγρετον!

P. 432. 'Non [Neu] desint epulis rosae
Nec [Neu] vivax apium.'

P. 443. The most famous line of Persius, one of the most famous lines indeed in all literature, 'virtutem videant intabescantque relictā,' is actually assigned to Juvenal!

P. 445. 'Nec magis expetenda [beata] vita si sit longa quam si sit [omit 'sit'] brevis.'

P. 451. 'Haec habui [habeo] quae edi, quaeque exsaturata voluptas [libido]

Hausit; at illa manent [facient] pulchra [multa] et praeclara relictā.'

P. 459. 'Matri longa decem tulerant [tulerunt] fastidia menses.'

P. 489. Fumificisque locum mugitibus implem [implevere].

P. 495. 'The "odium humani generis" which was charged against Christians (Tac. Ann. xv. 44) is made a charge against Jews as given in Tac. Hist. v. 5. It should be "adversus omnes alios hostile odium."

P. 501. 'Sanguineis ebuli guttis [bacis] minioque rubentem.'

P. 522. The famous lines of Vergil on Lucretius, 'felix qui potuit &c.,' are attributed to Lucretius himself!

P. 533. Rugosum piper et pallentis grana cuminis [cumin].

(P. 448. 'A silent bar of judgment in himself.'

P. 521. 'A silent court of justice in his breast.'

The latter is, for once, correct. But how comes this variation?

Tennyson's delicate verse indeed is particularly badly treated:

P. 427. 'rolls [roll] from soul to soul
And lives [grow] for ever and for ever.'

- P. 451. 'Some dolorous message *bound* [knit]
beneath [below].'
But Browning fares little better ;
P. 450. 'It is the echo of time, [;] and he whose
heart
Beat first beneath a human *breast* [heart],
whose speech
Was copied from a human tongue can
never
Recall when he was living, *and* [yet] knew
not this.'
P. 452. 'The whole *heaven* [sky] grew his targe,
With the Sun's [sun's] self for visible
boss,
While an arm [Arm] ran across,
Which the earth heaved beneath like a
breast
Where the wretch was *close* [safe] pressed
[prest].'
P. 477. Even a popular hymn must be misquoted :
'Here in the body pent
Afar [Absent] from Him I roam.'

- P. 480. 'The Christian Year' shares the same
fate :
'Twas but a [one] little drop of sin
We saw this morning enter in ; [;]
And lo ! at eventide a [the] world is drowned !'
Rebecca's hymn in *Ivanhoe* is sadly mangled :
P. 483 (cf. p. 525)—
'By day along the astonished *sands* [lands]
The *cloudy* [clouded] pillar guided slow ;
By night Arabia's *crimson* [crimson'd] sands
Returned the fiery column's glow.'
And, lastly, for the less distinguished authors :
P. 523. '*Strong* [stone] walls do not a prison
make.'
P. 460. On *mother's* [parent] knees a naked, new-
born child,
Sad thou did'st weep [Weeping thou sat'st]
while all around thee smiled.'

G. E. JEANS.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE HARBOURS OF CARTHAGE.

SOUTHWARD of the citadel of Carthage there are two large ponds in the low ground between the hill and the shore. The northern pond is somewhat in the shape of a crescent. The southern pond is roughly oblong in shape, and is now traversed by a dam carrying a road. According to all recognized authorities these ponds represent the harbours of Carthage. The northern pond was originally circular, with a circular island in the middle, and formed the harbour for the fleet. The southern pond was originally rectangular, and formed the mercantile harbour. There was a canal between the two harbours, and another from the mercantile harbour to the sea. That is the accepted theory.

The fullest account of the harbours occurs in Appian's narrative of the siege and capture of the city by the Romans in 146 B.C., and this narrative is probably compiled from the lost writings of Polybios, an eye-witness. The principal passage runs thus, viii. 96 :— 'The harbours were in communication with each other, and there was an entrance to them from the sea, seventy feet in width, which they closed with iron chains.¹ As for the first harbour, that was devoted to merchants, and in it there were moorings,

πέισματα, of various kinds in abundance. As for the inner harbour, there was an island in the middle ; and both the island and the harbour had been apportioned into large slips, κρηπίσι μέγαις διειληπτο. These slips were covered with docks, constructed for two hundred and twenty ships, and stores above the docks, for the oars and rigging of the war-ships. And there were Ionic columns in front of the houses for the ships, two in front of each, turning the appearance of the harbour and the island into the image of a portico. On the island a cabin had been constructed for the admiral. And the island lay opposite the entrance, and had been raised to a great height ; so that the admiral could observe everything approaching by sea, while the appearance of things within was not clearly perceptible by persons thus approaching. Indeed, the docks were not completely visible to merchants on actually entering port ; for there was a double wall round them, and channels, πύλαι, which carried the merchants from the first harbour into the city without passing through the docks.'

Thus there were docks for 220 ships in the inner harbour, some on the land around and some on the island. According to the late M. Beulé's measurement of the walls in and around the northern pond, the inner harbour and its island were respectively 3350 ft. and 1092 ft. 6 in. in circumference, thus affording a frontage of only 4442 ft. 6 in. at most. The docks must have been

¹ Appian elsewhere speaks of *the* harbour, though he here describes two harbours : but that is only with reference to the entrance from the sea, viii. 121, or attacks from outside, viii. 124 ; so he there means the outer harbour.

rebuilt after the fire of 368 B.C. — for Diodoros says that this destroyed the docks, xv. 73 — and they may therefore be compared with the Athenian docks of similar date which were unearthed six years ago in making that execrable esplanade at Zea. These docks lie side by side in a row, and are approximately 19 ft. 5 in. in width with intervals of 1 ft. 11 in. between them. A frontage of 4695 ft. 3 in. would be needed for 220 docks of this width. Now, Strabo says that the island at Carthage was circular, xvii. 3. 14. On a circular island docks could not have continuous frontage towards the water unless they diminished in width towards the centre of the island. These docks are of the same width throughout, and about 150 ft. in length. On a circular island such docks would abut on a circle about 150 ft. inside the shore; and the number of docks on the island would be limited to the number that could abut on this circle. As the circumference of the island would exceed the circumference of this circle by about $150 \times 2\pi$ or 942 ft. 6 in., this extent of frontage would necessarily be wasted. Therefore, if the docks at Carthage were of these dimensions, the inner harbour had a frontage of about 5638 ft. at least. So, unless the docks at Carthage were much smaller than the docks at Athens, the pond cannot represent the harbour.

These Athenian docks are divided by lines of columns; and apparently they were roofed in pairs, for the columns are spaced differently in alternate lines, as if to carry different weights. According to Appian, the houses for the ships at Carthage each had two Ionic columns in front, which collectively formed a portico. Probably, then, the Carthaginian docks were roofed in pairs and divided by lines of columns; the last column in each line being incorporated in a colonnade along the front.

The harbours cannot be represented by the ponds unless they were artificial harbours created by excavation. Vergil certainly says in the 'Aeneid,' i. 427, that the first settlers at Carthage excavated harbours: — *hic portus alii effodiunt*. And the Servian commentaries on this passage interpret *portus effodiunt* as *Cothona faciunt*, and add *Carthaginenses Cothone fossa utuntur, non naturali portu*: thus applying the poet's words to the Cothon, and stating as a fact that the Cothon was an artificial harbour created by excavation. But Festus says *Cothones appellantur portus in mari interiores, arte et manu facti*: and artificial harbours in the sea are necessarily formed by piers.

The Cothon was unquestionably the outer harbour at Carthage. When Festus uses the word *interiores* in his explanation of *Cothones*, he seems to be referring to a harbour enclosed by the sea rather than a harbour inside another: and there is no further authority for the current statement that the Cothon was the inner harbour. In one passage, xvii. 3. 14, Strabo unaccountably describes the island in the inner harbour as the Cothon, if the reading be not corrupt; but afterwards, 15, he speaks accurately of the mouth of the Cothon in mentioning the entrance which Appian describes in detail as the mouth of the outer harbour, viii. 121, cf. 96. Appian states here, 121, that this entrance was not very far from the land, οὐ πᾶν πόρρω τῆς γῆς, and the statement is wholly inexplicable unless this entrance really was some distance from the land and therefore between two piers.

The term *Cothon* is never applied to any harbour away from Carthage save the harbour of Hadrumetum, but is applied to this harbour four times in the 'Bellum Africanum,' 62, 63. That certainly indicates some resemblance between this harbour and the Cothon at Carthage. The former harbour of Hadrumetum is just to the north of the present city of Susa on the eastern coast of Tunisia. Its northern and southern sides are formed by two straight piers, still in fair condition. And its eastern side was formed by another pier. This is still above water at several points towards the southern end, and just awash in the middle; but has been swept away towards the northern end where the sea is heavier. Still, in rowing round in a boat, I have seen enough of the ruins below water to feel certain of the original form. This pier made a curve with the convex face to seaward. Thus, if the Cothon at Carthage really resembled this harbour, it must have been formed by piers; and perhaps by straight and curved piers combined. Now, Appian mentions incidentally in his narrative of the siege, viii. 127, that there was a square part of the Cothon and a round part of the Cothon.

The harbours of Utica very probably resembled those of Carthage. But Utica is no longer by the sea, and the former promontory is now a tongue of land extending eastward from the hills into a marshy plain. The current topography is based on the assumption that the former coast-line is marked by the edge of the marsh. But that assumption is clearly erroneous, for the marsh runs right into the orchestra of the theatre, and therefore overlaps the former

coast-line. And apart from that assumption, there is nothing to suggest that the sea ever ran into the alleged harbour. This is a large hollow, rectangular in form and unquestionably artificial, with the ruins of a great building on a hillock in the middle; and might fairly pass for an ancient harbour, created by excavation, with an Admiralty on an island in the middle, as at Carthage. But there is a similar hollow by the shore at Carthage just below the lesser cisterns, with the ruins of a similar building on a hillock in the middle; and an inscription of Antoninus Pius has been found here—facsimile in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1887, vol. x. p. 170—showing that these are the ruins of the baths. Those ruins at Utica must therefore represent the baths, the hollow representing a precinct like those around the principal baths at Rome. And there is an end of the alleged harbour; for nobody can deny that both ruins belong to buildings of the same design and date. As there is no other hollow on this tongue of land to indicate a harbour created by excavation, the harbours of Utica presumably were formed by piers.

The balance of evidence is clearly against the statement of the commentators that the Cothon at Carthage was an artificial harbour created by excavation. But the inner harbour may have been wholly or partly excavated, although the outer harbour was formed by piers. And Vergil probably had some ground for saying that the first settlers at Carthage excavated harbours.

The entrance to the outer harbour at Carthage was near the tongue of land dividing the lake of Tunis from the sea; for Appian says that the Romans threw out a pier from this tongue of land to block the entrance, viii. 121. The entrance faced southward; for Appian's statement that the entrance faced westward, viii. 121, goes with his statement that the tongue of land runs westward from the promontory, viii. 95, and the tongue of land really runs southward. The entrance was in the sea to the east of the tongue of land and not in the lake to the west; for Appian says that the Romans carried their entrenchments across the promontory from sea to sea, viii. 119. The outer harbour therefore lay along the eastern coast of the promontory, with its entrance at its southern end near the tongue of land at the south-east corner of the promontory. Appian says that the fortifications made an angle towards the tongue of land in bending round from the wall of the citadel to the harbours, viii. 95.

Southward of the citadel the ground is nearly level, with a solitary hillock a little way behind the southern pond; and presumably this hillock was selected for the angular point as the strongest position available. Changing their direction here from southward to eastward, the fortifications would then reach the shore in the neighbourhood of the extensive ruins of an ancient pier opposite the dam across the pond. There are similar ruins in the sea further northward where the level shore is first broken by a headland; and from this headland the hills sweep back in a quadrant to the summit of the citadel on the south. Appian says that the square part of the Cothon and the round part of the Cothon were on opposite sides of that harbour, viii. 127. Possibly, then, the square part, *τετράγωνον*, was on the south side and continued the line of fortifications which formed the angle, *γωνία*, while the round part, *περιφερές*, was on the north side and continued the curve of the hills. The distance between these piers is nearly a mile and a half, whereas both ponds together are little more than half a mile in length.

When the Carthaginians saw that the entrance to the outer harbour would be blocked by the pier which the Romans were throwing out from the tongue of land, they made a new entrance on the opposite side of the harbour and sent their fleet through this. During an action some ships fouled at the entrance and blocked the others out; so these others took refuge at a pier in front of the wall. This was a very spacious pier, where merchants displayed their goods; and it was now defended by a transverse stockade.¹ The Romans tried to force this stockade to establish themselves on the pier and thence attack the harbour, and they brought battering-rams to bear; but the Carthaginians burnt these in a sortie, wading hither with their torches since the sea was too shallow here for ships. In this affair the Romans used their cavalry. Eventually they forced the stockade and constructed a work on the pier exactly opposite the wall, and put four thousand men in this work to pelt the Carthaginians on the wall with missiles. They took the city at last by capturing the wall round the Cothon, surpris-

¹ Appian styles this stockade *παρὰτειχίσμα* and *διατειχίσμα* indifferently. Thus he says, viii. 123, *παρὰτειχίσμα ἐπεποίητο*, and then, *ἔκ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀπεμάχοντο*, without any previous notice of a *διατειχίσμα*. So also he says, viii. 124, *κρίσις οὖν τὸ παρὰτειχίσμα τύπτων, μέρος αὐτοῦ κατέβαλεν*, saying afterwards, viii. 125, *τὸ διαπεπτωκὸς τοῦ διατειχίσματος ᾠκοδόμουν*.

ing the round part of the Cothon easily while they were threatening the square part.—The position of this pier has to be determined from these statements in Appian's narrative, viii. 121, 123—125, 127. The current opinion is that *χωμα* here means a quay along the shore; but it never means this elsewhere. One end of the pier touched the shore, for the Romans used battering-rams against the stockade across this end; and the water here was shallow enough for men to wade and too shallow for ships: but from the shore the pier ran out into deep water, for the ships moored to this pier stern on, *ἐς τόδε τὸ χωμα καταφυγούσαι, μετωπηδὸν ὤρμησαντο*. The pier was outside the outer harbour, for the ships moored there when they were blocked out, *ἀπορία λιμένος*: but it was adjacent, for it was reckoned a good base for attacking this harbour, *εὐκαιρον ἐπιτείχισμα τοῦ λιμένος*. The pier being in front of the wall, *πρὸ τοῦ τείχους*, the wall defended something behind: and as the Romans used this base for attacking the outer harbour simply as a base for attacking the wall, this harbour presumably was behind the wall. If so, the wall here was a portion of the wall round the Cothon. When the Romans took the city by capturing that wall, their principal attack was on the square part of the Cothon, and they had not established themselves in force anywhere near the harbour except on this pier; so the pier was probably next the square part of the Cothon. And unquestionably the pier was on the south side of the harbours, for the Romans used cavalry in the affair at the stockade, and their cavalry could not have passed the headlands on the north. All this suggests that on the south or square side of the outer harbour or Cothon there was originally a narrow pier running out from the shore to the entrance and continuing the line of the fortifications, and that this pier was afterwards widened to allow ships to discharge there without entering port; this extension forming the *χωμα* in question. That view would be untenable if there were evidence that the Romans completed the pier which they were throwing out from the tongue of land to block the entrance here, for in the action the ships must have crossed the line of the new pier to reach a pier between the entrance and the shore. But there is only Appian's statement, viii. 123, that some ships fouled at the entrance and the others thereupon went alongside that pier because they could not

get into harbour, *ἀπορία λιμένος*, and that is ambiguous. It certainly may mean that the ships fouled at the new entrance and that the old was blocked already; but it may only mean that they fouled at the old entrance and that the others moored just outside to wait for them to clear, rather than go right round to the new entrance with the enemy in pursuit. The ruins in the sea in front of the southern pond certainly belong to a remarkably spacious pier.

The outer harbour consisted of what Appian terms the 'first harbour' and the 'channels,' and nearly surrounded the inner harbour; for he says that the first harbour opened on the sea, that the inner harbour was occupied by the docks, and that the channels carried the merchants from the first harbour into the city without passing through the docks, viii. 96. Three passages may be cited to show that *πόλαι* can mean *channels*:—Æschylos, 'Prom.' 729; Euripides, 'Iph. Aul.' 803; and Strabo, iii. 5. 5, citing Pindar. And the following statements of Diodoros and Plato will show that the term conveys this meaning here. Diodoros states that the harbour named Charmuthas on the east coast of the Red Sea was 'altogether very like the harbour designated Cothon at Carthage,' iii. 44, apparently taking the statement from the lost work of Agatharchides. The context shows that Charmuthas harbour was in the neighbourhood of Sperm Yenbo' in 24° 9' N, and there are two reasons for identifying them. Firstly because Diodoros says that Charmuthas harbour 'far surpassed the rest in its convenience,' while the 'Red Sea Pilot' says that Sperm Yenbo' is 'incomparably the best harbour on the coast between Râs Muhammed and Jiddah.' Secondly because Diodoros mentions an island in Charmuthas harbour, while the Admiralty chart marks an island in Sperm Yenbo', but none in any other harbour thereabouts. Now the chart shows a narrow entrance from the sea, two creeks diverging right and left, and then an island in the central creek; in fact, a harbour opening on the sea, an inner harbour with an island, and two channels branching from the first harbour. Then Plato narrates the following legend in the 'Critias,' 113. d; 115. c—116. a; 117. d, e. Poseidon made three vast trenches round the hill where he dwelt with Cleito in Atlantis, so that the hill became an island surrounded by two belts of land and three belts of water; and he made the island and the belts precisely circular. Many

generations afterwards his descendants cut a great canal from the outer belt of water to the sea, and used this belt and the canal as a mercantile harbour. They also cut canals through the belts of land, and used the inner belts of water as harbours for their fleet; excavating double houses for the ships around the island and the belts of land. And they built a broad road across the belts to reach the island. Thus Plato here describes a harbour opening on the sea, a double inner harbour with an island, and two channels branching from the first harbour. He states that this inner harbour was for the fleet and contained the docks, with double houses for the ships all round, while the first harbour and the channels together formed the mercantile harbour. And he adds that the island and its surroundings were precisely circular. Now Strabo terms the island at Carthage, xvii. 3. 14, 'a little circular island surrounded by a waterway with docks on either side in a ring.' According to Diodoros, xv. 73, these docks were burnt in 368 B.C.; but the warships were not burnt in the docks, as was reported, and two hundred of them soon afterwards surprised and overpowered a Syracusan fleet of a hundred and thirty ships. So Plato was likely to hear much of the Carthaginians and their harbours when he went to Syracuse in 367 B.C. And his description of the fabled harbours of Atlantis agrees so singularly with the statements of Appian and Diodoros and Strabo about the harbours of Carthage, that it must really be based on accounts of those harbours; and will therefore go to prove that the mercantile harbour extended up channels on each side of the inner harbour.

The inner harbour, then, was nearly surrounded by the outer harbour: but there is nothing to show whether it was formed by piers within the outer harbour, or lay inland in a hollow with branches of the outer harbour in similar hollows on each side. The statements of Plato and Vergil certainly indicate that some excavations were made for harbours in very early times at Carthage; and possibly the first settlers thus converted some natural creeks into harbours which afterwards were incorporated in those of the sovereign city.

When the Romans destroyed Carthage, they assuredly did not spare the harbours, for they had attacked the city to drive the Carthaginians from the sea. But apparently they reconstructed these harbours when

they restored the city as a colony of their own; or at least one harbour and the pier. The 'Stadiasmos' says of Carthage, 124:— 'it is a very large city and has a harbour, and in the city there is a tower: keep that to starboard and anchor under the pier,' ὀρμίζον ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα. Iron chains across the entrance of the harbour are mentioned by Procopios, *B.V.* i. 20, in narrating the expulsion of the Vandals in 533 A.D., and again by Theophanes, anno 6190, in narrating the expulsion of the Arabs in 698 A.D.; and Procopios says here that the harbour was known as the Mandracion. In the ancient city the entrance of the outer harbour was closed with iron chains, and that harbour was known as the Cothon. The presence of these chains and this use of a proper name both suggest that the Romans had reconstructed the outer harbour of the ancient city. As Appian speaks of that harbour as *the* harbour, these later writers may also be speaking of an outer harbour as *the* harbour, although there was another harbour within: and possibly the Romans had reconstructed the inner harbour also.

The main results of the foregoing discussion are briefly as follows:—The outer harbour was formed by piers in the sea. It lay on the eastern side of the promontory of Carthage, with its entrance at its southern end near the tongue of land between the lake of Tunis and the sea. There was a very wide pier at the southern end between the shore and the entrance, where vessels could discharge cargo without entering port. The ruins of this pier are visible in the sea just to the north of the tongue of land. From the other side of the entrance a narrower pier probably ran parallel to the shore for some distance and then curved inward to the first headland on the north. The end of this pier is probably marked by the ruins in the sea under this headland. The inner harbour was nearly surrounded by the outer harbour; but its position is otherwise unknown. The ponds have nothing whatever to do with the harbours.

CECIL TORR.

Tunis, April, 1891.

THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.

In the May number of the *Classical Review*, pp. 238—240, allusion was made to the controversy between Dr. Dörpfeld and the excavating committee of the British School at Athens; Dörpfeld asserted that the excavations at Megalopolis, so far from disproving his theory, rather tended to confirm it. The renewed excavations of this spring have brought to

light important details which, while they in some measure alter Dörpfeld's stand-point, bring fresh evidence to bear in confirmation of his theory.

A statement has now been published¹ giving the facts on which both parties are agreed, and jointly signed by Dörpfeld, Gardner and Loring. It records the fresh evidence, and may be regarded as superseding the premature conclusions of the *Hellenic Journal* and also that of the *Wochenschrift* of April 11 and 25; it thus provides a fresh starting-point for any controversy which future discoveries on this site may open up.

It will be remembered that the British excavators claimed to have discovered a raised stage approached from the orchestra by a flight of six steps (of which the upper three were conjecturally restored) and entered by three doors (of which the thresholds were preserved) from the stoa behind it. Dörpfeld denies the existence of such a logeion; he showed that there was no evidence for the whole number of six steps; and maintained that the platform to which the three actually existing steps led was intended to carry a wall or colonnade. On April 15 Dörpfeld visited the renewed excavations, and the joint statement which follows is the result:

"Instead of continuing our controversy, we wish to make public at once, in a common statement, certain facts which have, for the most part, come to light during the continuation of the excavations this spring. The English excavators wish to acknowledge that their significance was first pointed out by Dr. Dörpfeld during his visit to Megalopolis.

1. "The wall bearing the three thresholds must be of later date, both from the manner of its construction and from the fact that it has, built into its foundations, bases (*in situ*) corresponding to the bases of the stoa behind. This evidence for the height of the steps therefore disappears.

2. "Of the steps facing the orchestra, and restored as six in the provisional plan, the fourth and fifth have actually been found; but it appears that the lowest three steps were not part of the original plan, but were added in consequence of a change in the level of the orchestra. There may be a difference of opinion as to when this change was made.

3. "On the fifth or top step there are indications that columns have stood; some drums of columns lie near, and also some pieces of Doric frieze and architrave, which correspond in measure to the slabs of the steps. Dr. Dörpfeld therefore restores this step as a stylobate, carrying columns about twenty feet high, with entablature to correspond.

"The English excavators wish to consider all this evidence carefully, and to search for more before expressing a final opinion as to all details and as to the chronological relation of the various parts. They will also require the assistance of an architect upon the spot before any final publication is possible, as the evidence is extremely difficult and complicated. They feel no doubt that there exists at Megalopolis the material necessary for determining the original plan of the *scenae*; and in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for the current year the evidence in favour both of their view and of Dr. Dörpfeld's will be carefully sifted."

WILHELM DÖRPFELD.
ERNEST A. GARDNER.
W. LORING.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. Vol. 21, 1889.

The part that completes this volume contains the following articles on ancient numismatics:—Kenner, 'Römische Goldmünzen der Sammlung Weifert in Belgrad.'—W. Drexler, 'Nachtrag zum Isis- und Sarapis-Cultus in Kleinasien.'—A. Markl, 'Ser-dica oder Antiochia.' On the mint-place of coins of Gallienus and Claudius II.—*Review.* Wroth's 'Pontus, Paphlagonia,' &c.

W. W.

Athenische Mittheilungen. 1890. Part 3. Athens.

1. Szanto; on the history of the Greek alphabet; a new suggestion as to the origin of the divergence in value of X and Ψ in the E. and W. group. 2. Bethe; Aktaeon; scene on a late b. f. pyxis in Athens: the torn body of Aktaeon is prepared for burial by his relations: plate. 3. The same; drawing of a negro (similar to the well-known type on the alabastra) on a plate from Tarentum; cut. 4. Wolters; Melian cult statues: publishes two votive reliefs found in 1861 in Melos, representing Tyche and Athena; compares the Athena type with coins and the statue of Gitiadas: two cuts. 5. Judeich; thirty-three inscriptions from Karia. 6. Wilhelm; forty-seven inscriptions from Thessaly. 7. Staes; the tomb enclosure in Vourva (supplementary to *Deltion* 1890 p. 105): within it were seven graves of which one (Δ) was specially large and deep, but contained nothing: describes vases which came from the excavation; five plates, four cuts. 8. Contoleon; seven inscriptions from Tralles, Magnesia, etc. 9. Judeich; publishes two early Ionic inscribed stelae. Notices of books. Record of discoveries etc. (W. D.)

C. S.

The same. 1890. Part 4.

1. The sanctuary of the Kabiri at Thebes, continued; iv. (Wolters) the terra-cottas: these have no special local character, but are mostly like the coarser Boeotian and Lokrian style; the most general form is that of a bull, a type which seems to start from about B.C. 500; besides these are sheep, goats, pigs, lions, dogs, birds etc.: a few are included of the specific Tanagra style, and very few are female figures. v. (Graef) the objects of bronze and lead; the most important object is a votive statuette 19 m. high, of a disc-thrower, inscribed *Καβίρο*, in a style which is closely allied to the Aeginetan; most of the remainder are figures of animals, generally bulls, of which several are inscribed with dedications; plate, eight cuts; vi. (Wolters) Miscellaneous; vii. (Szanto) the inscriptions; twelve on stone, twenty-three on bronze, and one hundred and ten on terra-cotta vases, mostly dedications. 2. Dörpfeld; the old Athene temple on the Akropolis, (iv); discusses the inscription published by Lolling (*Deltion* 1890, p. 92) and its bearing on the great question as to the significance of the term hekatompodon; D. maintains that the *πρὸς ὁ ἑκατόμπεδος* of the treasure-lists refers not, as it did previously, to the old Athene temple, but to the E. cella of the great temple. He sums up as follows; 'the inscription shows us that the whole building was called Hekatompedon in the sixth century; and that its back part served as Tamiëion and contained several chambers. But I claim to have proved that Lolling is wrong in suggesting a variation in the nomenclature of the different Athene temple and its individual parts during the fifth and fourth centuries. 3. Paton; corrects an inscription

¹ *Phil. Woch.* May 30, p. 673, *Athenaeum*, May 30, p. 710. This statement was originally prepared for the *Classical Review*, but by an unfortunate blunder was misdirected.

from Kedraï published *Anth. Mitth.* xv. p. 335. Literature. Discoveries in Athens. [W. D.]

C. S.

The same. 1891. Part I. Athens.

1. Kern on the so-called Eubuleus of Praxiteles: two plates and four woodcuts. This head may be of the time of Praxiteles; but it seems unworthy of the master of the Hermes, and probably is not an original by any master, for fragments of two similar heads have been found elsewhere in Eleusis. It does not represent Eubuleus, for at Eleusis at this period Eubuleus was really Zeus of Good Counsel, and he would have been bearded: but it may well represent Triptolemos. 2. Szanto on the *δικαὶ ἀπὸ συμβόλων* in the Athenian empire, with a new attempt to restore the Amorgos inscription, *B. C. H.* xii. 230, and the Naxos inscription, *Ἀθήναιον*. vii. 95. 3. Wolters on objects from the primitive graves at Amorgos and similar objects discovered near Sparta, in Cythera, in Euboea, and in Attica, showing that this crude style was not confined to the Cyclades: twenty-five woodcuts. 4. Sauer on the pediments of the Parthenon, fixing the position of the figures by means of the hollows for the bases, sockets for the supports, marks from rain and rust, &c.: large plate, scale 1.50, and fine woodcuts. In the western pediment the central group was bounded symmetrically by a pair of two-horsed chariots, and contained only two figures, Athene and Poseidon: the figure *S* is masculine, and therefore not Aphrodite. The Venice figure cannot belong to either pediment. In the eastern pediment the central group was likewise bounded symmetrically, probably by seated goddesses, and contained four figures, Zeus on his throne facing Athene, and two others: the chariot of Selene had four horses. 5 ff. Thirty inscriptions, all Greek, including a memorial to Chaereon of Nysa after the Mithridatic war of 88 B.C., with notes by Th. Mommsen, two more signatures of the sculptors Epicharmos and Pythocritos at Rhodes, two more decrees concerning the Guilds of a Thousand at Lesbos, and another decree in honour of Queen Tryphaena of Pontos. C. T.

Gazette des Beaux Arts. Feb. 1891. Paris.

1. Solomon Reinach on the Nike from Samothrace, chiefly with reference to the restoration by Zumbusch and a new restoration by Cordonnier with a wreath in the right hand instead of a trumpet: two plates and four woodcuts. C. T.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. Jan.-Feb. 1891. Athens and Paris.

1. Lechat describes the terra-cottas found at Corfu in 1889 in the excavations under his supervision near One-Gun Battery, writing 112 pages when only 16 or 20 were needed: eight plates and thirteen woodcuts. These terra-cottas were found in a mass, as if they were discarded offerings from a sanctuary: they nearly all represent Artemis: more than 1,500 of them are from one design, about 300 from another, and so on: altogether they number several thousands: their date is about 500 B.C. 2. Homolle completes his commentary on the inscription from Delos which he published in the last volume, plates xv., xvi.; dealing here with the inventories for 279 B.C. of the metal offerings preserved in the temple of Artemis, temple of Apollo, temple with the seven statues, temple of Eileithuia, and the Chalcothece. 3. Deschamps and Cousin publish thirty-two more inscriptions from the temple of Zeus Panamaros near Stra-

toniceia in Caria, with a summary of results as to the tenure of the priesthood and the ordering of the three principal festivals. C. T.

Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. 1890. Part iii. Athens.

1. Koumanoudes; publishes twelve inscriptions from Athens. 2. Philios; continues his publication of inscriptions from Eleusis nos. 57a to 60. 3. Kern; gods of healing on a Boeotian vase: publishes a krater in the Polytechnion at Athens representing on one side a girl bringing offerings to a seated goddess, beside whom models of human limbs &c. are hanging; on the other a bearded figure reclines, feeding a large snake: the two deities are evidently Asklepios and Hygieia, represented in a type of scene which is familiar in the 'Nekrodeipna': plate and cut. 4. Koumanoudes; publishes eight inscriptions from Athens, including an interesting letter of Plotina to Hadrian in reference to the Epicurean sect at Athens. 5. Dragoumes; epigraphical suggestions (*Bull. de Corr.* xiv. p. 414; vi. p. 613; x. p. 178). 6. Svoronos; archaic Greek coins; (i) Hebrutelmis king of the Odrysae; (ii) Aermenaios king of the Macedonians; the coins inscribed with this name are false; (iii) Kalchas and his son; chronology of the earlier coinage of the Kalchedonians; (iv) an uncertain coin of Krete; plate. 7. Philios; additions and corrections. C. S.

Revue Archéologique. Nov.—Dec. 1890. Paris.

1. S. Reinach; publishes a bronze head of a horned deity found in 1888 at Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme) and now in the Museum of Saint-Germain; assigns it to Greek work of about the time of Nero; plate. 2. de Pontois; exploration of the tumulus of Cruguel (Morbihan) containing flint arrowheads, bronze knives &c.: plate and two cuts. 3. Engel; publishes some objects of Samian ware (he calls them 'barques votives') found at Alcolea del Rio near Seville; some have votive inscriptions graffiti: two plates. 4. Dumesnil; proposes an explanation of the origin of the usual (so-called Arab) system of notation. 5. Maignan; archaeological notes; discoveries at Corbeil, Ermont &c.: six cuts. 6. Deloche; seals and rings of the Merovingian period, continued: with cuts. 7. Schweisthal; archaeological notes on Mount Sipylus: (i) the sanctuary of Cybele Plastene; (ii) the throne of Pelops and the image of Niobe; (iii) an Aeolian city.

Reinach: Henri Schliemann. 'Bulletin Mensuel de l'Acad. des Inscr.' Bibliography. Cagnat's 'Revue des Publ. Épigr.'; and Table Analytique of the same. C. S.

The same. Jan.—Feb. 1891. Paris.

1. Salomon Reinach interprets a Gallo-Roman monument, two rectangular blocks superposed and together six feet high, with very clumsy sculpture on the four faces: two plates. As there are twelve figures, and some of them certainly represent some of the Twelve Gods, the rest of them must represent the rest of the Twelve. 3. A. S. Murray publishes four Greek inscriptions from Cyzicos in the British Museum. 4. Waille and Gauckler publish inscriptions lately found at Caesarea-Iol, now Cherchel in Algeria—forty-eight Latin and three Greek, with more to follow: plan of site. 5. Weber renews the discussion about the so-called tomb of St. Luke at Ephesos: twelve woodcuts. It was originally a circular edifice like the temples of Vesta at Tivoli and Rome, and the Christians made their chapel in the ruins of the basement. It has nothing to do with St. Luke. 6. Berthelot cites further evidence for the

derivation of the word *bronze* from *aes Brundisium*. 7. Delattre describes the contents of five tombs of the Punic period which were opened last autumn during the excavations under his supervision on the southern face of the citadel of Carthage: eleven

woodcuts. 9. Engel reports the slender results of his excavations near Seville. 10. Chipiez adversely criticises an attempt by Dumon to determine the scheme of proportion employed by Polycleto in designing the theatre at Epidauros. C. T.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Chester.—Mr. F. Haverfield has made known some results of the work which has been carried on here during the last few months in investigating the Roman walls. A start was made west of Northgate, and about a hundred feet of walling thoroughly examined, with very satisfactory results. Twenty-five inscribed or sculptured stones, mostly sepulchral, have been found, and a number of other worked stones of much interest in connection with the buildings of Roman Chester. These discoveries were made almost exclusively in the lower courses of the wall, which differ markedly from the superstructure, and are built without mortar, faced on the outer side with large square blocks, and originally backed by earth. The stones are exclusively of Roman, perhaps of early Roman, date, probably the time of the Emperor Severus, who was in the island about A.D. 200; moreover, his reign was especially an era of rebuilding and repairs. The objects found consist of the funeral monuments of the Roman garrison of Chester and their households; only one inscription is not sepulchral, and this comes from an older wall and commemorates the building of a section in that wall by the century of Attius Celer. The rest are tombstones of horsemen or infantry; one has sculpture over it representing a rider trampling on a fallen enemy with an oblong shield, such as were doubtless used by the native Britons. The most interesting is as follows:

OPTIONIS . AD . SÆM
ORDINIS . > LVCILI
INGENVI . QVI
NAVRAGIO . PERIT.
[H] . S . E.

Only the lower half of this has as yet been found, the stone being broken in two. A large area of the wall yet remains to be explored.¹

Lincoln.—An important discovery of Roman remains has been made here. In laying down a new water-main, the workmen came upon the bases of three Doric columns in an admirable state of preservation. These bases are in a straight line with the shattered pillars discovered in May 1878, and correspond exactly with them in character and arrangement. The building of which these columns formed the façade must have shown a colonnade of at least eleven columns, extending to a length of 160 feet, and occupying the north-west angle of the north-west quarter of the Roman city. Later, a group of two inosculating columns was discovered, and shortly afterwards, at a distance of 18 ft. 6 ins., a similar double column, succeeded by three bases in the same line; also, a day following, a similar double column, of larger dimensions, and there is no doubt

that there yet remains much to be found. Unfortunately, being in a public thoroughfare, these remains cannot be preserved in situ, but careful drawings and measurements have been made.²

Great Thurlow, Suffolk.—Roman antiquities have been discovered here in a pit excavated to the depth of six feet, consisting for the most part of pottery of various kinds. This is mostly black and grey ware, both of well-known and of unusual types, also numerous handles of amphorae and necks of mortaria. A quantity of Samian ware was also found, and of very varied types, all of soft and porous clay, though the appearance is good, and the ornamentation rich. The decorations take the form of loop and tassel borders, and radiated margins like the rim of some sea-shells; also symmetrically twined patterns of leaves and fruit, and in one case the figure of a leopard. The potters' marks are mostly obscure; one apparently reads: OFA[L]BI. Among other remains were a plain bronze fibula, and a small brass coin inscribed CLAUDIVS CAESAR (i.e. Claudius Gothicus); also a small stumpy figure draped in long straight falling robes, and holding a long knife in one hand and a bag or purse in the other. This figure is carved out of chalk, and is about three inches high; the head is lost, but it apparently represents Mercury.³

ITALY.

Rome.—During some alterations on the bank of the Tiber, about 160 metres above the Ponte S. Angelo, a pier or landing-place was discovered, built of blocks of tufa, with no cement, but with a coating of travertine. It is apparently a raised causeway, 14 metres wide and 5 high, protruding into the river for 26 metres at an angle of 40° to the direction of the stream. On each side are two spacious landings of concrete, with a palisade which is an excellent example of Roman hydraulic engineering. This pier was probably used for landing marbles for the buildings of the Campus Martius and the Pincian and Quirinal Hills. The ordinary landing-place lower down the Tiber would have been very inconvenient for the extensive building operations carried on in this part of Rome under the earlier Emperors, and hence this one was erected. In 1737-40 inscriptions were discovered in this locality alluding to a *Statio Rationis Marmorum*, and some ruins of the same; this was undoubtedly in connection with the landing-place.

Under the Teatro Tor di Nona was discovered a semi-circular portico in the shape of the Greek Ω , built of white marble, with a single row of columns. In the centre was a diminutive round temple, 4.20 metres in diameter, and an altar before it with sacrificial emblems. The capitals of the columns

¹ *Manchester Guardian*. 2 May 1891.

² *Academy*. 18 and 25 April 1891.

³ *Antiquary*. May 1891.

are modelled in the form of leopards' skins folded and twisted round the top of the shaft. On a fragment of the architrave is engraved ΛΙΒ[ΕΡ], which may denote that the building was dedicated to Bacchus.¹

GREECE.

Athens.—In the excavations carried on to remove the railway-station of the Piræus-line, an ancient tomb was discovered, containing a mirror, some vases, and a marble stèle, all of a rather late period.²

Dr. Lolling has published five new inscriptions discovered on the Acropolis, and relating to cults, the existence of which was hitherto unknown.

(1). A fragment of Pentelic marble, from the base of a statue: Διὸς κα[τ]αίβατο[υ] ἄβατον. End of fourth century.

(2). A small altar of Pentelic marble: Διὶ Ναίω[κ]αὶ τῇ συν[ό]δω Μέλ[λ]πων Κα[λ]λ[ί]ξεν[ον] Πρ[ο]β[α]λίσιος εὐ[χ]αί[μ]ε[ν]ο[ς] ἀν[έ]θηκεν. Roman times.

(3). Five fragments of a κλίνη: τῇ Δ[ι]ώ[ν]η Φίλη Νικήτου ἀνέ[θηκεν]. Fourth century. Phile was a priestess of Dione, who was worshipped in the Erechtheion.

(4). Fragment of a base :.....Παιαν[ι]εὺς[ἀνέθ]ηκεν Διὶ Πολιεῖ. Fourth century. From the temenos of Zeus Polieus, probably to the north-east of the Parthenon.

(5). A tapering base of sixth-century date: Τέ[ν]δε κόρην ἀνέθηκεν ἀπαρχὴν | . . . λοχός: ἄγρας: ἐν οἱ Ποντομέδ[ον] χρυσόστρα[ι]ν' ἔπορεν [ἔπορες?].³

The offering of a κόρη by a fisher to Poseidon. Cf. *C. I. A. I.* 1. 141.

Additions to the Central Museum: The vases from Eretria; the sarcophagus found at Patras sculptured with the hunt of the Kalydonian boar; the statues found at Rhamnus, with their inscribed pedestals; antiquities found in the Olympieion, including the head of a Maenad crowned with ivy, of good style, and a statuette of the triple-headed Hekate, with traces of red colouring; a bronze statuette of Aphrodite discovered on the east side of the Acropolis, and representing the Goddess nude, in the act of throwing a sandal with her left hand at an invisible Eros; and the products of the French excavations at Thespieæ, including the fragments of a sarcophagus representing the labours of Herakles. From Marathon: a large two-handled vase, 0.32 metres high, of a reddish colour, with brown bands round the middle, and remains of decorations in Mycenaean style; about twenty small lekythoi, mostly in pieces, resembling those found at Eretria, and of a date anterior to the Persian wars; they mostly bear representations of war-chariots, and some have figures of warriors on horseback, or hoplitai on foot; on two alone is a mythological scene found, viz. the capture of the Erymanthian boar by Herakles. From Petreza: seventeen vases of various shapes and fragments, including a b.f. *bombylion*, 0.13 metres high, signed by the painter Mnesikleides, with a Sphinx in a temple, and draped figures, also a b.f. lekythos, with a male and a female figure on a couch. From Laurium: a marble hydria, and a dog of white marble seated on a pedestal. Also two silver coins, an Athenian tetradrachm of archaic type, and a drachma of Alexander, found in Athens.⁴

Thorikos.—A prehistoric tomb has been discovered here on the hill behind the theatre with a vaulted *dromos*, and inner chamber of elliptical shape. It contained fragments of Mycenaean pottery and of a bronze spear and dagger, also remains of bones charred by fire. It was not possible to excavate the *dromos*, owing to the insecurity of the side-walls. Near the tomb is a circular vaulted building, also of prehistoric date, containing a number of black-figured lekythoi and archaic terra-cotta figures, all broken. As no bones were found, it seems likely that this was not a tomb, but a well into which these objects were thrown to avoid profanation, being probably offerings from a neighbouring temple.⁵

Eretria. Dr. Dörpfeld has published an account of the theatre recently laid bare by the American School. The buildings at the back and part of the orchestra have been brought to light, the foundation-walls of the former and part of the walls above being preserved. Before these buildings there is no *logion*, but, as at Epidauros and elsewhere, a proscenium with pilasters, with the proportions given by Vitruvius; this 'Dekorationswand' is in the Ionic style, with only one door in the middle, as in other cases; its height is from 3 to 3.50 metres. Before this wall is the orchestra, forming a circle. A peculiarity of the theatre is that, owing to the formation of the ground, the floor of the buildings at the back lies 3½ metres higher than the stylobate of the proscenium, i.e. is at the level of the top of the latter. Hence an actor, going from the orchestra through the door of the proscenium into the building at the back, could only reach the hall with its colonnade up a flight of stairs; a broad vaulted passage is here visible, leading underneath the floor and ending in a staircase. Probably an actor on leaving the stage did not ascend this staircase but remained behind the proscenium-wall (at the wings, so to speak), until his time came to go on again. The most important discovery was that of a carefully-walled subterranean passage from the space behind the proscenium to the middle of the orchestra, no doubt useful for the sudden appearance of actors. The broad platform behind the proscenium, which according to the excavators at Megalopolis was considered to be a stage with six steps, also occurs here; it has a back-wall about eight metres high, and must be the same as the *scenae frons* of Vitruvius.⁶

Mycenae.—In Pausanias occurs the passage (ii. 16. 6): Μυκενῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς εἰρεῖσι κρηὴ τε ἐστὶ καλουμένη Περγεία καὶ Ἀτρείως καὶ τῶν παιδῶν ὑπόγαια οἰκοδομήματα, ἐνθα οἱ θησαυροὶ σφισι τῶν χρημάτων ἦσαν. The question has arisen how water was obtained from this fountain of Perseia by the inhabitants of the Acropolis; for without a subterranean channel through the walls or aqueduct above, the spring, which rises outside the city, could never have been brought inside. Neither of these were found, and consequently it was supposed that the only supply of water was from three spacious cisterns inside the walls. Lately, however, another means of obtaining water has been discovered. On the north side of the wall there is a door, north-east from which is a covered way, running obliquely through the wall, and marked in Steffen's map as a 'Galerie'; this is not, as he supposed, a postern-door, but a subterranean passage leading in a north-easterly direction 40 metres beyond the walls, with 99 steps (16 in the thickness of the wall, and 83 outside). At the end is a rectangular spring or fountain, 3.70 metres in depth and 1 × 0.84 metres in area, in the roof of which is a

¹ *Athenaeum*. 25 April 1891.

² *Antiquary*. May 1891.

³ *Δέλτιον*, September 1890, p. 144; see also *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 2 May, 1891.

⁴ *Δέλτιον*, Oct.—Dec. 1890, pp. 149, 162. (See also *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 2 May 1891, and *Ath. Mitth.* 1890, p. 233).

⁵ *Δέλτιον*. Nov.—Dec. 1890, p. 159.

⁶ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 25 April 1891.

hole, with a pipe of clay coming from the north, which probably led to the spring of Perseia.¹

Nineteenth Century. May 1891. Article by Dr. C. Waldstein: 'Is it Aristotle's Tomb?'

This article contains a fuller account of the discovery at Eretria, mentioned *ante*, p. 236, but adds nothing new.

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. 2 May 1891.

On p. 546 is a communication by Dr. G. Tren, relative to a recent acquisition of the Dresden sculpture collection. This is an athlete's head, of

Myronian style, of Pentelic marble, found some years ago in Thrace, and acquired through Dr. P. Arndt. The swollen ears point to its being the head of a pugilist, and it corresponds more nearly to the head of the Diskobolos than any yet known. The nose and chin are injured, and the hair on the forehead and the left cheek have been marred by inferior attempts at restoration. The firm mouth, thin outline of the cheeks, eyelids, and short curls of hair, seem to indicate a bronze original. Apparently this head left the workshop unfinished, as the working of the hair is in parts incomplete. It will be published shortly in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, by Dr. P. Hermann.

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *id.* 11 April 1891.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. April—May, 1890.

ON THE LITERATURE OF HOMER (the higher criticism) by C. ROTHE.

Bougot, *Étude sur l'Iliade d'Homère*. Paris 1888. B. treats of Homer under three heads, Invention, Composition and Execution. Finds the clearest proof of the unity of the poem in the similarity of the execution. The poet may very well have used single lays but he has made them all subserve his special aim.—A. Croiset and M. Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*. Paris 1887. Assumes a poet who without any definite plan composed a complete poem, the strife of Agam. and Achilles. The approbation it met with caused him to add A, then Hector's death, then the 'Patrocleia' and others. Then subsequent poets united these into a whole [see *C.R.* ii. 255].—W. v. Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*. Handb. f. kl. Altertumsw. VII. Nördlingen 1889. A model review of the Homeric question for shortness and clearness. Several poets have taken part in the creation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but the thought of making the central point of the *Iliad* the strife between Agam. and Achilles is due to one mind, as well as the plan of making Odysseus narrate in Phaeacia his former adventures and then after his return slay the suitors of his faithful wife. The *Odyssey* is a younger creation than the *Iliad* [see Jebb's *Introduction to Homer* p. 126].—H. Hagen, *Ueber Wesen und Bedeutung der Homerfrage*. Hamburg 1889. A thorough-going supporter of Köchly, maintaining that Homer is a collection of single lays.—E. Kammer, *Ein ästhetischer Kommentar zur Ilias*. Paderborn 1889. Too subjective: K. rejects about half the *Iliad* on purely aesthetic grounds (*C.R.* iv. 331).—L. Erhardt, *Zur Homerschen Frage*. Zeitschr. f. Völkerversych. XIX. Maintains the theory, started by the Italian Vico half a century before Wolf, that Homer is the work not of a single poet or of a line of poets but of the genius of the Greek people and that the poets merely strung together pre-existing lays.—K. Brandt, *Zur Geschichte und Composition der Ilias*, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888, 1889 and C. Rothe, *Zur Homerschen Frage*, *ib.* 1889. B. attempts to show that the first half of Σ belongs to the old $\mu\eta\mu\iota\varsigma$, the second from 369 on to the second reviser, also that Γ 42–356 belongs to the second reviser. R. combats his arguments and conclusions.—P. Jahr, *De Iliadis*

libro decimo. Progr. Stettin 1889. Upholds the ancient opinion that this lay is a later addition.—A. Th. Christ, *Das Aiolosabenteuer in der Odyssee*. Progr. Landskrone 1889. While Niese considers this to be a masterpiece of narrative on account of its pithy terseness, Christ holds this terseness to be itself a fault and makes several other objections, mostly unreasonable.—A. Czyczkiewicz, *Untersuchungen über das III. und XVI. Buch der Odyssee*. Brody 1889. Written 12 years ago and so rather out of date. C. seeks to show with Kirchhoff that π 281–298 are not a later addition to τ 3–52 but that the latter are later than π , and only added to make a contrast between π and χ . He also sees traces of a later 'redaction' in some parts of γ .—Reichert, *Ueber den zweiten Teil der Odyssee*. Berlin 1889. Wishes to show that the second part of the *Od.* is not the work of two revisers, viz. a continuer of the 'old Nostos,' and a second reviser, but that it is sufficient to assume one 'redactor' who has used an older lay (the song of the Bow) and also single lays as e.g. Odysseus' combat with Iros.—H. Grimm, *Homers Ilias*. Deutsche Rundschau 1889. Sees in Homer the labour of a lifetime resulting in a single work of art.—A. Wauters, *Homère a-t-il existé?* Bruxelles 1888. Places Homer, according to the Parian marble, in the year 907 B.C.—at the beginning and not at the end of the 'sage-development.'

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie, herausgegeben von D. Hase, D. Lipsius, D. Pfeiderer, D. Schrader.

XVI. Jahrgang. 1890.—

I. Heft contains, p. 84–133, Paul Feine, *Die alte Quelle in der ersten Hälfte der Apostelgeschichte*. 'The author of Acts App. availed himself in Cpp. i.–xii. of a written document, drawn up most probably at Jerusalem, but not, to judge from xii. 17 (the position which St. James seems to occupy), i. 4 and x. 41 (account of the Resurrection), at a very early date.'

P. 158, 9. Dr. Löbe, *Ein Fragm. einer lat. Bibelübersetzung*. Notice of the portion of a Lat. MS., found in the St. Georgenstift at Rasephas (in an old account-book dating 1555/6), containing Prov. xxv. 21–xxviii. 10. and Cant. ii. 4–iii. 2 and v. 1–12. 'The translation follows the Vulgate on the whole, but has some peculiar readings.'

P. 160 in *Miscelle zu Röm.* ix. 5, 9 G. Krüger sug-

gests that the relative sentences, *ὡν οἱ πατέρες* till *σάρκα*, form part of the fourth verse, and that the sentence *ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.* (v. 5) is either the later addition of a reader, or else the response of the congregation, when the Ep. was read in Service.—

D. Hase's name disappears from the title page of

II. Heft, which p. 161—6, contains R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Erinnerung an Karl von Hase*, the theologian, controversialist and Church historian.

III. Heft contains, p. 337—56, G. Krüger, *Die Bedeutung des Athanasius*.

P. 423—34, Ph. Meyer, *Zwei bislang ungedruckte Enkomien auf den Evangel Lukas*, published from the Cod. A—4, No. 28 and 29, at Smyrna; they are also contained in Montfaucon Bibl. Coislin. 195 in Paris. The latter treatise dates probably from the fifth century and is of little value; the former, headed *περίοδοι καὶ τελείωσις τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Λουκά*, has considerable interest. The prayer of St. Luke (Cp. iii.) contains numerous gnostic expressions (Christ is called *τὸ μυστήριον τὸ κεκρυμμένον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ σταυρὸς ὥφθη—ἀνάπανδης—cf. φύλαξόν με ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ*

τριάδι) similar to those met with in the gnostic Acts of the Apostles, especially in those of St. Thomas. Pfarrer Meyer considers this a proof that there existed Acts of St. Luke, either composed or edited by gnostics, and that these may have formed part of the heretical Acts of the twelve Apostles, mentioned by the fathers.

P. 454—72 F. Görres, *Kirche und Staat von Decius bis zum Regierungsantritt Diocletians* (249—284) I. part considers Decius' persecution of the Christians, examines the motives of the emperor—who was, as later on Julian, led astray by romantic illusions—the measures he adopted (Cyp. *Ep.* 22, *jussu sumus secundum praeceptum imperatoris fame et siti necari*, and *Ep.* 56, *maxime cum cupientibus mori non permitteretur occidi*), as well as their effect on the Church [various degrees of sacrificati, thurificati, libellatici, acta facientes]. The peculiar character of Decius' persecution, distinguishing it from the persecutions on the one hand of M. Aurelius on the other of Diocletian, is well brought out.

C. MERK.

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The Classical Review

JULY 1891.

ADVERSARIA ORTHOGRAPHICA.

I.

NOTHING is much better known in the province of Plautine metric than H. A. Koch's paper in the *Neue Jahrbuecher* for 1870, vol. 101, headed *uoxor* = *uxor*. There are ten or twelve verses in Plautus, spoilt by hiatus as they stand, which would be rid of this disfigurement if *uxor* began with a consonant: in such places Koch would introduce the form *uoxor*, which is actually proffered by B, the codex uetus Camerarii, at *truc.* 515 and *trin.* 800. Ritschl in the preface to his second edition of the *trinummus* praises the ingenuity of this suggestion and suspends judgment; but I do not encounter the apparition of *uoxor* in any text published during the twenty years since 1870, and here I shall attempt to lay the ghost, for a ghost it is.

The two verses in which B gives the form are these:

truc. 515:

Márs peregre adueniéns salutat Nérienem
uxorém suam.

trin. 800:

uoxorem quoque ipsam hanc rem ut celes
face.

This is of course corrupt, and Ritschl writes:

uxorém quoque eampse hánc rem uti celés
face.

uoxorem B in both places.

Now even if we concede to Koch that Plautus wrote *uoxor* in other verses, where it does not appear, it nevertheless is quite certain that in these two verses, where it

does appear, he did not write it. In *truc.* 515 it will not scan, and there is an end of the matter. In *trin.* 800 it makes no difference to the scansion, and there is an end of the matter again. For after we have fathered *uoxor* on Plautus as often as Mr. Koch desires there will still remain a great majority of instances where *uxor* alone is admitted by the metre; and this means that *uxor* was the normal form with Plautus, and that *uoxor*, if he employed it at all, he employed for metrical convenience only. But for metrical convenience he cannot have employed it at *trin.* 800, since it commences the verse. How strange now is this: that *uoxor*, which has thrust itself into two verses where Plautus did not write it, should have vanished from a dozen verses where he did.

But what then is *uoxorem*? for there it stands in B. VOXOREM is the ghost of VCXOREM. There are four ways of spelling this word, *uxor*, *ucxor*, *uaxor*, *uaxsor*; but if we want to find the three last forms preserved we must go to stone records or the best and most ancient of our MSS. In Virgil we have *georg.* iv. 491 *respexit* M, *Aen.* i. 108, 109 *sacca* c, 398 *cincxere* G, ii. 56 *aræ* M², iv. 682 *extincxi* M², xii. 353 *prospexit* M, 671 *respexit* M, 734 *aspexit* M, and xi. 860 *duxit* P, xii. 266 *dixit* P, 300 *reluxit* P. But in MSS. less excellent than Virgil's it is rare to find these forms intact, as at *Lucr.* iii. 1044 *restincxit* A (oblongus), *Ovid met.* i. 353 *iuncxit* MA, ii. 554 *texsta* A. Never doubt that other writers used them as often as Virgil; but their scribes have substituted simple *x* when they recognised what was meant. Here and

there however they have not recognised this, and we may detect the old orthography under some such disguise as *uoxorem*. Thus in Hor. *serm.* i. 2, 47 I would write *mercæ* for *mercēs* Βφλ, in Sen. *Oed.* 227 and *Ag.* 562 *arcæ* for *arsæ* E. In Prop. iv. 4, 10 we have the variants *facta* O, *saxa* N, in Ovid *met.* ii. 326 *factum* (*factum*) N, *saxum* cett., in xiii. 567 *iactum* MN, *saxum* cett.: write *sacæa* and *saxum*. In Catull. 68, 143 Schwabe restores *dextra* for the *deastra* of V; and at 64, 237 of the same poet I think I see a similar form under a deeper disguise. Aegeus charges his son to hoist white sails if he return,—

quam primum cernens ut laeta gaudia
mente
agnoscam, cum te reducem aetas prospera
sistet.

I do not flatter myself with the hope of many converts, so I will be brief, and will merely refer to Baehrens for the objections to *aetas*, which Avantius very suitably replaces by *fors*. Now *fors* is not at all like *aetas* but very like *pros*: it may be then that *aetas prospera* is an attempt to emend *pros aetaspera*, which in its turn is a letter-for-letter corruption of *fors dextra*.

II.

Virgil *Aen.* vii. 703-5:

nec quisquam aeratas acies ex agmine
tanto
misceri putet, aeriam sed gurgite ab
alto
urgueri uolucrum raucarum ad litora
nubem.

'*ex agmine tanto* seems to go with *misceri*, to be made up, or massed, out of that great multitude: a poetical variety for *hoc agmen tantum aeratas acies esse*' Conington. These are two explanations, not one; they are irreconcilable with one another, and they are both untenable. The former renders the Latin correctly and is nonsense: there is no difficulty at all in believing that armed ranks can be made up out of a great multitude: the difficulty is to believe that the multitude can be made up out of armed ranks. The second explanation gives the sense needed, the sense of the Greek original οὐδέ κε φαίης | τόσσον νηίτην στόλον ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' οἰωνόν | ἱλαδὸν ἄσπετον ἔθνος ἐπιβρομέειν πελάγεσσιν, but obtains it by ignoring *ex*: 'hoc agmen tantum aeratas acies esse' is the equivalent of 'aeratas acies agmine tanto misceri,' 'that those who

are mingling together in such a multitude are armed ranks,' which is not what we have in the text. Ladewig expounds 'dass aus einer solchen Masse sich eherne Schaaren bilden und mit dem Feinde handgemein werden würden': except for the wealth of inappropriate meaning bestowed on *misceri* this is the former of the two explanations confused by Conington.

Now turn to *Aen.* ii. 725-8:

ferimur per opaca locorum;
et me, quem dudum non ulla iniecta moue-
bant
tela neque aduerso glomerati ex agmine
Grai,
nunc omnes terrent aerae.

Heyne, Wagner, and Ladewig give what I conceive to be the correct translation of 'aduerso glomerati ex agmine Grai': 'a troop of Greeks collected out of the hostile army.' But other editors feel, what is very true, that this falls far beneath the sense required; so once again they ignore *ex* and render 'the hostile mass of Greeks,' *i.e.* 'aduerso glomerati agmine Grai.' Twice over then, it seems, has Virgil written *ex* where he did not mean it. Why, in both these places, does the word which follows happen to be *agmine*? The coincidence is the key to the riddle.

Of Virgil's capital MSS. *Aen.* ii. 727 is contained in two, MP, vii. 703 in three, MPR. All these, after the wont of capital MSS., are written without punctuation or interspaces between word and word. P has been sparsely pointed by a later hand: R is profusely besprinkled, also by a later hand, with dots which often fall in the most absurd situations; but as originally written these MSS. offer in each line an unbroken row of equidistant letters. The difficulty therefore of these two verses lies wholly at the door of the editors or the scribes of later MSS. The reading of the capital codices in both lines is EXAGMINE, and it is perfectly right: 'aduerso glomerati *exagmine* Grai': 'aeratas acies *exagmine* tanto | misceri.' *exagmen* is the word with which we are more familiar in the form *examen*. The older spelling is preserved or indicated by M or by γ in the following passages: *buc.* ix. 30 *exacmina* M, *georg.* ii. 452 *exacmine* M, iv. 21 *exagmina* M, 103 *exagmina* γ, *exacmina* M, *Aen.* xii. 725 *exagmine* γ. The other MSS. have in those places substituted the common form, and the only reason why *exagmine* has survived in *Aen.* ii. 727 and vii. 703 is that the

context led the obtuse copyists to mistake the end of the word for *agmine*. But they were not all obtuse, and at vii. 703 two late codices, the Leidensis and the Hamburgensis alter, put the editors of Virgil to shame by writing *examine*.

An exact parallel to these phenomena appears in *Aen.* iii. 483 'picturatas auri subtegmine uestes': *subtegmine* G, *subtegmine* Myb, *subtemine* Pac: the simple Servius regardless of sense and deaf to admonition observes '*sub tegmine.....nam male quidam subtemen stamen accipiunt.*'

III.

Ovid *trist.* iv. 10, 95 sq.:

postque meos ortus Pisaea uinctus oliua
abstulerat deciens praemia victor eques.

There were no jockeys at Olympia, so *eques* is wrong, and Beutley at Hor. *carm.* iv. 2, 17 restores *equus*, shewing after Spanheim from Theocritus and Plutarch that the winning horses in the chariotrace were crowned with wreaths. But the corruption *eques* means that Ovid wrote *equos*, as I can prove by adducing the very passage from which he borrowed *victor equos*, spelling and all: Prop. ii. 34, 38 'tristia ad Archemori funera *victor equos*,' for so the MSS. give it. That Ovid sometimes at any rate employed this form of the nom. sing. we know chiefly from the codex reginensis of the *fasti* which offers iii. 228 *auos*, 273 *riuos*, iv. 46 *auos*, 824 and 836 *nouos*: at ii. 316

it has *riuues*, i.e. *riuos*; also *soluont* at iv. 333: the Harleian at *met.* ii. 186 has *suos* and at 456 *riuos*, the Amplonianus prior *flauos* at iii. 617: at xiv. 589 for *paruum* the Marcianus has *paruo*, i.e. *paruom*. This *uo* is presented by the MSS. not of Augustan writers merely but even of Martial: therefore when in [Sen.] *Herc. Oet.* 1219 we find *reuulsus* in E and the corruption *reuersus* in A we need not doubt that the common origin of both was *reuolsus*. Nor is Ovid *trist.* iv. 10, 96 the only place where a puzzled scribe has changed *equos* to *eques*: Prop. iv. 10, 19 will furnish another example, though to discuss that passage would involve a long digression. But lest any one at Hor. *epod.* 16, 12 '*urbem | eques sonante uerberabit ungula*' should be tempted to propose an alteration because the hoof is the horse's and not the horseman's, I would point out that the MS. reading is defended by Virg. *georg.* iii. 116 sq. '*equitem docuere sub armis | insultare solo et gressus glomerare*

superbos' and Luc. vi. 81 sqq. '*pabula terrae, | quae currens obtruiuit eques, gradibusque citatis | ungula frondentem discussit cornea campum.*' There is however I believe in the text of Horace at least one place where the termination *-uōs*, which his MSS. so often preserve, still lurks undetected: *carm.* iv. 7, 14 sqq.:

nos, ubi decidimus,
quo pius Aeneas, quo Tullus diues et
Ancus,
pulis et umbra sumus.

Whether *diues* belongs to Tullus or to Ancus it is the least appropriate epithet which the Latin vocabulary contains, for both these kings are expressly cited by Juvenal v. 57 as examples of antique poverty. I would write *saeuos*, and trace the corruption through *saluos aluos diuos*. It may be that Juvenal's '*Tulli census pugnacis et Anci*' comes from this very line.

IV.

At Lucr. i. 125 '*lacrimas effundere salvas*' the oblongus (A) has *effundere*, the quadratus (B) *et fundere*. Lachmann observes '*ecfundere libri nostri non exhibent: horum autem scribendi rationem reddere satis habeo.*' But neither do the MSS. of Catullus exhibit this form; yet when they offer *et futura* at 6, 13 it is Lachmann himself who restores *ecfututa*, and rightly. Only once even in Virgil is *ec* preserved, *Aen.* ix. 632 *ecfugit* b, where PRγ^c accordingly give *etfugit* and Servius attests *et fugit*; Ribbeck however restores it at *Aen.* vii. 440 where M has *etfetu*, and it ought to be restored also at *georg.* iv. 450 *etfatus* M, *Aen.* ii. 657 *etferre* M, v. 317 *etfusi* M, xii. 499 *etfundit* P. Therefore at Lucr. vi. 258, where the MSS. give *et fertus* and the sense demands Lachmann's *effertus*, the form indicated is surely *ecfertus*. But if i. 125 and vi. 258 are not thought evidence enough for *ec* in Lucretius I bring forward a stronger proof. The verse i. 70 is preserved by Priscian p. 879 in the form '*inritat animi uirtutem effringere ut arta,*' but the MSS. of Lucretius give *confringere* against metre: why? because he wrote *ecfringere* and *ec* was mistaken for *cō*.

Restore *ec* again in Ovid *met.* ii. 144 *et fulget* MSS., *effulget* Heinsius, Pers. iii. 20 *et fluis* A C, *effluis* B, Juv. ix. 150 *et fugit* P, *effugit* ω. In Hor. *ars* 111 we have the variants *effert* α γ U δ ε Lu v, *efferet* B, *et certi* R φ ψ λ ι z π: write *ecfert*.

Sometimes *ec* is deeper concealed. Hor.

epist. i. 10, 9 'quae uos ad caelum fertis rumore secundo' most MSS., *effertis* V and some others: Pauly has seen that this means *ecfertis*: it has been modernised on the one hand to *effertis*, on the other it has been corrupted as usual to *et fertis* and *et* has then been thrown away because it gave no sense. Turn to *Prop.* iii. 9, 9 and you have the same variation: 'gloria Lysippo est animosa effingere signa' N, *fingere* O: write *ecfingere*. *Ovid met.* i. 71 'sidera coeperunt toto efferruescere caelo' M, *feruescere* λ, *ecferuescere* Ovid; *Sen. Thy.* 987 sq. 'admotus ipsis Bacchus a labris fugit | circaeque rictus ore decepto effluit' A, *fluit* E, *ecfluit* Seneca.

All this will serve as preface to the consideration of *Hor. serm.* ii. 3, 171 sqq.:

postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere uidi,
te, Tiberi, numerare, cauis abscondere
tristem,
extimui, ne uos ageret insania discors,
tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.
quare per diuos oratus uterque penates
tu caue ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id
quod satis esse putat pater et natura
coercet.

On this passage the editors continue to comment as if they had not read Bentley, nay as if they had not read Horace. I do not wish to be unfair, so I will quote one of the best among their number: '*ludere*, gamble; sc. *uis* with them, in which there would be the risk of losing them—a risk the cautious brother would not face.' This father then is alarmed for Aulus' future and fears he will prove a spendthrift, because the boy applies nuts and knucklebones to the very use for which boys have nuts and knucklebones given them! Then again: 'a risk the cautious brother would not face'; 'the serious Tiberius would not gamble at all.' Indeed? then how was he to swell his hoard? and if he did not swell his hoard what makes his father afraid 'ne maius faciat id quod satis esse' etc.? and wherein resides his likeness to Cicuta? Cicuta gambled: he was a money-lender, and therefore a gambler by profession. Briefly *ludere*

is impossible for two reasons: it signifies that Tiberius did not play, which is false, and that Aulus ought not to have played, which is false again. Bentley, who demonstrated this, offered only the hasty conjecture *perdere*: I believe that ETLVDERE stands for ETFVDERE, in which we shall now recognise *ecfundere*; and *effundere* has already been proposed by Hamacher.

V.

Cicero, says Quintilian, wrote *aio* and *Maia*, and so did many others beside Cicero; the scribes however view the practice with disfavour, and these forms have seldom escaped them except in masquerade. The following are passages where they have not yet been stripped of the disguises which saved them.

Hor. epist. i. 15, 45 'uos sapere et solos aio bene uiuere,' alio φψλλιζεπλ: write *aio*, comparing *Lucr.* i. 477 where Lachmann restores *Graiugenarum* from the *Graiugenar* of A.

Sen. Tro. 69 sq. 'ex quo tetigit | Phrygius Graias hospes Amyclas,' *gratias* excerpt. *Thu.*: write *Graias*. So in *Catull.* 66, 58 Baehrens restores *Graia* for *gratia*, and I have pointed out elsewhere that in *Prop.* iv. 1, 7 the *Tarpetius* of N means *Tarpeius*.

Sen. Tro. 146 sq. nec feret umquam | uicta Graium ceruice iugum,' *granum* excerpt. *Thu.*: write *Graium*, and see *Virg. Aen.* vii. 386 where γ has *manus*, i.e. *maius*, for *maius*. At *Sen. Tro.* 551 'libera Graios' there is the variant *nos*, which signifies that an original *Graios* was corrupted to *granos*, and *gra* absorbed by the preceding *era*.

Pers. v. 147 '*Veientanumque* rubellum,' *Velentanum* C: write *Veientanum*: at *Juv.* iv. 113, where this MS. gives *Vellento*, Buecheler has observed that *Veiento* is indicated; and in *Prop.* iv. 4, 1 and 15 I have restored *Tarpeiiae* and *Tarpeiia* for the *Tarpelle* and *Carpella* of F.

Juv. iv. 13 sq. 'nam quod turpe bonis Titio serioque decebat | Crispinum': Calderinus emends *Seio*; but write *Seio*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LATIN GERUND AND GERUNDIVE.

THE origin of the group *-nd-* in Latin, and the history of the gerund and gerundive forms which is bound up with it, can hardly, even yet, be thought so clear as to call for no further investigation. Brugmann's com-

parison of the Lithuanian verbals in *-tinas* (*būtinas* 'being' *sūktinas* 'torquendus' *Grundr.* ii. § 69 p. 161, Eng. ed.) is by far the most attractive of the theories at present in the field, but it has not found general ac-

ceptance. It has two weak points, first, the scantiness of the evidence for the change of *-tn-* to *-nd-* in Italic (not Indo-European), which is practically confined to the one doubtful word *tendo*, supposed to stand for **tetno*, a reduplicated aorist present; and secondly, the necessity of supposing that the regular gerundive of the simple thematic (3rd) conjugation, the type of which would be an imaginary **rec-tinos* from *rego*, had been completely banished in favour of *regendo-* by the analogy of *amando-* (: *amans*) and *monendo-* (: *monens*), and that without leaving a single trace behind. We should at least expect to find it in some form which had been preserved in archaic documents, or had remained uninfluenced by the change because it had fallen 'out of system,' e.g. by becoming an adjective; for in the case of any large analogical change there is always a margin of words of this kind, which betray the real phonetic form; for instance *intereā*, *trigintā* have the original *-ā* of the neut. pl., which was shortened by phonetic change only in iambic words (*jāga*, *bōna*, etc.), though by analogy the *-ā* spread to all neuter plurals which were recognized as such (*Grundr.* i. § 655, 2 p. 502 Eng. ed.); **dō* gives place to *dā* in the imper. of *dare*, but remains in *cēdō*; **caudo* becomes *cudo* on the analogy of *incudo* etc., but the derivative *caussa* ('cutting, legal decision') retains the proper diphthong. Therefore it seems to me impossible, as it has done to many others (e.g. Thurneysen, *Kuhn's Zeitschr.* xxx. p. 494, Fröhde, *Bezz. Beitr.* xvi. p. 181 ff.), to suppose that such a type as **rec-tnos* (**rec-tinos*) ever existed. And the history of the Lithuanian forms is by no means free from doubt. Two other suggestions of Thurneysen's (*Kuhn's Z.* xxvi. p. 301 ff. and xxx. p. 493)—to derive *-undo-* from *-ont-no-* and *-om(e)no-* respectively—are only counsels of despair.

I cannot help thinking that a much older view was nearer the truth. In the second edition of his *Greek Etymology* (p. 590) Curtius compared the Latin gerundive with the Sanskrit verbal in *-anīya-*s, though in later editions he withdrew the suggestion. But the words *tendo*, *fendo* appear to me to cut the knot, by proving, if anything can, that the group *-nī-* became *-nd-* in Latin, or perhaps in proethnic Italic.

I. Eu. **tenīō* = Gr. *τείνω* Lat. *tendo*

I. Eu. **ghenīō* = Gr. *θείνω* (: *φόνος* : *φατός*)
Lat. *of-fendo*.

It has long been pointed out that the participle *tentus* seemed to show that the *d* of *tendo* was not the root-determinative of *claru-d-o fren-d-o πλῆθ-ω* etc., though the later

by-form *tensus* shows the tendency to assimilation. This would take effect latest in words which were most commonly in use, so that it is not surprising to find *tentus* and *fensus* side by side.¹

Now no one would wish to derive *tendo* from an otherwise unknown and not very probable **tetno*, rather than compare it directly with *τείνω*, if this could be allowed on phonetic grounds; and *fendo* is obviously much closer in meaning to *θείνω* (*φόνος*) Skr. *han-* 'to strike' than to the root *bhndh-* 'to bind' (*πενθ-ερός πείσμα* Skr. *bandh-*) with which Brugmann compares it.

The origin of the gerund seems to me to have been a derivative formed by the common secondary adjectival suffix *-io-* from the stem of verbal nouns in *-en-* : *-on-*. These two forms of the suffix, as we know, varied in Indo-European according to the accent of the noun, and in verbal nouns this would naturally vary with the accent which prevailed in the various verbal conjugations; compare the discrepancy between the Latin *-ent-* and the Greek *-οντ-* of the participle. The earliest Italic forms of the complete suffix would be *-enīo-* (= both I. Eu. *-enīo-* and I. Eu. *-nīo-*) and *-onīo-*, according to the form of the verbal noun from which it was derived; we have a parallel variation in *colōnus* for **quelōn-o-s* and *inquilinus* for **in-quelōn-o-s*. Thus we could account at once for the doublet *-endo-* *-undo-*, which has been a standing difficulty in other theories. Verbal nouns in *-ōn-*, which is a form of the *-en-* : *-on-* suffix, are very numerous in Latin, especially in old Latin (*gero*, *piso*, *volō*, *edo*, *bibo*; *praeco*, *ligo*, *runco*, *in-cubo*); compare such forms in Greek as *ἀργών*, *ψυθών*, *φαγών*, *πρυγών*, in Sanskrit as *rājān-*, *takshan-*, all *nomina agentis*; and for the relation of *-ōn-* : *-en-* in Latin, the adj. in *-ensis* derived, I think, originally, from names of places in *-ōn-*, *Furfensis* from *Furfō*,² etc. The new forms would have a double use, as adjectives and as abstract substantives, the latter being confined to the neuter, unless we regard the forms *merenda* 'luncheon,' *turunda* 'a ball of paste' as indicating that the feminine could once be used in the same way. This double function is exceedingly common in

¹ Primitive forms which contradict ordinary grammatical analogies hold their ground best (against the levelling tendency) in words that are in hourly use; *fert*, *est*, *it*, are practically the only non-thematic verbs left in Latin, and in Greek it is the well-worn *ἵστημι*, *τίθημι*, *ἵημι*, *δίδωμι* that have preserved the intricate inflexion of the verbs in *-μι*.

² The *-sis* of *-ensis* is difficult. Is it parallel to the *-sio-* which forms so many derivatives, *Plana-sia*, *contrā-riu-s*, *aquā-riu-s*, etc.?

the *-o-* suffixes (e.g. *offensus* : *offensa*, *πυντός* : *πυντή*, *noxius* : *noxia*, *ῥούχιος* : *ῥούχια*) and really needs no illustration. Brugmann's treatment of the matter must by this time be familiar to all classical students (*Grundriss*, ii. § 158, p. 473 Eng. ed.).¹ The substantive would denote the action itself, being afterwards limited, by the competition of other verbal nouns, to the action while in process : **regeniom* = 'the act of ruling.' The meaning of the adjective would be originally indefinite, 'connected with, derived from, affected by' the agent or his act : **regen-īo-s*, to start with, was equally adapted to mean 'having to do with ruling,' 'having a ruler,' 'like a ruler,' 'ruling' and various other connotations which we find in the *-īo-* derivatives. Thus as a verbal it might be either active or passive. Here again illustrations are obvious, such as the English adjectives in *-ful* (*pitiful* = 'to be pitied' and 'ready to pity') and the I. Eu. participles in *-tós* which were originally active as well as passive (e.g. Gr. *τλητός* 'enduring,' Eng. *wise* = O. H. Germ. *wīs* = I. Eu. **vid* + *tos*, cf. Gr. *ἄστροφος* 'unskilful' v. Brugmann *Grundr.* ii. § 79, p. 220f. Eng. ed.).

Now if these adjectival forms (**regenīos* etc.) had gone on to develop their meaning freely without being fettered by any special limitations, we should have expected to find many of the various significations, which were possible for them as derivatives in *-īo-*, represented in different words. As a matter of fact, in the *-ndo-* forms we have practically only two such meanings, namely that of a passive participle, sometimes implying necessity, and a present active participle. The latter survives in a very few forms, all intransitive ; *volvenda dies*, compare with Roby *volventibus annis*, *rotundus* 'rolling, round' compare *saxa rotantia* ; *oriundus*, *secundus*. The active forms in *-bundus* (*populabundus agros* etc. Liv.) are only apparent exceptions, for they are compounds of an intransitive participle *-bundus* (the verbal of the future-forming injunctive *-bo* = **bhūō* 'I am' or 'I am to be'), with a transitive infinitive form of the type of *regē-* in *regēbam* etc. There are also one or two isolated cases of the use of the gerundive strictly as a verbal, i.e. as an alternative to the gerund, from intransitive verbs (*ad homines nascendos* Gell. 3. 10. 7, v. Roby *Lat. Gram.* II. p. lxx.). What is the reason for this limitation?

The answer is twofold, and has been given long ago in Roby's brilliant exposition of the relation in use between the gerund

and gerundive (II. p. lxi. ff.). In the first place, no new form was needed in the sense of an active participle, since the *-ent-* forms had been doing the work for many generations, long before Italic was a separate language, and, so to speak, had been doing it very well ; that is to say, they were well-established participles, not mere adjectival derivatives like the *-enīo-*, forms whose claims to govern an accusative were new and doubtful. In the second place its kinship to the gerund in form led to a close assimilation of their use, the result being that the *-īo-s* or *-ndo-s* form became a kind of adjectival gerund, that is to say, instead of a loose verbal it became definitely a gerundive. I cannot help thinking that this removes a point of some difficulty in Roby's theory, namely the creation of a verbal adjective with a passive meaning from the neuter substantival gerund simply by giving it masculine and feminine inflexions without adding any new suffix. Rough parallels to such a change can no doubt be given (e.g. Gr. *ἐν-τοῖς-πρωτ-ος, -η, -ον*), but in any case it is rather a violent transition. The step becomes quite simple if we suppose that beside the verbal substantive in *-endum* there existed all along a verbal adjective, indifferently active or passive, meaning simply 'connected with' the action of the verb. This would be tied down to a passive meaning (when the gerund could take an object) by the course of development which Roby traces, *materia belli excitandi* being substituted for *materia excitandi bellum*, partly because *materia belli* was also an intelligible phrase.

With regard to the date of the process it must be observed that we find exactly the same construction in the Dialects (Osc. *tribūm ūpsannam dedē* 'aedem operandam dedit' Zvēt. *It. Inf.* 143, Umbr. *ocrer pehaner paca* 'arcis piandae causa' Tab. Ig. vi. a 19 ; no example of the gerund is on record). Hence we must either refer the whole development of the gerundive to the proethnic Italic period, or suppose that it took place independently in Latin and in the Umbro-Samnite group. There is no difficulty in the latter supposition, considering how extremely easy the transition is from the indefinite verbal adjective to the passive gerundive, and it may perhaps be more probable in view of the survival of the forms in Latin showing the original non-passive, though intransitive meaning. On the other hand if the change took place in Italic while the ending was still *-enīo- -onīo-*, it would be possible to suppose that the transition was

¹ See also *C. R.* iii. p. 469.

aided by the meaning of necessity which appears in a few adjectives in *-io-* formed directly from the verbal stem (*eximius* 'to be excepted, exceptional,' *fidius* 'to be trusted') and dating from proethnic Indo-European, cf. Gr. *ἄγιος ὁράγιος* and the regular Sanskrit future participles passive in *-yas*. If so, the intransitive forms maintained their ground in spite of the change of meaning, or rather the narrowing in the meaning, of the others, which is certainly possible. The phonetic evidence, as we shall see, leaves the question equally open though it rather favours this latter alternative.

It will perhaps be felt as an objection to this theory that we cannot quote any verbals in *-enjo-* or *-onio-* from kindred languages. But this falls to the ground from the fact that the participles of necessity, as a regular verbal category, are later than the proethnic period, and that we find them formed in a different way in all the languages. *-jo-* was used in a few words to form derivatives from roots with this sense even in proethnic Indo-European, but it is only in Sanskrit that it becomes a regular part of the verb; peculiar to Lithuanian are *-ma-* and (*pace* Brugmann *dixerim*) *-tina-*; to Sanskrit *-āgya-* *-ēnia-* *-anīya-* *-tya-* *-tava-* *-tavya-*; ¹ to Greek *-τέο-* for *-τεφο-*. We should expect, therefore, not to find any verbal forms identical with the Italic in other branches of Indo-European. But on the other hand what we do find are very striking parallel formations. Here, as in the infinitive, Latin and Sanskrit illustrate one another very closely. The Greek and all the Sanskrit gerundives just quoted are extensions of verbal substantives by derivative suffixes; four of them are formed by adding *-jo-*, *-ijo-* or *-iio-* to the stem or some case form of such substantives, and one (*-ēnia-*) seems to be an addition of *-n-jo-* to a case form. Parallels could hardly be closer. Curtius abandoned his suggestion for the Latin forms on the ground that *-anīya-* was post-Vedic, but that does not prevent its illustrating the same principle of formation; it is only fatal to the assumption of an identity.

It is unnecessary to give any examples of the frequency with which *-jo-* (and *-ijo-*) are added to all classes of noun stems in all the Indo-European languages. See the *Grundriss* ii. § 63, 2, p. 125 ff. Eng. ed. (*deversorium*, Skr. *rājanyas*, and the like would be the best for our purpose).

I have discussed first the formation of the gerund, as it seems to me the strongest part

of the evidence for the phonetic change from *-njo-* to *-ndo-*. This we must now consider on its own merits. To begin with it is quite simple physiologically. If the nasal passage, which is opened for the *-n-*, is closed in preparation for the *-i-* slightly before the tongue is drawn up and back from the *-n-* to the *-i-* position, a *d* is produced, which might easily assimilate to itself the following *i*, that is, cause its loss, just as *u* was lost after *b* and *f* (*fio* for **fuiō* cf. Umbr. *fuiest*, *superbus* for **superbhūs*; though possibly this change was pre-Italic, cf. the Irish future forms in *-fa*, *carfa* 'amabo' Windisch-Moore § 282 and the Greek *ἵππερ-φάλας*). The hardening of the semi-vowels to spirants is very common, even independently of their surroundings; compare Goth. *-ddj-* = I. Eu. *-i-*, French *-g-* = low Lat. *-i-* (*cage* = *cauea* etc.), and there is evidence that in one at least of the dialects of the Umbro-Samnite group the same change had taken place, the spirant being denoted by ð (Pelign. *vibāu* = *Vibia*, *afðed* = *abiit* Zvét. Insc. It. Inf. 13, Thurneysen *Rhein. Mus.* 43. p. 347 ff.), which shows that it had some affinity with *d*. In Greek we find the process has gone further and the spirant has become a spirant followed by an explosive (I. Eu. *γ-* = Gr. *ζ* i.e. *σδ-*, *ζυγόν* = Lat. *jugum* etc.), while in some dialects the *σδ-* has become simply *-δδ-* or *δ-* (Lacon. Gortyn. Megar. Boeot. *δνγόν*, *δωός*). The change therefore is perfectly possible.

In Oscan and Umbrian we have *-nn-* corresponding to Lat. *-nd-*. The evidence of the two words Umbr. *pane* Osc. *pan* perhaps = Lat. *quamde*, and Umbr. *ponne* Osc. *pon* which is explained as = **quomde* seems to shew that *-nd-* became *-nn-* in Umbro-Samnite, so that *-ni-* may have passed through the stage *-nd-*. But it would of course be simpler to suppose that *-ni-* became *-nn-* directly in the Umbro-Samnite group, just as *-li-* became *-ll-* in Oscan, *allo famelo* (Tab. Bant.) = Lat. *alia familia*. On the whole this seems to me more probable, as the same dialect which hardened *-ni-* to *-nd-* would hardly break *-nd-* down into *-nn-*: *pane* and *ponne* must then be otherwise explained, which would not be difficult.

The two Plautine forms *dispennite*, *distennite* (Mil. 5. 14) are probably merely dialectic. They would certainly be very slender evidence for the hypothesis of a special treatment of *-ni-* before *-i-* or *-e-* (of the ending *-ite* **-ēte*).²

¹ Brugmann *Grundr.* ii. § 140, 4, Whitney, *Skr. Gramm.* §§ 965, 966, 1217.

² *dispennite* from *dispendo* may be thought to prove that *-nd-* did become *-nn-* in some dialect, since *pando* certainly contains an I. -Eu. *-nd-*. But it is

In one or two other words I think we may trace the same phonetic change. *funda* may stand for **fonda* 'the striker' altered by popular association with *fundo*; if so, it would be exactly equivalent in form to the Greek *φοῖνο* for **φονιο* in *δα-φονός*,¹ but without the secondary development of meaning which the latter shows, following *φόνος*, which originally meant simply 'a striking.' *tondeo* goes with *tendo*. *menda mendum* 'a spot, blemish' may well stand for *men-ĩā-men-ĩo* 'something shown, pointed out' from the root *men-* 'to think, show,' (*memini*, *moneo*, *μαίνομαι* 'think excessively' etc., perhaps also Gr. *μηνῶ* for *μη-v-ω*). *mendax*, be it observed in passing, is a derivative from this word and meant, to start with, simply 'faulty,' until its meaning was narrowed by its similarity to *mentior*. The Sanskrit word *mindā* 'blemish,' with which it has been compared, does not occur in the Rig- or Atharva-Veda, and the relation of the vowels *-e* and *-i* would be very doubtful. *sponda* 'the frame of a bedstead' may be simply derived from the root of Eng. *span* Germ. *spannen* 'to stretch' (which may be either *spon-* or *span-*; the former might be a form of the root of Gr. *πέν-ομαι* *πένης* *πόνος*, as *στέγω*: Lat. *tego toga*). **sponĩā* would be a derivative of an imaginary **sponos* 'a stretching.' But the connexion of *sponda* with the Greek *σπονδύλος* 'a vertebra' is also possible. *mundus* seems to me clearly to stand for **moĩnios* meaning 'possessed of equipment,' and (originally in the neuter, *mundum* Lucilius) as a noun 'the details of equipment.' The root would be the same as in *moenia* (whose *oe* is due to the fact that it is an old form preserved only by written tradition in poetry, as *foedus* in legal documents), *mũnio*, *mũnus* etc., whose meaning is exactly appropriate. *mundus* was originally 'adorned;,' it takes an ablative (*Ostia munda navibus pulchris*) in Ennius, see the Lexica. It has been compared with the Sanskrit *murd* 'to shave' but this is impossible because of the cerebral *d*, which never corresponds directly to an European *d*. And the word is post-Vedic.

The number of these examples is not very large, I admit; but it is far larger than can be shown for *-tn-* = *-nd-*, and clearly, if the gerundial *-endo-* had been based on any phonetic change of which many examples had survived, it would have been recognised

probably only an incorrect dialecticism, on the pattern of *distennite*. Would more exactness be expected in representing dialects in a modern farce?

¹ *φονίος* seems a confusion of *φόνιος* and *φονός* (the latter is only quoted from Nicander).

long ago. And this theory has at least one advantage, though it is not one in which I rejoice overmuch; it is impossible to allege any examples against it in which an original *-nĩo-* has become in later Latin *-nio-* (i.e. *-nĩio-*), because at present we can never be sure whether any one such *-ĩio-* is really descended from *-ĩo-* or *-ĩio-* in Italic, i.e. we do not yet know at what period, much less under what conditions, the change from I. Eu. *-ĩo-* to *-ĩio-* (e.g. *venio* = *βαίνω* = **gmĩō*) took place. In one large class of words with *-nio-*, the gentile names like *Titinius*, *Menenius* etc., we have the evidence of the dialects to prove that the ending was *-(n)ĩio-* not *-(n)io-* even in proethnic Italic, since they are regularly written *-ĩio-* in Oscan. In all probability the variation in the treatment of *-ĩo-* in cases where we know it to have been the original sound (Lat. *medius* Osc. *mefio-* = Gr. *μέσος* i.e. *μησιος*) was due to the variation of accent in different words in a period earlier than Italic, and, perhaps, to some difference in the division of the words into syllables, varying with the accent.² We may distantly conjecture that *-ĩos* remained *-ĩos* but that *-ĩios* became *-ĩios*. *medius* shows that the Osthoff-Sievers' law (that only a long syllable before *-i-* converted it into *-ĩ-*) is of no help to us in Italic. Admitting, therefore, frankly that this explanation of the origin of the *-endo-* *-undo-* forms cannot be called fully established until we have more definite knowledge of the forms assumed by the suffix *-io-* in and before the proethnic Italic period, I cannot help thinking that the evidence for the theory is sufficient to justify us in regarding it as being itself an important factor in determining the history of that group of sounds.

One word more as to the forms in *-cundo-*. They were clearly made on the type set by two or three words in which the *-c-* was part of the stem from which they were formed. *fēcundus* 'creating, productive' shows the same developed root as Gr. *ἐθηκα*, *θήκη*, which appears in Latin in the weak form *fāc-* (*-io* etc.). The parallelism of the roots *fā-* 'to speak' and *fē-* 'to make' (Umbr. *fētū*, cf. *Am. Journ. Phil.* xi. p. 307_n.) gave rise to *fācundus* 'rich in speech,' and these two with the aid of *iocundus* (*iocus*, *iocare*, compare ultimately *ιαc-ĩo* *ιάπτειν*) produced *iūcundus* from *iũv-o* *iũ-tũm*. This group with

² See Dr. Fennell's pamphlet on 'The Indo-European Vowel System.' Its main contention, the importance of syllabism in phonetic change, and its connexion with accent, appears to me most important, though I cannot accept the wider applications of 'Fennell's Law' which its author would give to it.

rubicundus (cf. *rubicōn* 'the ruddy stream,' properly 'he who is red, blushes') gave the suffix the meaning of a personal characteristic, hence *verēcundus irācundus*. Notice the close connexion in meaning between *rubicundus* 'blushing' and *verēcundus* 'shame-

fast.' *secundus* is of course from *sequor*, and probably had no influence on the development of the group, since it was so far removed in meaning.

R. SEYMOUR CONWAY.

THE LATIN FUTURE INFINITIVE IN *-TURVM*.

By an error, for which however he is in no way responsible, Mr. H. E. Miles in the *Classical Review* for May, p. 198, has attributed to me an explanation of this infinitive which only partly coincides with mine. Of my papers on the history and origin of the Latin Future Infinitive read before the Philological Society in April 1887 and the Cambridge Philological Society in May 1889, only the briefest abstracts have been published (Phil. Soc. Proceedings, 1887, p. xvii., Camb. Phil. Soc. Proc. 1889), and though in the last-named abstract it is stated that this Infinitive is compounded from the Dat. of the verbal stem in *-tu*, the dative meant is not the true datival formation in *-uī* from which, as all etymologists will agree, it is phonetically impossible to derive the form in *-tūrum*¹; but the form in *-ū*, called popularly a dative because in usage it does not differ from *-uī*. I was not then concerned with the ultimate origin of that form, but I thought it possible to derive it with Stolz *Handbuch* ii.¹ (1885) p. 212 and Brugmann *Grundriss* i. § 85 ('Loc. sg. idg. **sūnōy*... wol auch got. *sunāu*, lat. (dat.) *ūsū*') from a locative. As these pseudo-datives in *-ū* afford the easiest explanation of the Latin use, *dictū-rum* = *dictū-esum* 'to be for-speaking' 'to be going to speak,' I will add a few words upon them here.

It is impossible to treat these forms, as some do, as a mere poetical variation, as they occur frequently in prose. In neuter nouns they are the only ones actually found, though grammarians mention forms in *-uī*. There are a very considerable number from stems in *-tu* (*-su*): *aspectu conspectu prospectu concubitu dominatu desplicatu ornatu uestitu uenatu uictu luxu usu amplexu sumptu impetu magistratu equitatu exercitu casu quaestu uersu delectu senatu comaeatu consulatu accessu*; see for the references *Neue Formenlehre* i. pp. 356—358. That the so-called

supine in *-ū* did at least comprise datival functions will, I think, be generally admitted. Compare Stolz *Handbuch* ii.² p. 428 'Das sog. zweite Supinum ist ursprünglich ein Dativ, wie aus Plaut. Bacch. 62 *istaec lepida sant memoratui* hervorgeht... Frühe trat für die Form auf *uī* die auf *u* ein, und so hat man bald in II. Supinum einen Ablativ gefunden' etc.

As the existence of the inf. in *-turum* seems to be little known in England, I will enumerate the passages where it occurs. I regret that my search has not enabled me to add anything to the collection of M. Hertz *Neue Jahrbücher* Supplement Band vii. 12 n. 27. Perhaps others may be more fortunate. The *loci classici* are Gellius *N.A.* i. 7 and Priscian ix. p. 864 P. (vol. ii. pp. 475, 476, Keil).

A. The Inf. in *-turum*. Plautus *Truc.* 400 *Cas.* 645, 664 (*occisurum*, *A occisuram* in both passages), Cato (ap. Prisc., Jordan p. 26, 7), C. Gracchus (ap. Gell.), Lucilius ap. Prisc. = xvii. v. 8 (L. Mueller), id. xxx. vv. 107, 108, C.I.L. i. 197 (lex reperta Bantiae) 18 (4 times), [C.I.L. i. 198 (lex Acilia' repetundarum) restored four times 36, 37 (bis), 44], Laberius in *Gemellis* (v. 51 Ribbeck), Quadrigarius in Peter's *Historicorum Romanorum reliquiae* p. 222 ll. 1, 2 (= Gell. l. c.), id. *ib.* p. 232, 6 (= Gell. l. c.), Sallust *Iug.* 104. 4, Varro *de re rust.* I. 68.

B. The Inf. in *-turum* contaminated with *esse*. C.I.L. i. 197 25, 198 45, Sulla ap. Prisc. l. c., Valerius Antias ap. Gell. l. c. 'dixerunt omnia...processurum esse.'

In conclusion I would only say that a re-examination of the expressions used in Latin, particularly in early Latin, to perform the functions of a Future Infinitive Active have confirmed me strongly in the view I have already put forward that they are to be all explained (by an attraction of form) from this indeclinable infinitive, and not it from them, and that the combination of *esse* with the so-called Participle in *-rus*, *amatūrus esse*, which appears in all the grammars, lacks historical justification.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ I do not now regard the rhotacism in Lat. **-erum* for **-esum* and the Umbr. *erom* as due to their being enclitic forms (as Conway *Verner's Law in Italy*, p. 33).

THE DELIBERATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE IN RELATIVE CLAUSES IN GREEK.

IN the notice of Professor Jebb's edition of the *Philoctetes* in the April number of the *Classical Review*, p. 148, attention is called to a point of Greek grammar on which I had recently been putting together a few notes. This is the extension of the dependent deliberative construction, after certain verbs, to relative clauses. The phenomenon had not been clearly recognized, so far as I am aware, by any previous grammarian. The nearest approach to a recognition of it which I can find is in Madvig's *Syntax der Griechischen Sprache* § 121, where, under the head of the deliberative subjunctive, occurs the remark, "Εχω und οὐκ έχω ὁ τι (ὅ) mit dem Conjun-

tive oft in der Bedeutung "habe etwas (nichts) zu," with reference to Plato *Symp.* 194 and Isoc. *Paneg.* 44. In fact, the construction is used after other verbs than έχω. I have noted it after ὀράω, οἶδα, ἀπορώ and ἔστι. It is used more commonly, though not, as A. S. seems to think, exclusively, after negative sentences. The optative may, of course, take the place of the subjunctive after a past tense. The following table exhibits the fairly certain examples that I have collected of the construction; the asterisk signifies that the verb on which the relative clause depends is affirmative.

After	Introduced by indefinite relative.	Introduced by simple relative.
ἐχω	Aesch. <i>Pro.</i> 471.	
"		Soph. <i>Phil.</i> 695, 699.
"	Eur. <i>I.T.</i> 590.	
"	*Xen. <i>Oec.</i> vii. 20.	
"	*Plat. <i>Symp.</i> 194 D.	
"	*Plat. <i>Phaedr.</i> 254 E (Bekker, Schanz).	
"		† Lys. xxiv. 1.
"		*Isoc. iv. 44.
"	Dem. xxxv. 25.	
ὀράω	Soph. <i>Phil.</i> 281, 282.	
οἶδα	Soph. <i>Phil.</i> 938.	
ἀπορώ	Isoc. xxi. 1.	
ἔστι	Soph. <i>Aj.</i> 514.	
"	Eur. <i>H.F.</i> 1245.	

Soph. *Phil.* 938 (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον οἶδ' ὅτω λέγω) and Isoc. xxi. 1 (Οὐ προφάσεως ἀπορώ, δι' ἣντινα λέγω ὑπὲρ Νικίου τουτουί) may be taken as illustrating the transition from interrogative to relative clause. By regarding ἄλλον and προφάσεως as proleptic, we could explain the dependent clauses as ordinary indirect questions, without detriment to the sense. Most of the other passages, however, resist

such treatment. The cases after ἔστι (Soph. *Aj.* 514, ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὃ τι βλέπω; Eur. *H.F.* 1245 γέμω κακῶν δῆ, κοῦκέτ' ἔσθ' ὅπη τεθῇ) are especially noteworthy, because here the verb is not even capable of being followed by an indirect question. οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ὃ τι βλέπω grows by an easy transition out of οὐκ έχω εἰς ὃ τι βλέπω, understood as meaning 'I have nothing to look to.'

F. B. TARBELL.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

LIB. III.

P deest usque ad § 6, 25. *Z* = *ABCFMV*. § 1, 4 quam *om.* *B*¹ || 5 factum *ACV*¹ || *meid*, i *spscr.* *I*, *A* ineid *B*¹*F*¹ || quo tu *B*¹ || § 2, 6 nestis *A*¹ || s fuit *om.* *B*¹ || § 3, 10 si me *A* (*sed* me *A*² *supra ras. trium litt.*) et *BFMV* sine me *C* || uellein**eque*, i *postea insert. vid.*, *A* uelle inaeque *V*¹ || enim**mihi* (*pro compend.*

eras.) *B* || paratio *A*¹*B*¹, *sed in B ead. m. correxisse uid.* || 11 quia] quam *V*¹ || 12 magnopere *Z* || 13 inui**diae A* (*inuidie F*¹) || subbeata || ut *A*¹ subbeat|aut *A*² || 14 confirmat, t *in ras. ampl.* 2, *C* || 16 et *om.* *B*¹ || aeterna *A*¹ || § 4, 17 multa *bis scr.* *M*¹ || 19 mea quae *B*¹ (*eaque A*¹ ea quæ *V*¹) || 21 paruiam *A*¹*V*¹ parua *CV*² paraueram *A*³ || accipe *A* (*corr. fuit*

§ 4. *in accepi, sed restitut.*) || audire *om.* M^1 || 22 tibi explanari C || 23 si me *BFV* sinne, *sed e corr.*, $\bar{C}$ || intellegi A^1 || causa quam refel-
lendi *om.* A^1 causa *om.* F || 25 respondebo ut nos ipsa ducit uel (ut—ducit *suo loco repetuntur*) A || § 5, 25 cum cotta B^1 || 26 ducit Z ||—1 ante* M || de re *om.* B^1 || 2 im perorando B^1 || *hortabatur (a?) A^1 || 3 meminissime *ut vid.* A^1 || eo] ego B^1 || 5 religionisque $A^1B^1V^1$ || semper semperquae, *pr.* semper *add.* 2, A || 7 ullius, ulli *spscr.*, A ullius * M || ut inducti BF || s inouebit A^1 || Ti.] t. A^2B^2FM *om.* A^1B^1CV || quorumcanium $\bar{A}\bar{M}^1$ coruncanum V^1 || P.] p. hic et v. 9 *postea add.* *ut vid.* V || scipionem, ci *corr.* 2, A scipp. C || 9 non *om.* B^1 || cleanthem M || 10 clelium A (*sed e in ras.* 2) et V^1 c. lelium BFV^2 *lelium (g?) C || habeo lelium (-que C *om.*) M || 11 relegione B releg. *corr.* *ex relig.* FV || in illa] milla B^1 || 12 omnes B^1 || 13 in *om.* C^1 || ospicia AV^1 || 14 monstris] V^1 uel monitis V^3 *in mg.* || 15 ergo $BCFM$ || religionum, *corr.* *ex -om.*, A || nullum A || contemnenda C^1 contempnandum M^1 mpenndam M^2 || 16 autspiciis A hausp. C || 17 fundamenta—ciuitatis *om.* A^1 || profectu* (m?) B^1 || 18 placlatione A || tantaesse (e?) B || potuissent Z || § 6, 19 ergo Z || 20 atenim B^1 || 21 nulla] in illa C || 22 ratione B^1 || 23 fiat C^1 || uellis B^1 || 24 ab his FM et, h *spscr.*, B || 25 rectissime A^2CMV || 26 Balbus] balbes C^1 ; *abhinc exstat P* :

$$Z = ABCFMPV$$

§ 7, 27 primum est P || omnes M || 28 exuri Z || 29 peruasum A^1V^1 *corr.* A^2V^3 || auctoritatem A^1V^1 || 31 cur a *om.* B^1 || ad *om.* BFM || 33 requiro] require B^1 || § 8, 34 requiras] requira A^1 || illum B^1 || 1 quod perspicuum in istam partem ne Z || quidem] quid est C^1 || 2 esset perspicuum] $B^2FM^2V^2$ est persp. AB^1PV^1 et persp. $\bar{C}$ est et persp. M^1 || omnes B^2F || de eo] deo B^1 || dixeris tam multa P || 3 te inquit quoque P (te qu. inquit A) || fero B^1 || 4 possis Z , *sed corr.* posses V^2 || one*rare (t) B^1 || 6 qui id] quod $ABCF^2MPV$ quid F^1 || 7 conieam] contuear (-tuaear A) Z || § 9, 9 in *om.* B^1 || 10 omnes C || argumentari—enim *om.* C || perspicuit*as B || argumentatione M^1 (-cione B^1) || 11 leuatur $BFMV^2$ || 12 supilitatem B^1 (supilitate V^1) || contueres autem AB^1CV^1 contuerer autem B^2FM contuereris (?) autem V^2 autem contueres P || 13 esse V^1 || *rerum, re *in ras.* 2, A || sapiente meseuis A^1 et *ut vid.* V^1 sapientiam esse uis B^1 || 15 id esse F || uelis AB^2CFMPV uellis B^1 || 16 unum *om.* P || 17 maioris $ABFV^1$ *corr.* V^3 || § 10, 18 ratione mea (?) A^1 || cum] quum A^1V^1 quam P || 19 contempnere P || sunt B^1 || 20 argumentatindo C^1 argumentande V^1 || 24 subline Z || cadens A^1PV || § 11, 26 capitulinum B^2F || 27 omnes Z || 28 ueleius A^1 || animantes CV^3 || 29 grauem

AB^1V^1 || 1 cottidie ABP || 3 at enim B^2 *in ras. trium litt.* || praeseritis A^1P praesentis V^1 praes. V^2 praesentis B praesentis MPV^3 praesentis A^2C || regilium *vel* regulum A^1 regilium A^2 regilium V || 4 uatienus Z || lucrorum B^1 || sacram $A^1BCFMPV^1$ || 5 tyndaridas *corr.* *ex -es V* tyndaredas (?) B^1 (tind. A) || id est] uel C^1 || homines] non nomines B^1 || 7 tu] B^2FM tuquae AC tuq. PV tu quam B^1 || canteris ACM^2V cantariis M^1 || albis] PV^2 aluis AV^1 alius C abhis BFM || uatieno Z , *it. v. 8* || s existimas et] existimasset B^1 || hominum rustico C rustico homini P || 9 cotoni P || nuniauisse B^1 || 10 regilium APV || 11 equi *om.* A^1 || credis esse] V^3 credidi sese A credi sese V^1 credidisse CP credisses se B^1 credidisses B^2FM || § 12, 11 nonne, ne *corr.* 2, B || mauisillud, s *spscr.* 1, B maius illud V^1 || illud credere illud C^1 || 12 probare A^1 || tandari de C^1 (tyndari de AF^1V^1 et *corr.* *ex tund.* B) || 13 esset aeternos B^1 || quam semel eos qui P || cremati *corr.* *ex creati B* || 14 quitare C^1 || in *om.* F || pignare M^1 || potuisset dicis B^1 || 15 modo, *post. o corr.* 2, A || fabulas M || prosperas C || § 13, 16 fabulae M (fabelle F^1V^1) || nonne aulo (paulo M^1) postumio (*postt.* A) Z || 17 fero B^1F || consultus C || 18 uatinio] AB^1CV uatinio B^2M uatieno FP || sacra AB^1CMPV^1 sacris B^2F || 19 (qui quae] quique $CMFV^1$) || 20 sacram A (*sed corr.* 1 *sagr.*) et $BCFMP$ || moueri *corr.* 1 (?) *ex nominari C* || 21 pugnas] disputas P || 22 rationes ACV^1 , *sed in A post hoc uerbum spatio 3 vel 4 litterarum uacuo relicto* ; rationes requiro $BFMPV^2$; *in mg.* AB , *incertum an m.* 2, *nota tironiana* hic dimissum est, *in F quod reliquum est columnae uacuum relictum* || § 14, 23 secuntur] $BFPV^1$ sequuntur CMV^2 recuntur A^1 reguntur A^2 || potest *om.* C^1 || 24 quod P || furum V^1 || 25 sit] est P || enim est P || 26 tamen] tam B^2FM || communen $A^1B^1V^1$ || iidem V^2 || 27 seper B^1F^1 *corr.* B^3F^2 || omnia aeternit. $AB^1C^1V^1$ || 28 *fatum quod (*corr.* 2 quid) A fatum dicatis quid P || aliquod V || 29 ista *bis scr.* C || 30 quis corn. c. notauit *om.* P || quisortis B^1 quis sortes C || 31 naui $ABFMPV^1$ || commorabas ACM^1V^1 || 32 contemnere B (contempn. MPV^1) || intellecta] V^1 uel intellegenda V^2 *in mg.* || sunt Z || 33 diuinis (-ni F^2) isti mentiuntur (menc. B^1) Z || § 15, 1 faluntur A^1V^1 || 2 ego] enim B^1 || et *om.* C^1 || deuinatio B^1 || oriatu, i *spscr.*, B oriantur V^1 || non *om.* M^1 || 3 etiam *om.* P (aetiam B^1) || 4 tanta eorum C || placeri AB^1V^1 placere C || pop. Rom.] p. r. AB^2CFMPV *ut semper, sed r. p.* (i.e. rei publicae) B^1 || non possent ante p.r. habet P non possunt (?) B^1 || nisi *spscr.* 1 ? C || 6 strategema Z , *sed frat.* C^1 || imperatorum C || 7 rebantur, *pr. r m.* 2, A referebantur C^1 || *equo, e *corr.* 2, B (*fort.* eoquo B^1) (aequo

§ 15. *AV*, aequo incita- in *ras.* 1 *A*) || s inmitentem *B*¹ (immitt. *CV*) || nam ea fauni *B*¹ || 9 audiuit tibi si, *pr. t. eras.*, tibi in *ras.* 2, *A* audiuit hisi *V*¹ audiuit tu si *P* audiuit quam si *B* (*sed* quam in *ras.* 2) et *F* audiui quam si *M* || audiuisse] *B*, *sed* se *add. et sequ. te in ras. scr.* *B*² audiuit se *A*¹ audisse *P* || 11 Balbe] bella *C* || 12 nil *AMP* michi *C* || § 16, 13 inanimas *C* || deorum *om. P* || 14 is] his *V*¹ ex his *BFM* || 15 reliquis *corr. I (?) ex* reriquis *V* || 16 percepimus *P* || 18 ex marit. *B*¹ || 19 fiant] faciunt (!) *F*¹ || qui illa *corr. ex* quilla *A*, *post. i ex l corr. V* || adhuc *B*¹ (a diis *A*¹*V*²) || 20 existiment *A*²*CPV* || § 17, 20 aliqui, *om. qui, B*¹ || 24 disputauimus *B*¹ et ut *vid. etiam A*¹ || § 18, 26 aiebas] *pr. a add. 2 B*, ie in *ras.* 2 *V* || quoniam si esset *B*²*FM* || aliquid hominum aliquid in *B*¹ aliquid aliquid in *B*²*F*¹ || in natura rerum *M* || quod] quo *C* || 27 hominem *B*¹*F*¹ || pulchram *A*¹*V*¹ || 28 pulchritudine, r *spscr.* *I ?*, *supra e ras.*, *A* || 29 acatulas *M*¹ || 31 omnia *om. P* || fusice *B*¹ (fys. *AB*²*FV*² phis. *CM* fysicae *V*¹) || 32 dicebat *B*¹ || omniaque quae] *B*²*FMV*² omnia quaeque *B*¹*C* omnia quae (que *P*) *APV*¹ || 33 ad te *A*¹*V*¹ || dicta sunt nudius tertius *P* || nudus *A*¹*F*¹*V*¹ || deos se *A*¹*V*¹ *corr. A*³ *2 V* || § 19, 35 illud etiam idem atque *P* || 36 persuadeas, u in *ras.* 2, *A* || 37 atulisse *C* || mihi rationes *P* || 1 tu ita] uita *B*¹ ita, *om. tu, P* || 2 res] spondendi *M* || 3 (maxime *AB*¹*CM*¹*PV*¹ || tacite *ABCFMP*) || 4 de fato, e *corr. ex i, A* || muta *C*¹ || 5 ea *om. B*¹*C* || nunc, ne e *corr.*, *A* || separantur, e *corr. 2 ex a, B* sequestrantur *P* || 6 explicemur *M*¹ || hac *disputatione, ne *spscr. 2, A* || § 20, 8 in quattuor in (*post. in del.*) *C* (quattuor in *MP*) || 10 talis michi *C* || ostend. uelis *AB*¹*CV*¹ uelles ost. *P* || essent ut ostenderes *B*²*FM* essent ostendere *C* || 11 enim] *V*² *om. ABCFMPV*¹ || 12 nihil* (o?) *B* || 13 quin *A*¹*B*¹*C*¹*F*¹ || deus esset mundus *P* || quod *V*² || 14 modo] quomodo *C* || possumus *B*¹ || § 21, 15 mundo] multo *C*¹ || 16 quid dicis melius *om. V*¹ in *mg. suppl. V*³ || 17 id quoque cum *sequ. a in ras. A*³ it quoque (nostra sit qu.) *B*¹ ut quoque *PV*¹ || 18 non quo *B*¹ nullo modo quod *C* || 19 ab oculis *om. P* || reuocare...reuoco *M* || 20 compraendere *A* comprehend. *MPV*¹ comprehend. *B* compraeh. *C* || in rerum natura melius *P* || 21 nostra num igitur *om. M* || 22 rati***onem *F*¹ || aut] ut *B*¹ || 23 iccirco *C* || formam *C*¹ || anteponendam, tertiam n in *ras. spscr. 2, A* || pulcherrimae (-me *PV*¹) *CMFV* (pulcherrime *F*¹) || 24 sensu sit *C*¹ || 26 quod e *corr. A* qui ex quod ut *vid. M* || uellis *A*¹*V*¹ || § 22, 27 et *om. C* || dilataluit *A*²*B*¹*F*¹*V*¹ || 28 enim *om. C* || 29 utitur mundus *P* || § 23, 30 placet etiam *CM*¹ || 32 literarum utroque loco *C* (literat. *M* ut semper) || id est] idem *C* id est *M* || 34 etiam *om. A*¹ || desertus *V*¹ || atque idem] et quidem

Z || omnino *C* || 35 filoso *A*¹ philoso *V*¹ physio-
sopho *B*¹ philosophus *B*²*F* philosophus *A*³ ||
erit mundus *om. ABCFMPV*¹ in *mg. add. V*²
|| dixi *Z* || 1 possit *BFM* || 2 fidicinam *A* fidi-
ciane* (a?) *V*¹ || 3 etiam *om. P* || tibicinem *M*
tybic. *P* || 4 igitur *om. C* || isto *B*¹ || 5 nec cur
Z || 7 mihi lest eo salutaris, eo *del.*, *C* || aspec-
tum *B*¹ || 8 quas, s *corr. 2 ex ri, B* || innu-
merabiles *B*²*CFMV*³ || § 24, 12 constantes
*A*¹*CP* || habent *om. V*¹ habent uel seruant
*V*² || ea deo] eado *A*¹ adeo *C*¹ deo *C*² || qui *C* ||
13 immotu *FM*¹ || *idem idem *B*¹ || 14 silicen-
si *AV*¹ || ferbere *A*¹*V*¹ || 16 spaniensis *B*¹ i-
span. *C* hispaniensis *P* || brittanici *A*¹*B*¹ brit-
tann. *A*³*B*²*FPV* britanici *C* britatn (?) nici *M*
|| 17 uel accessus—certis temporibus *om. P*
|| fieri, ri *corr. 2, A* || non] *B*¹ nonne
*AB*²*CFMV* || 18 quae *om. C* || post temporibus
iter. scr. uel accessus, sed del. 1 A || 19 dicemus
*B*³*M* || quoque] quidem *Z* || quartanas quidem
*B*¹ quartianas *M*¹ || diuinis *A*¹ || 20 reuer-
sionem *M*¹ || 21 ratione *F* || reddenda, *pr. d*
corr. 2, A || § 25, 21 Quod] sed *B*¹ || 22 cum *om.*
C || aramam *AV*¹ arenam *V*² aram aut *P* ||
confugistis *Z* || 23 dicere *om. M*¹ || uersatus
*B*¹ || 24 uersutus *B*¹ || 25 concaluit *BFM*¹*P* ||
his *BF* || 26 inquit *C*¹ (inquit *AV*¹) || non
possit quicquid id efficit in *ras. V*² || qui id]
quid *A*¹*P* || 27 efficerenpotest *A* || 28 igitur his
BF || hominis homine *A*¹*M*¹*V*¹ homini homine
*BCFM*² || praest*re (m?) *B* (prestare *CV*¹) ||
29 quo] quod *C* || errore, ro *spscr.*, *B* || § 26, 30
qui enim *B*¹ || sit *spscr. 1 B* || 31 quod inter *M*¹
|| in naturam *B*¹ || eidemque *A*¹*BCFMPV*¹ ||
32 si dii, ii in *ras. 2, A* fidei *C* || 36 Orionem]
orationem *Z* || niculam *C* || 1 si *om. B*¹ || 2 aed-
ficatam *A* || moribus *A*¹ || 4 a *om. CP* || confir-
matum *Z* || 5 socratem *C*¹ (socrathes *B*¹) || ani-
mam *ABCMFV* (*de F nihil notavi*) || 6 arri-
puerimus, ri *spscr.*, *B* || § 27, 7 nisi] unde *B*¹ ||
|| s propriis *B*¹ || ad *om. B*¹ || armon. *BCFM*².
*PV*⁴ || 9 naturae ste *A* naturae istae (-te *F*¹)
BF || sint *C* || 10 uidebimus *corr. 1 (?) ex* ui-
deamus *B* || 11 scientis *Z* || § 28, 12 tacebat *C*
|| oratione de *V* || consuere *B*¹ || 13 cognatione
Z || non probam *A*¹ *corr. 3* inprobam *V*¹ non
probem *V*² probabam, *om. non, C* || 14 nega-
bam *P* || 15 cohaeret, co in *ras.*, *A* (coher.
*B*¹*CFM*¹) || 16 quasi] *V*¹ *add. quidam V*³ ||
sympathiam *ACP* sympatiam *V* sympathiam
*BF*¹ sympath. *F*² || uocantur *B*¹ || quo] quae
*B*¹ quod (*per compend.*) *C* || 17 maior est]
maiores *C*¹ || § 29, 18 illam *A*¹*PV* ille *B*¹ ||
afferebat, t in *ras. 2, C* (aff. etiam *V*) || quae
ad modum *A*¹*B*¹*CPV* qualem ad *m. A*³ || 19
dissolutis *C*¹ || corpus esse *P* || 22 esse orum
ut *vid. C*¹ || 23 parciendi *C*¹ (paciendi *BF*) || si
omne—ergo itidem *om. V*¹ ; praeced. et eraso
*V*³ in *mg. suppl. etsi omne sqq. || omni B*¹ ||
24 tale] mortale *ZK* || immortale, *pr. l. ex r corr.*

II § 29 *ut vid.*, *B* (immort. *FP*) || 25 *potest om. P* ||
 nullum aeternum—igitur omne animal (*v.*
 27) *in ras. A²* || 26 *ad accipiendam—omne*
animal om. B¹ || *fruendam A²B²C FMPV¹*

ferendam A³I^r² || 27 *dissolui bi*li A¹ dissolui-*
bile A²B¹CPV¹ || *necesse—enim*] *necesset*
enim B¹ ||

P. SCHWENKE.

(*Continuabitur.*)

BURY'S NEMEAN ODES OF PINDAR.

The Nemean Odes of Pindar, edited with
 Introductions and Commentary, by J. B.
 BURY, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College,
 Dublin. London; Macmillan and Co.
 1890. 12s.

THE editor of this volume exhibits in a singular degree the originality and the versatility that we so often find in the foremost scholars of the University of Dublin. He has already made his mark as the historian of the later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene, but instead of resting on the reputation he has attained in that department of study, he now appears in a new light as an editor of Pindar. There is hardly a page of his work on the *Nemean Odes* which does not give proof of critical acumen, scholarly insight and literary skill; and, if we sometimes feel that he has strayed too far into the domain of fancy instead of keeping within the borders of fact, we can almost forgive the fault (if fault it be), in our gratitude for the fresh interest with which he has handled many a familiar problem of Pindaric interpretation.

Nevertheless, we feel bound to admit that a continuation of Professor Gildersleeve's admirable commentary, or an edition of the *Nemeans and Isthmians* on the same general lines as that scholar's edition of the Olympian and Pythian Odes, would have been still more welcome. The editor appears to have taken no notice of Professor Seymour's *Selected Odes of Pindar* (1882), or Croiset's *La Poésie de Pindare* (1886), while the way in which he mentions Cookesley's edition in the Preface leaves on the reader's mind the erroneous impression that it was confined to the Olympian and Pythian Odes.

As regards his relation to his other predecessors, he justly acknowledges the merit of Dr. Fennell's 'sound work' as an editor of Pindar, while he also pays a special tribute to the value of his 'learned essay on the pentathlon.' He rejects the theory of West-

phal, that the poems of Pindar are framed on the lines of the *nomos* of Terpander. This theory was accepted and worked out in elaborate detail by Mezger in the commentary which he published in 1880. Mezger's own contribution to the investigation of the structure of the Pindaric ode was the discovery of the poet's practice of repeating 'some particular word in the same verse and foot of different strophes' or epodes, and of indicating thereby 'some connexion in thought between two separated parts of the ode.' This law of verbal responsions is accepted without reserve by Mr. Bury, who has carried the principle still further by showing that, besides these formal and emphatic responsions, the poet often indicates the train of his thoughts by verbal echoes in any portion of his poem independently of the metre. The habit of listening for these echoes has apparently produced in Pindar's latest interpreter an almost undue susceptibility to the effects of sound, even in cases where the sound is suggestive of something completely outside the poem itself. Thus in a passage in the Eighth *Pythian*, written in honour of an Aeginetan, soon after the conquest of Aegina by Athens (B.C. 457), he finds what he describes as 'an interesting instance of an etymological allusion.'

The victor who had won his laurel wreath in wrestling had thrown four competitors; and of these defeated men it is said that they did not return home to be welcomed by the smiles of their mothers, *κατὰ λαύρας χορῶν ἀπάροι πτώσσοντι συμφορῇ δεδαγμένοι*, 'they cower aloof from dances, in lanes.' The expression is strange; but it wins significance if we suppose that one at least of the wrestlers was an Athenian, and that *λαύρας* alludes to the silver mines of Laurium—*λαυρίον* being really a diminutive of *λαύρα*. The suggestion, then, covertly expressed is this: an Aeginetan has vanquished an Athenian in wrestling; well, let the Athenian skulk in those mines, the source of the strength of his countrymen.'

Now, there is nothing to prove that there was a single Athenian competing in this particular contest. But, even assuming

there was, there is something exceedingly odd in the notion of the Athenians hiding themselves in their silver-mines in their mortification at an Aeginetan victory. Again the mines were worked by slaves. Why should the defeated competitors (who were necessarily free men),—why should their friends or countrymen, 'skulk in the mines'? And how can Laurium be 'a diminutive of *λαύρα*'? A hillside pierced by a multitude of shafts and passages cannot be described with accuracy as a little *λαύρα*. And, lastly, why should the Greek for Laurium be printed *Λαυρίον*, instead of *Λαύριον* or (better still) *Λαύρειον*?

Similarly, in *N.* ii 14, *Ἐκτωρ Αἴαντος ἄκουσεν* is fancifully interpreted: *heard Ajax like a rushing wind*; Aias by virtue of his name being conceived as a blast (*ἄημι*), and this although Pindar elsewhere finds in Aias an echo of *αἰετός*. In the present passage, though the editor believes *ἄκουσεν* to be sound, he suggests *ἔκουσεν* (= *ἐκόησεν* from *κοῶ* = *αἰσθάνομαι*). Again, in *N.* vi, we are told that Pindar is playing upon the names of *ἔρα* and *αἶα*, that *ἐρατά* and *ἐρνεα* have a mysterious connexion with *ἔρα*, and that even *δαρκίους* contains the Earth-omen of *Dâ* or *Dāmâtêr* (Demeter). So also, in *N.* vii 37, in the description of the return of Neoptolemus, '*he missed Scyryus* strongly suggests deviation from a paved road, a *ὁδὸς σκυρωτά*'!

The *Introduction* is divided into three chapters, (1) *The Interpretation of Pindar*, (2) *The Construction of the Pindaric Ode*, and (3) *The Text*. At the end of the first chapter, we have a striking description of the Hellenic spirit as embodied in the poems of Pindar:—

A divinity crowned with flowers is a happy image for the spirit which presided over 'the delightful things in Hellas' and illuminated Pindar's imagination. By the shores of the midland sea, not yet 'dolorous,' were raised, under a really benignant breath, palaces of music, shining afar, and statues of ivory and gold. Haggard forlorn faces, wizened forms did not haunt the soul, nor were there any yearnings to heavenward, Grace, which maketh the ways of men soft, (*O.* i 30) being arbitress there with undivided right and 'crowned with flowers' in those bright pagan borders.

Such a trivial word as 'really' (a word that occurs far too frequently in this book) is perhaps out of place in such a context; and the description as a whole is not distinctively suggestive of the spirit of Pindar. It recalls far more the general tone and even some of the phrases of Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands*, e.g.

'Schöne Welt, wo bist du? Kehre wieder,
Holdes Blüthenalter der Natur,' &c.

The chapter *On the Text* incidentally describes Moschopulos and Triclinius as 'students of the fifteenth century.' It would be more correct to place them in the early part of the fourteenth century. Manuel Moschopulos, a pupil and friend of Maximus Planudes, and a contemporary of Thomas Magister, lived under the second Emperor in the dynasty of the Palaeologi, Andronicus II (1282—1328); similarly Demetrius Triclinius who lived (probably at Constantinople) in the beginning of the fourteenth century, was one of the most eminent scholars in the age of the earlier Palaeologi. Mr. Bury has apparently confounded the date when these scholars actually lived with the century in which most of the extant mss of the 'Triclinian' and 'Moschopulean' recension were copied. Towards the close of the same chapter, the study of Pindar's verbal responsions suggests to the editor an alteration in the Tenth *Pythian*, l. 38, *Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεί τρόποις ἐπὶ σφέτεροισι. τρόποις* is here altered into *πρόποις*, 'echoed in *πρέπει* (l. 67). *πρόπος* is formed from *πρέπω*, as *τρόπος* from *τρέπω*. *πρόποις* is interpreted to mean *rites* or *solemnities*. The word is not to be found in any of the lexicons,—not even in Hesychius. *A propos* of this rash innovation, the editor discusses the principles underlying all such proposals for the correction of ancient texts, and sums up in favour of this particular suggestion; but he frankly admits that different minds will always estimate differently the amount of evidence required to render such a conjecture probable.

Mr. Bury has introduced not a few conjectures of his own in the text of this edition. It is only fair to say that in textual criticism he resolutely sets his face against merely plausible guesses which fail to explain the origin of the corruption. Accordingly many of his emendations, even when they fail to command our consent, are instructive as examples of a generally sound critical method. The principal alterations which I have observed are the following.

In *N.* i 48, he proposes *ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἄτλατον πέλος* (for *βέλος* or *δέος*) *πλάξε γυναικας*. *πέλος* is 'related to *πέλωρ*', and Hesychius has *πέλος μέγα, τεράστιον*. In l. 66, *πώσειν* (Aeolic for *πίσειν*) *μόρον*, instead of *δώσειν*, 'would give many of them a draught of direst doom to drink.' In l. 46, accepting a conjecture by Schmidt, he prints *ἀγχομένους δὲ χρόμος* (for *χρόνος*) *ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων*, 'as they were throttled, the breath of life left their unutterable limbs in a gurgling hiss.' 'For *χρόμος* see Hesychius.'

As it is not likely that any large number of those who use this edition will have Hesychius at hand, his evidence (such as it is) should have been set forth in full thus :

χρόμαδος· κρότος, ψόφος.

χρόμη· φρυγαμός, ὀρμή, θράσος.

χρομοῖς· χρεμετισμοῖς.

χρόμος· ψύχος (!)· ψόφος· ποῖός· οἱ δὲ χρεμετισμός.

In iii 56, he reads ἀγλαόκρανον Νηρέος θύγατρα (for ἀγλαόκολλον or ἀγλαόκαρπον), three mss having ἀγλαόκαρνον.

In iv 65–68, the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is thus described :

ἔγαμεν ὑψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρείδων

εἶδεν δ' εὐκυκλον ἔδραν,

τὰς οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τ' ἐφεξόμενοι

δῶρα καὶ κράτος ἐξ ὑφαναν (for ἐξέφαναν) ἔγγενές αὐτῷ

(‘wove, as their gifts, a web of sovereignty to devolve upon his race’).

Mr. Bury might have defended his ingenious proposal by quoting Catullus 64, 303 where the gods are similarly described as taking their seats at this marriage, *niveis flexerunt sedibus artus*, while the *Parcae* spin the thread of destiny (cf. ἐξῦφαναν) for Peleus and Thetis, singing as the refrain of their song : *currite ducentes subtemina, currite fusi*.

In iv 93, he prints τὸν Εὐφάνης θέλων γεραῖος προπάτωρ | αἰέσεται φθιμένοις (‘of whom E. will be full fain to sing to the dead’), instead of the unmetrical line ὁ σὸς αἰέσεται, παῖ. In l. 91 τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἂν τις ἰσῇ (subj. of ἴσαμι), instead of ἂν τις τύχη.

In v 43, the mss. have : ἦτοι μετὰίξαντα καὶ νῦν τέως μᾶτρως ἀγάλλει κείνον ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος Πύθεας. Mr. Bury's text is : Ἰσθμοῖ τ' αἰῶνας ἄντα· καὶ νῦν τεὸς μᾶτρως ἀγάλλει κείνον ὁμόσπορον ἔθνος, Πυθία.

In vi 6, for πότμος ἄντην ἔγραψε δραμεῖν ποτὶ στάθμαν, Mr. Bury prints πότμος ἄναξ τίν' ἔγραψε κτλ. In l. 18 ἔρνεα πρότος <ἔτοσσεν> ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ. In l. 50 νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς φᾶνε χαμᾶζε καβὰς ἀφ' ἀρμάτων. In l. 64 ἴσον σποῖμι (for εἵπομι).

In vii 19, θανάτου πάρος ἅμα (for παρὰ σᾶμα) νύονται, ‘hie together to the presence of death.’ l. 22 ποτατᾶ <μῦφι> μαχανᾶ (for τε or γε). In l. 31, a difficult passage is thus punctuated and translated : τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται, ὦν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αἰεὶ λόγον τεθνακότων βοαθόων, τοὶ παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐνυκόλπου μόλον χθονός, ‘but those have honour, whose fame a god causes to wax fair and fine, even the dead warriors, who came to the great navel of large-bosomed earth.’ l. 36, ἴκοντο δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν πλαγέντες (2 aor. of πλάζω), ‘driven from their course.’ l. 68,

μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ (for ἀν ἐρεῖ), εἰ παρ' μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρὸν ἐννέπων.

Εὐξενίδα πάτροθε Σῶγενες, ὑπομνύμῃ τέρμα προβάς ἄκονθ' ὅτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι θοὰν γλῶσσαν, ὃς ἐκ σ' ἔπεμψεν (for ἐξέπεμψεν) παλαισμάτων αὐχίονα καὶ σθένος ἀδιάντον, αἰθῶνα πρὶν ἀελίῳ γυῖον ἐμπεσῖν (vii. 70).

This difficult passage is translated and explained as follows : ‘Sogenes, of Euxenid clan, I swear that I overstepped not the line when I propelled thy swift tongue like a bronze-tipped spear which released thy neck and thews from the sweat of the wrestling-bouts, ere thy body met the rays of the burning sun’... ‘An opponent of Sogenes transgressed the line beyond which he should have stood and was disqualified from event, in which perhaps he hoped to win. He consequently retired from the competition and Sogenes was released from the necessity of contending with an additional adversary, probably a dangerous adversary, in the wrestling.’

In l. 85, Mr. Bury proposes ἐτᾶ for ἐμαῖ. In viii 2, παρθενηῖος νέοις for ἅτε παρθενηῖοις. *Ib.* 40 ὥς ὅτε δένδρεον οἶνας (for αἰτσει). In ix 24, σχίσαις...κρῦψ' ἀνδρ' ἅμ' ἵπποις (for κρῦψεν δ' ἅμ' ἵπποις). In ix 47 οὐ πόρσω <πόρος τις> for οὐκέτι (or ἔστι) πόρσω.

x 5, πολλὰ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ ἰὼ κτίσεν (for κατῳκισθεν) ἄστυ. l. 37, ἐφέπει for ἔπειτα. l. 41, νικαφορίαῖς γὰρ ἑταῖς Προίτοιο τοῦ ἱπποτρόφου ἄστου θάλησεν for ν. γ. ὅσας ἱπποτρόφον ἄστου τὸ Προίτα. l. 48, παρ Διὸς θῆκε δόμῳ (for δρόμῳ). l. 60, ἀκά for αἰχμᾶ. l. 75, θερμὰ τέγγων δάκρυ ἅμα στοναχαῖς for θερμὰ δὲ τέγγων δάκρυ στοναχαῖς. l. 84, αὐτὸς οἰκῖν αἶτος Οὐλύμπου θέλεις for αὐτὸς Ὀλυμπον ἐθέλεις. In xi 13, περαμεύσεται (for παραμεύσεται, and *ib.* 17, ἐπαινέσθαι for αἰνέσθαι. It is impossible to discuss all these suggestions in the present notice, but some of them deserve the careful consideration of all who are interested in the restoration of the poet's text.

In an author like Pindar, the criticism of the text and the interpretation and illustration of its meaning are almost inextricably intermingled, and the present editor has wisely made no attempt to separate these two elements in his commentary. It would be easy to quote from his pages numerous examples of perspicuous translation as well as of lucid exposition, e.g. the note on *N.* i 24, λέλογχε δὲ μεμφομένοις ἐσθλοῖς ὕδωρ καπνῷ φερεῖ, ‘But he hath won good friends to quell as with water the smoke of envious cavillers’; also that on vii 93, ἐπεὶ τετράοροιςιν ὦθ' ἀρμάτων ζυγοῖς ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον

ἔχει τοῖς, ἀμφοτέρας ἰὼν χειρός, 'For he hath his house at the precincts of thy temples, which face him, like the yoke-arms of a four-horsed chariot, on either hand as he goeth forth.' In ii 10, ἔστι δ' εὐκὸς ὀρεῖαν γε Πελεΐδων μὴ τηλόθεν Ὀarioύ ἀνέσθαι ('It is meet that the Mountaineer (Orion) should rise at no long distance from the Mountain Maids, the Peleïads'), the mention of the Pleiads is ingeniously explained as an allusion to the seven victories won by the Timodemidae at Nemea. The parallel passages quoted in the commentary are judiciously selected and are generally sufficient for their purpose. But on *N.* iv 18, λιπαρὰν—'Αθανᾶν, one misses a reference to the well-known fragment of Pindar preserved in the *scholia* on Aristophanes: ὁ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ αἰδοῖμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι. Again, the twice-repeated comparison between families that are distinguished in alternate generations and fields that are productive in alternate periods of time (*N.* vi 9 and xi 40), might have been illustrated by a somewhat less familiar passage in the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, ii 15 § 3, φορὰ γὰρ τίς ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς γένεσιν ἀνδρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ χώρας γιγνομένοις, καὶ ἐνίοτε ἂν ἡ ἀγαθὸν τὸ γένος, ἐγγίνονται διὰ τίνος χρόνου ἄνδρες περιτοί, κάπνεται πάλιν ἀναδίδωσιν.

Mr. Bury's first thoughts are sometimes better than his second, ψεύδει γὰρ ἡπίνοια τὴν γνώμην. Thus in *N.* i 13, σπείρει νῦν ἀγλαΐαν τὰ νάσφ, σπείρειν is naturally understood as *spargere* and the line is thus translated: 'fling then something of beauty over the island.' In an additional note it is suggested at some length that σπείρειν may originally have meant 'to set in order, to range' and we thus get a new rendering: 'twine a bright wreath of song for the island.' But by the time the editor reaches l. 18 πολλῶν ἐπέβαν καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλὼν, which he interprets, 'I have found meet matter for many praises without flinging one false word,' he has his misgivings as to his 'somewhat bold explanation of σπείρειν,' and virtually withdraws it, —(αἱ γὰρ τρίται πον φροντίδες σοφώταται). It would surely have been better to strike out the additional note altogether. It ends with a misprint, εἶρε for εἶρε. Such misprints, however, are exceedingly few, as the book has been printed with commendable care by the Cambridge press. The only slips worth noticing are on *N.* x 29 (p. 203) *tenere* (for *temere*) *precor* as

a translation of παραιτεῖσθαι, and on the very next page: 'Dissen owns that ἔπεσθαι with a dative *verisimile non est*.' Either 'dative' is a mere slip of the pen for 'accusative,' or it may be conjectured that the original note in Mr. Bury's manuscript ran as follows: 'Dissen owns that ἔπεσθαι <with an accusative, in the same sense as ἔπεσθαι> with a dative, *verisimile non est*.' If so, this is an interesting instance of 'parablepsia' on the part of a modern compositor, who is apt to make mistakes that are sometimes analogous to those of an ancient copyist.

It is a matter of surprise that an editor of the *Nemean Odes* should have not thought it worth while to supply us with an introductory account of the Nemean Games. He says nothing of the scene of the contest, which is so admirably described in Clark's *Peloponnesus* (pp. 60—64). He never discusses the identification of the plant which supplied the victor's crown. He is content to render σέλινον by the customary and merely conventional equivalent, 'parsley' (*petroselinon sativum*); whereas there is every reason to believe that it is the 'wild celery' (*apium graveolens*). Both plants belong to the same tribe, the *umbelliferae*; 'parsley' and 'celery' are both derived ultimately from σέλινον; but any one who examines the coins of Selinus, as figured in Imhoof-Blumer's *Tier und Pflanzenbilder* ix 9—12, vi 8, and elsewhere, will recognise that it is the 'wild celery,' with its leaves parted into three portions with irregularly serrated edges, that most closely resembles the plant on the coins.

These, however, are unimportant omissions in a work that, in spite of many extravagancies of fancy, attains on the whole, a high standard of completeness. At the close of the Ninth *Nemean* the poet prays that 'by the aid of the Graces, he may shoot very near to the mark of the Muses.' We may be permitted to borrow the language of the editor's criticism on this passage when we add that it appears to be characteristic of Pindar's latest exponent, to desire, like Pindar himself, 'not perfection, but only a close approach thereto; yet if we judge that' in a work of undoubtedly lofty aim he has shot very near to the mark, 'we shall hardly transgress seriously the limit of even Greek moderation' (p. 106).

J. E. SANDYS.

MERRY'S EDITION OF *THE BIRDS*.

Aristophanes. The Birds. W. W. MERRY, D.D., Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1889. 3s.

DR. MERRY may be heartily congratulated on the progress he is making towards a complete edition of the plays of Aristophanes. His editions, unpretending in appearance and modest in tone, show most of the highest qualities which an editor of Aristophanes ought to possess—a faculty of concise and clear exposition, a keen appreciation of the niceties of Aristophanic idiom, a sense of humour, and a taste for turning phrases. In some of these editions we have even had ingenious and probable corrections of the text, but Dr. Merry does not as a rule meddle with criticism. Indeed in this play more than in some of the others which he has edited he resists (except when the MS. reading is quite impossible) the seductions of emendations, however attractive, which would supersede the traditional text. In verse 484

ἦρχε δὲ Περσῶν πρῶτος πάντων Δαρείου καὶ
Μεγαβάζου,

it must have cost so tasteful a scholar a pang to refrain from introducing into his text the ingenious emendation of Haupt which he quotes in the note,

ἦρχε δὲ Περσῶν πρότερος πάντων Δαρείων καὶ
Μεγαβάζων.

When, however, he has MS. authority on his side he does not hesitate to leave the vulgate, giving, for instance, *ἔσωκράτων* with *Codex Ravennas* in 1281, a form paralleled by *μελλονικῶν* in 639 and more in accordance with analogy than *ἔσωκράτων*. In other places too he has introduced conjectures of the truth of which there can be no reasonable doubt. In 1340 he 'gratefully accepts' Bentley's *ψευδαγγελήσιν* far *ψευδαγγελῆς εἶν'*, and in 385 the same critic's *ἐννν*

τιώμεθα for *ἡναντιώμεθα* of the MSS., which is unmetrical. The best renderings of Frere and others find place in the notes, and the editor's own translations are admirably neat and pointed. As examples of good grammar notes we would point to those on *ἡλθετον* 112 and on *εἰσάγοιτο* in 1524. In 1658 Dr. Merry reads with the MSS.

ἀνθέζεται σου τῶν πατρῶων χρημάτων,

but says in his note 'This is commonly rendered *he will secure instead of you*, equivalent to *ἀντί σου ἔζεται*; but there is no parallel to this construction, and it seems better to substitute *σοι* for *σου*, meaning, *as you will find or to your disadvantage*.' But is not *ἀνθέζεται σου* = *ἀντί σου ἔζεται* very nearly, if not exactly, paralleled by *ὁ τι μοι παρορᾶς* = *ὁ τι ὁρᾶς παρ'* ἐμοί 454, which he there accepts as a possible reading and interpretation, though preferring a different one, and which is at all events defended by *δελήην μοι παριδὼν* 'seeing cowardice in me' Hdt. i. 37; cf. also *παριδὼν τοι ἰβ.* 38, *παρίδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν ἰβ.* 108, and *ἐμοὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐνορᾶ* Plat. *Theag.* 127. In 759 *αἶρε πλήκτρον εἰ μαχεῖ* we would much prefer *μάχει* of the MSS. as far more vigorous and more in accordance with the manner of Aristophanes. On 1148 Dr. Merry, like all other editors, has laboured in vain to give a meaning to *ὥσπερ παιδία*. We are glad to remind our readers how successfully Dr. Rutherford has applied his theory of corruption arising from adscripts to this passage in the pages of this *Review*, Vol. v. No. 3, p. 89. He has shown satisfactorily that the words *ὥσπερ παιδία*, *τὸν πηλὸν* (an error for *πῖλον*), and *ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν* are separate attempts at explanation and that the passage should run:—

ἄνω δὲ τὸν ὑπαγωγέα
ἐπέτοντ' ἔχουσαι κατόπιν αἱ χελιδόνες.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

DEMOSTHENES *DE CORONA*, BY F. BLASS.

Demosthenes Rede vom Kranze für den Schulgebrauch erklärt, von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Leip.: Teubner. 1890. Mk. 2. 10.

THIS edition of *The Crown*, which is a continuation of the very useful series of speeches

annotated by Rehdantz, is entitled a school edition, but it will be eagerly read by scholars generally, not so much perhaps for its careful commentary as for the critical interest of the questions raised by the text. In order to understand the principles on which the

text is based, it is necessary to have some acquaintance with the previous labours of Dr. Blass on Demosthenes. The text, as it stands, even with the help of the full commentary, hardly explains itself. Rarely are any reasons given even for striking deviations from the accepted reading. The whole critical apparatus is condensed into the seven pages of *Anhang* ii., which is itself only intelligible if studied with constant reference to the *Commentarius Criticus* prefixed to vol. I. of Dr. Blass' complete text of Demosthenes (Editio Maior 1885), and to the *Addenda* to be found in vols. II. (1888) and III. (1889). Viewed in this connexion the edition before us has a singular interest. It presents the latest, but assuredly not the last stage, in the development of an erudite and gifted mind in relation to fundamental questions of textual criticism. The development has gone on rapidly. Since 1885 the editor has repeatedly changed his mind. The *Addenda* to vol. II. give up many opinions confidently held in 1885; the *Addenda* to vol. III. modify the results of 1888. The present work often departs from the conclusions of vols. I. II. and III. alike. 'Dies diem docet' is Dr. Blass' motto. Though we could wish he had allowed himself time to form his judgments more maturely, we must admire the openness of mind with which he reviews his own work and his candour in admitting where he has been over-hasty or in error. On a careful comparison of the several revisions of the text few will be inclined to doubt that the more conservative text of 1890 is far superior to that of 1885.

The edition of 1885 was marked by the wealth and variety of the critical material it contained. Probably no one ever made a more exhaustive study of the scholiasts, the sophists, the rhetors, the grammarians, the imitators, who expound quote adapt or travesty Demosthenes. Dr. Blass convinced himself of what can hardly now be questioned, that the most deep-seated corruptions of the text are of very ancient date. They did not originate with the Byzantine scribes. The worst barbarisms, indeed, may be put down to the age between Augustus and Justinian, when Demosthenes was everywhere read and explained in the Schools of Rhetoric. But at a much earlier period, within a century after his death, he was already a classic, and doubtless suffered from glosses and adscriptis which gradually became incorporated with the text. The great prose writers, not being safeguarded by metre, were far more exposed than the poets to this particular corruption.

The more popular the works, the greater was the risk. Speeches, which were accepted as models of style and were in wide use, were specially liable to interpolation; which is probably the reason why the private speeches of Demosthenes have come down to us, as it seems, in a purer form than the more famous speeches of the assembly or of the law courts. Dr. Blass in his text of 1885 had carried to its furthest limit the principle that the interpolation of words is more frequent than their omission. Wherever, therefore, words are wanting in S or any of the best MSS. and are not essential to the context, he held the case against them to be made out. Words, again, which are found only in S and are wanting in all other MSS. he deleted, if they could by any means be dispensed with. To a similar use he applied ancient quotations. If two independent authors in citing a passage agree in an omission he followed them, whatever the evidence of the MSS. Or if one author omits certain words and these words occur in varying order in different MSS. he at once struck them out as a wandering interpolation, which had been unable to secure for itself a fixed place.

Rules such as these have all their value if regarded as general principles; but the great defect of the edition of 1885 was that Dr. Blass applied them as if they were universal laws. He admits the error in the Preface to his edition of *The Crown*, and lays down the common-sense rule that each case as it arises must be judged by itself, and account taken of all the facts; that it is unsafe to decide the individual case by general probabilities. It may seem strange that so simple a truth should need to be rediscovered as a canon of criticism. However, it is the recognition of this truth that constitutes the first essential difference between the former and the present text of *The Crown*. Many words which were hastily deleted have in the edition of 1890 been restored, and the speech on *The Crown* is no longer defaced by many bald and broken sentences. The number of bracketed words is also reduced. A bracket was meant to denote something short of entire rejection. It was a compromise adopted in cases where there was still room for doubt. In the edition of 1885 those words were bracketed which, though supported by MSS. authority, were omitted in quotation by some ancient writer. The bracket is now more sparingly employed.

The whole subject of ancient quotation would deserve a discussion to itself. A few words must here suffice. Unwarranted inferences have often been drawn from inconsis-

encies between quoted passages and our existing texts. The Homeric question, for instance, has been grievously obscured by such criticism. Demosthenes has also suffered. Dr. Blass, in spite of his vast erudition in this field of scholarship, has overrated the evidence so afforded for the correction of the text. No one knows better than he the distinctive manner in which Dionysius, Aristides, Libanius, Isodorus and the rest quote or imitate Demosthenes. His indefatigable industry has led him to enquire closely into the original text of these authors. Yet in applying his learning his judgment appears to be often at fault. We could wish that his sceptical attitude of mind towards the MSS. reading of Demosthenes had been extended to the quotations from the orator. There are many reasons why these are to be distrusted. First, the texts of most of the authors by whom the citations are made themselves need to be carefully scrutinized. The copyists had in their minds or before their eyes the more familiar originals, and would easily substitute the readings they knew for the words of their manuscript. Some confusion or amalgamation of readings would be almost inevitable. Next, even if we could be sure that the quotation as it has been transmitted to us is word for word that which the rhetor found in his text of Demosthenes, it would be a most unsafe inference that it was what Demosthenes wrote. In the course of the first four centuries A.D. the text had (as Dr. Blass himself points out) been seriously corrupted. Different recensions of the text were already in existence. Libanius, for example, quotes *Phil.* iv. 46 *ἐξέστητε, ὁ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς ὑποθέσεως κ.τ.λ.* once with the reading *ὑποθέσεως* (iv. 299, 1), once with *τάξεως* (iv. 254, 24). So too Aristides. Again, Aristides cites the famous oath in *The Crown* (§ 208) now with the words *τῶν προγόνων*, now without them. Other writers exhibit the same variation, and many similar instances might be added. The fact that a single ancient writer furnishes us with different versions of the same passage, that one quoted version may be set against another in a different author, and that ancient quotations sometimes reproduce the same variations as are found in our MSS., ought to caution us against accepting any quotation as in itself decisive of a disputed reading. Much will depend in a given case not only on the value of the text of the author who makes the quotation, but also on his critical sagacity and on the probability that he himself followed the best manuscripts. Besides—and stress must be laid on this—

ancient writers, speaking generally, did not trouble themselves about exact quotations from prose. They trusted largely to memory. Even Aristotle is very loose in his quotations. Literary critics and rhetoricians, whose minds were stored with commonplaces from the great classics, and whose success depended on the ready use of these in lecture-room, quote more inaccurately than do reviewers and journalists in our own day. Proper allowance must be made for reminiscences and adaptations. Dr. Blass undoubtedly assigns too much weight to these authorities. Even quotations which profess to be verbal and are introduced by *Δημοσθῆνης ἔφη*, or the like, must be dealt with as cautiously as the actual text of the orator. The same critical rules must be applied to these as to the original, nay, applied more rigorously, as there are here possible sources of error which do not affect our manuscripts. On the whole result it will probably appear that the best MSS. of Demosthenes are more trustworthy guides on disputed points of reading than ancient quotation. In a few passages Dr. Blass has gleaned something of real value from the quotations or reminiscences of the rhetors, and has established readings (e.g. *Phil.* i. 25) which the MSS. would never have suggested. But his labours in this line have been poorly rewarded. It may be questioned if there is a single instance in *The Crown* of a successful correction thus obtained. Probably he himself now believes in the method less than he did. He still employs it, but the changes so effected in the text of 1890 are markedly fewer than in that of 1885.

If however he attaches less importance to ancient quotation, he insists more than ever on the value of the rhythm for purposes of textual criticism. In vol. I. p. xx. he defined what he conceived to be the essential quality of the Demosthenic rhythm. It consists in a correspondence, a symmetry between the members of a phrase, whether between two clauses or between different parts of the same clause. In the instances where he discovers it the correspondence varies from a general similarity of rhythmical structure to an exact metrical equivalence. What the limits are within which divergence is consistent with correspondence he nowhere explains very clearly. From his later application of the doctrine in *The Crown* we should infer that he looks on a close agreement between the metrical value of the syllables in the corresponding clauses as the surest test of Demosthenic workmanship. Clause must answer clause, almost like the

strophe and antistrophe of a chorus. Indeed he says (Preface p. xiii.) that an exact correspondence, which can hardly be the result of chance, is required to establish a valid conclusion. But even an imperfect correspondence often enables him to choose decisively between two conflicting readings. Here we get upon doubtful ground. Whose ear is to vouch for the true Demosthenic rhythm? In the Preface to *The Crown* Dr. Blass tells us almost pathetically that there are as yet few, if any, believers in his rhythmical test; but he falls back on the thought that 'all men have not an eye for these things, for the Muses do not distribute their gifts alike to all.' He writes almost in the manner of a mystic who stands alone among the unilluminated. The principle of *εὐρυθμία* now becomes with him the final test to which doubtful readings are submitted. It is a principle whose application is the more difficult to criticize because Dr. Blass seldom gives the reasons which determine him, for want, as he says, of space and because of the little interest which the subject is likely to excite in most of his readers. We trust he will some time discuss it more fully. No scholar who has studied Demosthenes can be insensible to the rhythmical structure of his periods. But the correspondence is a delicate one; it can hardly be made into a rigorous test, by which words and whole phrases are to be excised. Dr. Blass appears to do violence to a principle which nevertheless contains an important truth. In following out his method there is a risk of breaking up sentences into arbitrary divisions, and by ingenious omissions of words, backed perhaps by some ancient quotation, of substituting for the rich and complex harmonies of Demosthenes the trivial monotony of syllables that are metrically equivalent. If we may express a hope it would be that the dispassionate power of self-criticism that Dr. Blass has already shown in his frank admission that he was wrong in the arrangement of the Kola of *The Crown* as proposed in his *Attische Beredsamkeit* (1877), and that the rhythmical correspondences of his 1885 edition were sometimes fanciful, may induce him to reconsider the principle of *εὐρυθμία* in all its bearings.

The latest application of it in *The Crown* has not led to many alterations in the text. It has rather acted as a corrective of the facile scepticism produced in Dr. Blass' mind by too much deference to ancient quotation. As he tells us (Pref. to *The Crown* p. xiii.), it has convinced him that many conjectures

are wrong, and has generally shown that a disputed word ought not to be omitted.

Thus in *The Crown* § 3 he formerly read (ed. 1885) οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερές εἰπεῖν, and found here a rhythmical correspondence with ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου. In 1890 he returns to the reading of S, οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερές εἰπεῖν οὐδέν and discovers an entirely new correspondence. Now the οὐδέν is of course necessary. It is not Greek to say δυσχερές λέγω for δυσχερές τι λέγω, and equally impossible is οὐ δυσχερές λέγω for δυσχερές οὐδέν λέγω. But this is a matter of Greek idiom not of rhythm, and although the right result is gained, it is by a roundabout if not a wrong process. On rhythmical grounds, again, the brackets are removed which in the edition of 1885 enclosed the words—§ 14 καὶ τιμωραὶ (found in all MSS. though transposed in A); § 21 ἐν τῷ παρόντι (omitted by Hermogenes and now restored on the ground that ἐὼ... ἐν τῷ παρόντι answers rhythmically to Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν); § 35 ἐχθρόν (omitted by Priscian); § 67 παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο (previously bracketed on the strength of a vague reminiscence of the phrase in Choricus); § 140 πεπραγμένα σταντῷ (omitted by Libanius). This list might be largely increased. But in several instances the law of *εὐρυθμία* leads to wrong or doubtful results. Hitherto no one had suspected § 10 μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρην πεπολίτευμαι. Dr. Blass now brackets the last word for the sake of the rhythm, adding that εἰ or ὑπέρην πολιτεύεσθαι is an impossible phrase. That is a hard saying. In the 1885 edition the reading in § 26 was that of all the MSS., ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι. In 1890 it is changed to ὅσ' ἂν . . . προλάβῃ. The original intention of the change was to produce symmetry of rhythm between νομίζων ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσ' ἂν . . . προλάβῃ and πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὄρκους ἀποδοῦναι, and to avoid the concurrence of short vowels in ἀληθές ὅσα τῆς (vol. III. p. lxxxiv.). In *Anhang* ii. of *The Crown* this capricious alteration is further recommended by a distinction which will not hold between the subjunctive and optative, here and elsewhere, in *Oratio Obliqua*. Again, in 1885 the editor read in § 32 πάλιν ἀνείται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἄπιμεν, in 1890 he reads ἀπίωμεν. The MSS. waver between ἀπίωμεν and ἀπίωσιν. The arguments of Cobet (*N.L.* p. 515) are decisive in favour of ἄπιμεν (cf. Bekk. *Anec.* 129); but considerations of rhythm have prevailed with Dr. Blass to restore ἀπίωμεν. Goodwin (*Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses* 1889) also retains ἀπίωμεν: but in those examples in which the reading is beyond dispute ὅπως μὴ with the subjunct.

has some final force ; it does not, as here, serve merely to introduce the object clause. The correction ἀπιμεν is almost as certain as ἀποστήσονται in Thucyd. i. 57, 4, where the MSS. have φυλακὴν ἔχειν ὅπως μὴ ἀποστήσονται, but the error is betrayed by the implied ἀπεστησάμην for ἀπέστην. In § 61 the 1890 text is in the main an improvement on that of 1885. In 1885 φορὰ was written for φορὰν of the MSS. and συνέβη for συνέβη γενέσθαι τοσαύτην of the MSS., the words being so quoted in Dionysius (*Dem.* ch. 14). In 1890 the MSS. reading is restored, being confirmed by an adaptation in Plutarch (*Mor.* 999 E) and, as Dr. Blass thinks, by the rhythm. But, in truth, there was never any real cause to suspect it. In the next clause, however, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, which is in all the MSS. and is almost essential to the clearness of the passage, is now bracketed purely on rhythmical grounds. It had passed unchallenged in 1885. (In the Preface to *The Crown*, p. xiii. the editor has misgivings whether the words should not after all stand.) In § 71 he keeps the ἄς μὲν...ἄς δὲ of most MSS. believing that this form was chosen instead of τὰς μὲν...τὰς δὲ for the sake of the rhythm καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἄς μὲν=καὶ Βυζάντιον πολιορκῶν in the previous clause. The usage ὅς μὲν...ὅς δὲ for ὁ μὲν...ὁ δὲ, common in later Greek and twice found in spurious documents of *The Crown* (§§ 164 and 182), only occurs once elsewhere in the text of Demosthenes, and is open to serious doubt.

Paragraph 111 τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οἶτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλὼν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων,.....συνεῖναι τὰ πολλὰ has fared badly through the combined influence of a quotation in a very late rhetor who reads νόμων for λόγων, and of the rhythmical theory. In 1885 περὶ τῶν περιγ. νόμων was bracketed ; so also were ὑμᾶς and αὐτός. In the *Addenda* vol. II. p. cxlv. the latter brackets were removed, νόμων was still substituted for λόγων in the first line and περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων was kept for the rhythm, while the νόμων of the MSS. was bracketed—all to the confusion of the sense ; and so the passage stands in the edition of 1890. In § 156 the appropriate word παρασχῶν (S and L), which was kept in 1885, is now replaced by παραδοῖς (vulg.) for the rhythm's sake, but it is not easy to see where the improvement even in rhythm lies. Still bolder is the bracketing of words καὶ δι' ὃν ἡρέθη (§ 143), merely in order to produce a rhythmical correspondence in three successive clauses—an effect which it would perhaps be better to avoid. In

§ 206 the nearer equivalence gained by τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτίμησέ μοι ; (the reading of Dionysius and perhaps of the Schol.) with εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν is insufficient reason for rejecting οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι, the reading of S, where the opt. makes perfect sense and is not likely to have been wrongly substituted for the indic. in a conditional sentence of this form.

Under the head of Demosthenic rhythm comes the rule against the accumulation of short syllables (see also Blass *Att. Bereds.* *Dem.* p. 100—104). As now formulated by Dr. Blass it would in general exclude three consecutive short syllables except when they are within a single word or precede a pause. The prevailing practice of Demosthenes is fairly summed up in this law. But Dr. Blass in making it a fast and binding rule imposes mechanical fetters upon oratorical prose. Not the combined authority of all the MSS. appears to him sufficient to admit either a faulty hiatus or the infringement of the rule about short syllables (Preface to vol. I. ed. 1885 p. xix.). Wherever these irregularities confront him, he mends the passage if he can ; if not, he notes it, as corrupt or wanting in revision. Sometimes a change in the order of the words effects his purpose. This remedy he applies e.g. to the MSS. reading of § 20 εἴτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, § 108 πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαιεν, § 136 Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς, § 201 τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἐωρῶμεν, § 307 ἂν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι. Sometimes he adds a bracket as in § 177 δύναμις [ἐν Ἑλατείᾳ], § 291 ὥστο μὲν [ἐμοῦ], § 288 ἀιρεθέντες [ἐπὶ τὰς ταφάς]. Sometimes he emends the text as in § 102 ἡ μέτρι' ἢ μικρὰ for μέτ. ἢ μικ., § 162 προτέρων for πρότερον (so too § 201 and § 316), § 177 εἴτ' αὖ μεταθέσθαι for εἴτα μετ., § 303 οὐδὲ πραθένθ' with Dobree for οὐδὲ προθέντα S, A, προδοθέντα vulg. (Here the diversity of MSS. reading affords independent ground for doubt), § 317 τοὺς πρότερον γεγενημένους δ' ἐπὶ ἡνὸν for τοὺς δὲ προτ. γεγ. ἐπ. S. Sometimes the words which infringe the rule are left undisturbed : e.g. § 23 οἶτος ὑγίης, § 111 βίον ὑπεύθυνος, § 119 ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, § 132 ἐξεπέπεμπτ' ἂν ὑπὸ (in 1885 ἂν was bracketed), § 134 σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, § 179 τὸ τότε γενόμενον, § 197 ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν, § 219 Καλλίστρατος ἐκείνος, § 230 ἐπακόσια στάδι' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (how else could Dem. have said what he meant?), § 258 τίνι κέχρησαι, § 312 εἶχες ἔρανον. There is something a little arbitrary in Dr. Blass' whole method of dealing with short syllables. His rule is based on examples—there is no other

authority for it—but the examples resist the rule so often and in such a way as to preclude the simple hypothesis of error or inadequate revision.

Where questions of rhythm or of ancient quotation are not concerned we are generally safe in accepting Dr. Blass' judgment on conflicting readings. But does not the reading he takes from S¹ in § 316 violate all idiom? The passage runs thus in the ed. of 1890, διὰ τὰς...εὐεργεσίας οὓσας ὑπερμεγέθεις οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλικίας. The note he gives illustrates μὲν οὖν but not οὐδὲ μὲν οὖν. In the ed. of 1885 he read οὐ μὲν οὖν which alone is possible. Again in § 322 he follows S, οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτυόνας δίκας ἐπαγόντων. The other MSS. have οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὸς δίκας. With the latter reading ἐπαγόντων 'setting in motion' will bear the same sense as in § 150 and 249. But if we accept εἰς Ἀμφικτυόνας idiom will require εἰσαγόντων, for εἰσάγειν not ἐπάγειν εἰς is used of bringing a case before a court. A much more doubtful question is raised by § 227. The reading of S¹ is ἂν καθαιρώσιν αἱ ψήφοι καὶ μηδὲν περὶ, συγχωρεῖτε. Other MSS. have καθαρεῖ ὦσιν. Dr. Blass follows S¹ with the slight change of ἂν for ἄν, and compares Aesch. *Ctes.* § 59 ὁ τι ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ λογισμὸς αἰρή. He admits that there is no evidence that καθαιρεῖν like αἰρεῖν can mean 'to prove,' but he says it can here bear no other sense. The passage quoted in vol. I. p. cviii. from Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* iii. 44 ὁ τι δ' ἂν αἱ πλείους ψήφοι καθαιρώσιν is not exactly to the point. In late Greek καθαιρεῖν from its lawcourt sense 'to condemn,' came to mean 'to pass judgment,' 'to decide.' This, however, is not the same thing as 'prove,' and in any case it is not an Attic usage. But supposing we could get over these difficulties and take καθαιρώσιν as 'prove,' the reading adopted by Dr. Blass makes the combination of the clauses ἂν καθαιρώσιν and ἂν μηδὲν περὶ exceedingly harsh: 'whatever the figures prove and if there is no surplus, you accept it.' On the whole ἂν καθαρεῖ ὦσιν ('if the figures come out clear,' explained by κἂν μηδὲν περὶ) is preferable, in spite of the want of a precise parallel to this use of καθαρεῖ and in spite of the hiatus. The required sense of καθαρεῖ would only be an extension of its natural meaning, while καθαιρώσι as interpreted by Dr. Blass would be off the lines of normal usage.

The number of emendations admitted into the text, apart from minor rearrangements of order, is small. One of them, made by Dr. Blass himself, is simple and in a high degree probable. In § 30, S, L¹, and A read ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, ὁμοίως δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, where

the vulg. is μᾶλλον. Dr. Blass reads ἕως, and compares § 17 ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσήκον ἕως where the scholion is ὁμοίως. In § 30 ὁμοίως is indefensible if supposed to come from the pen of Demosthenes, but natural enough as a gloss. In § 104 the correction of Christ (*Philolog.* xlv. p. 383) is accepted, ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν προτέρων νόμων σὺν ἑξ καὶ δέκα λειτουργεῖν for the MSS. συνεκαίδεκα λειτ. The motive of the change is to bring the statement of Demosthenes into nearer agreement with our other information on the subject. Hyperides (*Harpocration* art. *συμμορία*), referring to the custom that existed before the reform of Demosthenes, says σύμπεντε καὶ συνὲς τριηραρχούντες, and inscriptions give instances of five, six, or seven citizens being associated for the trierarchy. The correction is intended to signify 'in groups of six or even ten' (cf. a few lines later ὁ...ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος, which will then mean 'the sixth or even the tenth,' not 'the sixteenth'). If it had been σὺν ἑξ καὶ ἑπτὰ, 'in groups of six or seven,' we should have understood it, but why 'six or ten'? The καὶ for ἢ καὶ is surely an odd way of marking the upward limit. Another very questionable change introduced into the text since 1885 is in § 242. Having rightly restored ἀέ, previously omitted after σκυφάντης, Dr. Blass in the next clause reads οὐδὲ ἐν ἑξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον αὐτό, τραγικὸς πίθηκος, in place of the MSS. οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος. He objects to οὐδὲν ἐλεύθερον ποιεῖν as not being Greek—in what respect is it wrong? On the other hand we would ask what is the point of αὐτό attached to ἐλεύθερον. (The force of πίθηκος as applied to an actor ought, by the way, to be illustrated by a reference to Arist. *Poet.* ch. 27, 2.) Again, in § 247 the conjecture adopted is not felicitous. The reading of S and L¹ is καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου. All MSS. have τῷ or τῷ γε. Some omit ἢ μὴ, some insert μὴ before διαφθαρῆναι. The dat. τῷ can hardly be right; Dr. Blass reads τοῦ γε διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν κεκρ. Φιλίππου, 'as concerning bribery, &c.' Such a use of the genit. might possibly be found in Polybius, but not in Demosthenes. The accusat. τὸ (Dobree and Weil) is the simplest solution of the difficulty.

Of all the emendations, however, which are put forward or accepted in this volume the most interesting is the correction of the well known words, in § 169, τὰ γέρρα ἀνέπιμ-πρασαν. In his commentary Dr. Blass gives the ordinary interpretation which makes τὰ γέρρα the wicker-booths in the market-

place, which were set on fire as a signal to the country people. But in *Anhang*, i. he accepts the correction of Girard—unpromising at first sight but in truth irresistible—*ἀνεπετάννυσαν τὰ γέρρα*, ‘spread out the hurdles,’ which were used to fence off the market-place and prevent the people from loitering there when an assembly was about to be held. The Scholion on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 22 is the key to our passage: *ἀνεπετάννυσαν γὰρ τὰ γέρρα καὶ ἀπέκλειον τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μὴ φερούσας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὰ ὄνια ἀνήρουν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς ὅπως μὴ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβοιεν.* The MS. reading *ἐνετίμπρασαν* was current at least as early as the time of Harpocration, who also explains *γέρρα* as *τὰ τῶν σκηνῶν σκεπάσματα καὶ παρακαλύμματα.* Several other ancient writers followed the same tradition in an age when the old custom connected with the *γέρρα* had been forgotten. The singular interest of the emendation, therefore, lies in this—that it is a certain restoration of a reading which at an early date became unintelligible and was therefore lost, and which but for a chance scholion would probably never have been recovered.

In connection with the notes to *The Crown* ought to be read the editor’s ‘*Demosthenische Studien*’ in the *Rheinisches Museum* (1888), vol. 43 p. 268 &c., and (1889) vol.

44, p. 1, &c., 406, &c., where there is much that is both new and sound. The first of these relates chiefly to Demosthenic rhythm, the two next to the use of *οὗτος, ὅδε, οὗτοςί*, to the insertion of the article with proper names and with the infin., to the distinction between *ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν* and *τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρεῖν*, *ἀληθῇ λέγειν* and *τάληθῇ λέγειν* &c., and to certain uses of the aorist and imperfect. Here and there the distinctions may appear to be over subtle and the conclusions not quite convincing, but the materials collected and the hints thrown out remain of permanent value. I have chiefly limited myself in this article to the somewhat ungracious task of expressing dissent or doubt about the text. It has not been possible to convey an impression of the range and quality of Dr. Blass’ linguistic knowledge and observation; they are visible on every page of the commentary. A single unpretentious looking note is not unfrequently the result of an exhaustive investigation. Students of Demosthenes who venture to differ from Dr. Blass on particular questions will do so with a deep sense of indebtedness to him for all he has taught them.

S. H. BUTCHER.

PLUTARCH'S *LIVES OF GALBA AND OTHO*, BY E. G. HARDY.

PLUTARCH'S *Lives of Galba and Otho* with Introduction and explanatory notes by E. G. HARDY M.A. London: Macmillan and Co. (*Classical Series*). Price 5s.

THE volume before us consists of an Introduction extending to cxxiv pages, followed by the Greek Text—with *Apparatus Criticus* and Summaries prefixed to each Chapter—covering 84 pages, and Notes covering 189 pages, and concludes with an Appendix on facts attested or inferred from Coins and Inscriptions, and a short Index to the Notes.

The object of the Introduction, as is stated in the Preface, is to show the relation which existed between Tacitus and Plutarch, that Plutarch has drawn independently from the same authority—probably Pliny the Elder—which Tacitus used, occasionally supplementing and improving upon the account of the latter. This proof is carefully worked out by a comparison of parallel passages in the two writers, from

which it appears that Plutarch’s employment of this authority often amounted to what is practically a literal and almost word for word translation. Both external and internal evidence seems conclusive that Plutarch did not make use of the *Histories* of Tacitus; in fact that they were published after Plutarch wrote his *Lives of Galba and Otho*. These are not Biographies in the same sense as the *Parallel Lives*, in which a moral rather than an historical end is professedly kept in view, and chronological order sacrificed to artistic symmetry. They are moreover without Greek Parallels. Mr. Hardy concludes that they belong to an earlier, not a later stage of Plutarch’s literary history, but his conclusion is open to question. The Introduction contains also a long account of the reigns of Galba and Otho, and concludes with an (incomplete) account of Manuscripts and Previous Editions and a list of the Places—13 in number—in which the Text of Sintenis (Teubner 1884) is departed

from—from which it would seem that the *Apparatus Criticus* at the foot of the Text might have been dispensed with.

Mr. Hardy's notes are mainly concerned with the elucidation of historical and constitutional points, and Plutarch's work—for the two Lives may be regarded as one Book essentially (see p. 163 and p. 166)—is used as a peg on which a good deal of valuable historical teaching is made to hang. We may point to those on ἵπματος (p. 96); on Vindex and the character of his rising (p. 100); on ὁ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμών (p. 103); on σύγκλητος (p. 105 and p. 106); on the position of the *praefectus praetorio* (p. 120), and the *praefectus urbi* (p. 227); and on the appointment of *sacerdotes* (p. 209), as being especially full of interest and utility to the student. His renderings into English are also for the most part correct and elegant. But Mr. Hardy is, in our opinion,—especially as his edition is intended for the use of schools—much too chary in the notice of his author's peculiarities of style and language, and he presumes too much on his readers' familiarity with such points. Thus on p. 9. the meaning of ἐπεικῶς might have been given, the expressions λαμπρὸν ἦρε (p. 11) and τοσοῦτος ἦρθη (p. 58) are worth a note, and so is περαιτέρω τόλμης (p. 13). The use of μή, where in classical Greek οὐ is required—as after οὔτι in a statement of fact (p. 13, p. 64, p. 122), with a participle where not hypothetical (pp. 14, 43, 48, 50, 73 etc.), after φασί in indirect discourse (p. 43), though he has an insufficient and rather perplexing note on the point (p. 149)—is passed over in silence. Such uses and phrases again as προσάγων ταῖς ἐλπίσιν (p. 14), ἀργυρίου ἦττων (p. 19), ἀποδείξειθαι (p. 20)—wrongly translated (p. 172) but correctly p. 141; νεομένον (p. 27), ἐπιδόξος ἦν and ἡδέως εἶχε (p. 37), ἀποκαλοῦντες (p. 61), νυνὶ δέ (p. 64), ἀνελάμβανεν (p. 74), ὅπου (p. 74), παραναλώσαντες (*ib.*), κατὰ γνώμην (p. 76), γενεάν for 'family' (p. 80)—needed some notice or explanation. Such are some of the more important omissions; the list of which might easily be extended.

In the following passages the Editor seems to have missed the true meaning:—αἰτίαν ἔσχεν (p. 97) is translated as if it were αἰτίαν παρέσχε, whereas it is equivalent to ἡτιάτο—as in p. 64 and p. 74, also p. 125 where it is rendered rightly 'was taxed,' just as φθόνον εἶχεν = ἐφθονεῖτο (p. 27), πρόφασιν εἶχεν (p. 25), διαβολὴν εἶχεν = διεβάλλετο (p. 30); προχειρισμένον (p. 121) means 'when they appointed,' 'nominated'; περὶ (p. 122) is wrongly translated 'against'; so also αὐτῷ

ἐγγεγονέναι 'that he would never have the chance' (the reading is unobjectionable, as the following ἐντυχεῖν shows); ἐπιθυσόμεθα (p. 143) 'sacrifice,' where the meaning of ἐπι- 'after' or 'upon' is lost sight of; διδοὺς πείραν (p. 168) does not mean 'after actual experience'—as if πείραν λαμβάνων (see p. 72)—the subject being Galba but 'giving proof,' the subject being Seneca: (p. 233) Plutarch says nothing about 'mutual abuse'; the note on (p. 180) ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας is too brief and obscure; προβαλλόμενος (p. 183) does not mean 'accusing' but 'disliking' in which sense the verb is of frequent occurrence in Plutarch, and the quotations from Demosthenes (in the first of which 'the answer' is a misprint, I suppose, for 'the accuser') are irrelevant; ὁμοῦ τι (p. 72) is also a favourite expression in Plutarch but it needs explanation quite as much as πάντες ὁμαλῶς (p. 260); ἀπερριμμένοι (p. 185) is wrongly translated 'disappointed,' and ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτόν (*ib.*) might have been better explained by a reference to Buttmann's Index to Dem. c. *Mid.* p. 190: χρόας ἀμείβονται παντοδαπὰς (p. 187) means 'changing into all sorts of colours'; ἀπιστεῖν (p. 194) does not necessarily signify 'to give up in despair,' nor ἐκποδὼν ἵστασθαι (p. 195) 'to make away with,' nor ἀποκλιθέντος (p. 197) 'overturned,' it means rather 'tilted on one side,' as in the passage quoted by Liddell-Scott from Demosth. adv. *Callicl.*; οἱ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλῖνον (p. 243) does not necessarily mean 'Celsus and Paulinus and their friends' but probably 'Celsus and Paulinus' only: cf. note p. 249 ll. 29 and 32; ὥς (p. 248) does not mean 'since,' but 'that' in a statement of fact; τῆς δυνάμεως (p. 244) is incorrectly translated 'power,' it has obviously the same meaning here as in p. 250; καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ would be better illustrated by Plut. *Sull.* c. 30, 3 ἀτρέπτῳ καὶ καθεστηκότι τῷ προσώπῳ and *Fab.* c. 17 προσώπῳ καθεστῶτι.

Errors of the Press are numerous. We have ἐν appearing as ἔν (p. 14 foot-note) and ἐν (p. 39); tabula Peutingeriana (p. 238); Becker (p. cxi and p. 49) but Bekker correctly (p. 203); the comma before τυχοῦσαν (p. 50) makes the sentence unintelligible; p. 224 'ἐπὶ πράσει is really redundant' should be 'is not really redundant'; Mediolanum and Klassen (p. 235), πρὸς τε (p. 133), Ἰουδαίᾳ (p. 21) must be corrected in a future edition; so also San Germanensis (p. cxiii) for Sangermanensis, Masurus (p. cxviii) for Musurus, Frankofurtanae (p. cxx), H. Schaefer (p. cxix) for G. H. Schaefer, 'interrupted' (p. lxxv) for intercepted, 'exaggeration' (p.

lxxvi); W. Vaticanus 139 (p. cxiv—cxv) appears as W. Palat. 109 (p. cxxiv); ἐγκαλυψόμενος (p. 247) should be replaced by ἐγκαλυψάμενος.

The omission of a Head-line—giving the reference to each Chapter—in the Notes is a very great inconvenience and ought to have been suggested by the printers. In the quotations from Suetonius and Tacitus, the reference is too often omitted.

Mr. Hardy has by the publication of this volume rendered a great service to Students

of the Period, who will derive a considerable amount of useful information from his historical and antiquarian notes. It can scarcely be expected that the volume will be much used as a School Book, and it was perhaps a mistake to include it in a Series designed primarily for the use of Schools. Plutarch, whose style varies very much in his different Biographies, is certainly not seen at his best in these.

H. A. HOLDEN.

RUBENSOHN'S *CRINAGORAS*.

Crinagorae Mytilenaei Epigrammata. Edidit: prolegomenis, commentario, verborum indice, illustravit MAXIMILIANUS RUBENSOHN. Berlin, Mayer and Müller: 1888. Pp. 124. 3 M.

THIS little book contains a critical edition with elaborate notes—based upon a fresh collation by Stadtmüller—of the forty-seven epigrams in the Palatine Anthology and the four in the Appendix of Planudes ascribed to Crinagoras. The prolegomena treat, with great detail, of the life of the poet, of his language and dialect, and of many matters relating to his metres and prosody, and conclude with a searching examination of the text of *Epp.* 6 (A.P. vi. 232), 16 (A.P. vii. 380), and 37 (A.P. ix. 439), on the authenticity of which much doubt rests. The index is not exhaustive, but it cites all noteworthy words and expressions, and impresses one with the extremely artificial and ornate if not pedantic character of the poet's diction. There are as many as 28—23 ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, and over 90 words of an unusual form and meaning in the 274 verses ascribed to this poet.

In his reconstruction of the life of Crinagoras the author is more conservative than Geist (*Krinagoras von Mytilene*, Giessen, 1849. Prog.). The only items of external evidence on this point to which he gives weight are: (1) the fact that in the preface of the *Corona* of Philip of Thessalonica (A.P. iv. 2)—who includes in his collection epigrams composed after Meleager had made his selection (about B.C. 100)—Crinagoras is mentioned in a connexion which is intelligible only on the supposition that he lived between B.C. 100 and A.D. 100 as extreme limits; (2) Strabo (xiii. 617) speaking of

famous men of Mytilene says καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Ποτάμων...καὶ Κριναγόρας. The καθ' ἡμᾶς of Strabo, as Niese has shown (*Hermes* xiii. pp. 33—45) is applicable only to persons who may have died after 690/1 A.U.C. (64/3 B.C.); (3) in Etym. Mag. s.v. ἄρπυς we read ἄρπυς ὁ ἔρως ὡς παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ἐν Κριναγόρᾳ. Parthenius, who thus composed a poem named for Crinagoras, was the friend of the younger Tiberius, who took delight in his poems (Suet. *Vit. Tib.* 70), but he died—as Meineke has shown—before Tiberius ascended the throne. To these three items Rubensohn adds in the Appendix a fourth (4) viz. two inscriptions from Mytilene, published by Cichorius in his *Rom und Mytilene* (Teubner, 1888), in one of which Crinagoras is mentioned as son of Callippus, and as one of the eight legates empowered to act on behalf of the Mytilenaeans in the matter of a treaty between Mytilene and Rome near the beginning of the reign of Augustus (706 A.U.C. = 28 B.C.): in the other inscription he is also named as engaged in the same affair a year or two later. Internal evidence, however, as to the life, travels, and work of Crinagoras is much more abundant, and is found in particular in *Epp.* 32 (A.P. ix. 284), 23 (A.P. vii. 645), 47 (A.P. xi. 42), 11 (A.P. vi. 161), 41 (A.P. xi. 545), 8 (A.P. vi. 244), 25 (A.P. ix. 81), 48 (A.P. iv. 40), and 31 (A.P. ix. 235), all of which—here arranged in chronological order—pass under a most searching and painstaking examination. From this evidence, external and internal, Rubensohn draws the following conclusion: Crinagoras died after 767 A.U.C. (14 A.D., the year before which *Ep.* 31 could not have been composed), in the reign of Tiberius. Before 712 A.U.C. (42 B.C.) he had begun to compose verses, and he had come

to Rome before 729 A.U.C. (25 B.C.); he was one of the first of the poets included by Philip of Thessalonica in his *Corona*, and was the friend and contemporary of Parthenius. He was in all likelihood a teacher of Greek and was perhaps the tutor of the children of Octavia, as his fellow-countryman Potamon (according to Westermann) became the teacher of Tiberius.

In a brief *mantisa Variana* the author endeavours to controvert Mommsen's view that in *Ep.* 33 (A.P. ix. 291) the defeat of Varus is referred to; he claims that the reference is to the expedition of Germanicus in 769 A.U.C. (16 A.D.). Likewise in *Ep.* 24 (A.P. vii. 741) he cannot, with Mommsen, see a necessary reference to the defeat of Varus.

The chapters on the language and metre cannot be here summarized. It is enough to say that the author has shown much insight and acumen in his observation and analyses, and that his task is indispensable to the student of the Greek Anthology, especially from the point of metre, and of contemporary historical references and allusions; it is not without its value to the student of Roman poetry, as well as in pointing out many Latin turns of thought and expression, as in giving us in a convenient form a collection of epigrams which without doubt the poets of the Augustan age were wont to con over and aimed to reproduce in Latin form.

J. H. WRIGHT.

KRUMBACHER'S HISTORY OF BYZANTINE LITERATURE.

Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527—1453). Von KARL KRUMBACHER. München: Beck. 1891. (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft, von IWAN MÜLLER. Band ix. 1 Abtheilung.*) Mk. 8. 50.

LIKE many of those who have treated this period, whether from the historical or from the literary side, Dr. Krumbacher finds that he has to begin by correcting old established errors. He has a clear view of the whole history of Greek literature, and he has eyes to see that the succession of writers, both in verse and in prose, is continuous up to the reign of Heraclius. We cannot draw a line at Procopius any more than at Zosimus or at Libanius or at Aristides. We cannot say that Greek literature ends and 'Byzantine' literature begins in the reign of Justinian any more than in the reign of Julian. If we include Priscus and Nonnus under the first head, it is arbitrary to exclude Agathias and George the Pisdian. Dr. Krumbacher is perfectly justified in his complaints against Bernhardt and those who made the beginning of Justinian's reign a terminus and a starting-point. The natural division falls about a century later. From the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the ninth there are no verse-writers, no writers of polite prose; only a few chronicles. If then we are to have two historians of Greek literature from Homer to Chalkokondyles, the right line of

division is in the reign of Heraclius. The writers of the sixth and of the first half of the seventh century, says Dr. Krumbacher, 'bilden eine Nachblüte der antiken Litteratur, nicht eine Vorfrucht des Byzantinismus.' But, unluckily, Dr. Krumbacher is unable to act up to his own sound theory. His book is written for a series, and he has to begin where Christ or somebody left off. Unluckily, I said, thinking of Dr. Krumbacher's theory; but by no means unluckily, I incline to think, for his readers. Nothing could be better than his treatment of Procopius and Theophylactus Simocatta, and I for one am glad that he was compelled to take in the period of Justinian. But it occurs to one that he would have done well to choose a somewhat different title. His 'History of Byzantine Literature' deals with the literature of a whole century, which according to his own definition is not 'Byzantine.' Why did he not write a *Geschichte der spätgriechischen Litteratur*?

It is pleasant to note that Dr. Krumbacher has learned something from England. Usually it is the other way; we learn so much more from Germany than Germany learns from us. But the very simple facts which were crushed and hidden under a multitude of empires,—the Lower Empire, the Western Empire, the Eastern Empire, the Byzantine Empire, the Greek Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, the Graeco-Roman Empire,—were never, either in France or in Germany, set forth in such a clear light as in England by Mr. Freeman.

Dr. Krumbacher has grasped these very simple facts. He speaks of a development 'des späteren römischen Reiches.' He knows that 'von einem oströmischen oder byzantinischen Reich kann man genau genommen, erst seit dem Jahre 800 sprechen,' and that 'das sogenannte oströmische oder byzantinische Reich' begins only 'in einem gewissen Sinne' in 395.

Dr. Krumbacher is full of enthusiasm for his subject. He contradicts the general prejudice that Byzantine literature is monotonous and that Byzantine authors have no individuality. He asserts that the Byzantines were not Chinese and that their works were not wanting in variety.

'Wenn wir uns freilich mit der Versicherung Bernhardys beruhigen, dass alle Byzantiner eine gewisse Familienähnlichkeit besitzen, werden wir in der Erkenntniss nicht weiter kommen. Denselben Eindruck der Verwandtschaft erhält der ferner stehende Beobachter auch von den meisten Autoren anderer Litteraturen. Wie lang bedarf es z. B. bis man aus der scheinbar ziemlich gleichmässig realistisch-erotisch gefärbten Masse der französischen Romanschriftsteller die Typen herausgreifen und von einander so unterscheiden lernt, dass eine beliebige Stichprobe zur Bestimmung des Autors hinreicht. Auch in Byzanz existieren so grundverschiedene Gestalten wie Victor Hugo, Daudet, Zola.'

Indeed Dr. Krumbacher puts forth many views which may surprise those who, even if they admit the importance of 'Byzantine' history, are accustomed to regard Byzantine historians with contempt. He tells us (p. 39) that most of them possessed what he calls 'historical sense' (*geschichtlichen Sinn*) and were critical in dealing with their materials.

'Dass sie hinter der modernen Genauigkeit weit zurück bleiben, ist kein Vorwurf; denn diese ist erst durch die gesteigerten Mittel der Veröffentlichung und Vervielfältigung möglich geworden. Soweit es aber die persönlichen Kräfte und die Bedingungen des Zeitalters gestatten, streben die Geschichtschreiber in Byzanz nach Information und bemühen sich von wohlunterrichteten Personen ausführliche Nachrichten zu erhalten. Sie verschmähen es nicht zu diesem Behufe rohe Kriegerleute, die wichtigen Ereignissen beiwohnten, gründlich auszufragen; sie verstehen sich sogar dazu fremde von 'Barbaren' wie Armeniern abgefasste Schriftwerke zu benützen.'

Dr. Krumbacher has some excellent remarks on the differences between historians

and chronographers, and he makes one point which as far as I know is new. He shows that these two classes of writers appealed to different audiences. (p. 34). The public for whom the historians wrote was an educated public, consisting chiefly of the court circle, the higher orders of the clergy and the higher ranks in the official world. The chroniclers on the other hand composed for the great mass of the people, chiefly perhaps for ill-educated monks who desired pious instruction touching the events of of secular history. In his treatment of special chroniclers and historians, Dr. Krumbacher is obliged by the conditions of his work to be short, but it is wonderful how much he contrives to press into a small space. His sections on Theophylactus, Anna Comnena and Nicephorus Gregoras strike me as especially good. I turned with interest to his account of Kinnamos, for whom I have a weakness, and I was rewarded by finding a neat German expression about his style: 'die Darstellung des Kinnamos hat etwas soldatenmässig Knappes.' But Dr. Krumbacher insinuates a rebuke to this writer for the very feature which won my heart; that is to say 'seine zähe Betonung der ausschliesslichen Legitimität des oströmischen Thrones.' In this respect Kinnamos, although his motives were patriotic, was perfectly right. He had a clear idea of the continuity of the Roman Empire; he protests against the attempt to distinguish between a Roman Empire and a Byzantine Empire. Let us give him credit for having put the matter more clearly than any other historian before Mr. Freeman.

Dr. Krumbacher is thoroughly master of his subject and he deals with almost every part equally well. It is hardly fair perhaps to criticise details in a work which covers such an immense field. He is sometimes a little too positive. I am not yet convinced that John Malalas lived in the reign of Justinian; and I cannot admit that the Procopian authorship of the 'Secret History' is 'völlig erwiesen.' In regard to the difficult question whether the *Βιβλίον τῆς Κονγκέστας* or the *Livre de la Conquete* was the original from which the other was a free translation, Dr. Krumbacher adopts the conclusion of his friend Mr. J. Schmitt, and assigns the priority to the Greek chronicle. I read with the greatest interest Mr. Schmitt's able monograph and, though I quite admit that he has made out a very strong case, I do not believe that the last word has yet been said. Certainly the observations of M. Kohler in a recent num-

ber of the *Revue Historique* deserve consideration. In the unduly short note on Kritobulos (p. 107) it might have been mentioned that he imitated Thucydides, just like his contemporary Laonikos Chalkokondyles. Laonikos begins with *Λαονίκῳ Ἀθηναίῳ*; Kritobulos with *Κριτόβουλος ὁ ῥησιώτης, τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἰμβριωτῶν*. A speech which he puts in the mouth of Mohammed is a piece of patchwork from Thucydides (Bk. i. c. 14 *sqq.*). The account of George the Pisidian is also disproportionally short. Dr. Krumbacher is at his best in dealing with the medieval versified romances, such as Imberios and Margarona, Belthandros and Chrysantza. He has also paid special attention to the difficult subject of church hymns (*Kirchenpoesie*) and gives an admirably clear summary of the results of the labours of Pitra and Christ.

One of the most important features of the book is its bibliography, which is full and valuable. All works of any worth, and many of none, are mentioned; indeed the only omission I have noticed is the *Βυζαντινὰ Μελέται* of S. Zampelios (1858), which should appear on pp. 28, 29. (Other works of the same author are referred to.) Dr. Krumbacher has done well to draw attention to the important books published in Russia bearing on his subject. Uspenski and Vasilievski have done work which no student of the Roman Empire from the ninth century forward can

afford to neglect. Valuable papers are constantly appearing in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosviestchenia*. Dr. Krumbacher might also have got something for his purpose at Pest, though of course not anything like as much as he has got at St. Petersburg. But the Magyars have their interests in the Later Roman Empire as well as the Slaves. Any one who is engaged in studying the *Tactics* of Leo the Wise will lose much if he cannot consult a valuable work by F. Salamon entitled, *A magyar hadi történethez a vezérek korában*, and would do well to look into *Kisebb történelmi munkái* of K. Szabó. A student of Contantine's *De Administratione Imperii* should have Humfalvy's *Magyarország ethnographiája* at his hand.

Dr. Krumbacher's large manual decidedly supersedes and indeed leaves far behind all previous works of the same kind. He will allow me to express a hope that he may now continue those valuable studies in Medieval Greek, of which he gave us a specimen some years ago in Kuln's *Zeitschrift*. Such studies are more likely than anything else to hasten the time when no professor either at Bonn or elsewhere shall deem it indecent or impossible to deal with a period in which *ἀπό* governs the accusative case.

J. B. BURY.

ROSSBACH AND WESTPHAL'S GREEK METRES.

Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen.

Von AUGUST ROSSBACH und RUDOLF WESTPHAL. Dritter Band, Zweite Abtheilung. *Specielle griechische Metrik.* Von AUGUST ROSSBACH. Leipzig: 1889. Mk. 14.

THIS volume completes the third edition of Rossbach and Westphal's great work on Greek metres. The second edition was published in 1868, and the last twenty years have been fruitful in metrical studies. Thus the third edition of the 'Specielle Metrik' represents a considerable advance upon the second and contains about 330 more pages. It has been revised and largely added to by August Rossbach who took no part in the second edition, and there are four new contributions by other scholars, viz. on the Hexameter of Nonnus by Arthur

Ludwich, on the structure of the Greek Choliambus by Max Ficus, on the Hexameter of Theocritus by Karl Kunst, and on the metres of the Anacreontea by Friedrich Hanssen. As to the general differences between the second and third editions, the chief are that (1) the principle of 'eurhythmy' which was almost entirely dropped by Westphal in the second edition has now been reinstated by Rossbach; (2) greater stress is laid on the historical development of the different metres; (3) the analysis of lyrical and choral compositions are more numerous and more detailed. As to the use of technical terms it may be noticed that (1) the ancient meaning of 'arsis' and 'thesis' has been discarded for the modern meaning, so that *e.g.* 'arsis' in ed. 2 = 'thesis' in ed. 3; and (2) the term 'syncopated' is used, as in ed. 1, for metres in which the unaccentuated

part of a foot (= 'thesis' in the modern sense) is suppressed. The most important of these changes is the return to the theory of 'eurhythmy' i.e. the supposed correspondences between the κῶλα which compose a metrical 'period.' It is impossible within the limits of a short notice to do justice either to the arguments which are adduced in favour of this theory, or to the serious objections which may be made to it. The value of the historical treatment of the different metres is especially seen in the minute investigations of the four specialists already mentioned. Apart from these general differences the following is a list of the passages in which the largest additions or alterations have been made in the new edition.

Pp. 12-21 on the origin and development of the Homeric hexameter. Usener's theory on the origin of the metre is rejected. Pp. 21-36 on the 'Rhythmen-geschlecht,' accentuation and ethos of the hexameter. Pp. 37-40 on the strophic composition of the dirge in *Iliad* xxiv. 725-777. Pp. 40-7 on lyric hexameters. The 'strophic composition' (illustrated by Catullus lxii. and lxiv. 323-380, is worked out much more fully than in ed. 2. Pp. 49-55 on the hexameter of the Alexandrine poets. Pp. 217-232 on iambic trimeters. More detailed rules are given about the different kinds of caesura, and the resolution of long syllables, and about the scansion of the 'seazon' which is asserted to be not 'syncopated.'

Pp. 322-64 on ionics. This chapter is entirely new. In ed. 2 a discussion of ionics was excluded from the 'Specielle Metrik' and a mere reference was given to what had been already said in the 'Allgemeine Metrik.' One noticeable point in this section is the statement that the pure ionics were developed out of the ἀνακλόμενοι, not *vice versa*. Pp. 374-7 general remarks on the episynthetic and the 'mixed' metres. Pp. 425-36 on the rhythmical value of the metrical elements in dactylo-epitritics. The third edition (differing from the second) adopts the theory that these metres are in triple, not quadruple, time. Pp. 436-443 on 'eurhythmic' composition. Pp. 507-18 on the historical development of Greek metres in general and logaoedies in particular. Pp. 578-85 on choral logaoedies before Pindar. Pp. 598-633 on the different species of logaoedic strophes in Pindar. Pp. 653-77 on logaoedies in comedy and tragedy. The greater part of this is new, as is also the case with pp. 736-807 on paeons and dochmiacs. The dochmiac is analysed into the two elements $\cup - - | \cup -$ not $\cup - | \cup -$ (p. 762).

In conclusion it must be said that this list gives a very inadequate idea of the care and thoroughness with which the work has been revised or of the many interesting questions which are raised in the third edition. The book is absolutely indispensable for all students of Greek metres.

C. B. HEBERDEN.

SCHOELL'S EDITION OF THE *CASINA*.

Titi Macci Plauti Casina recensuit F. SCHOELL (Leip., Teubner, 1890). Mk. 5. 60.

In antiquity the *Casina* seems to have been one of the most popular of the plays of Plautus (cf. Prologue 17 *Haec, quom primum actast, uicit omnis fabulas*). The plot is lively and well worked out, except in the fifth act, where the audience is bidden to imagine for themselves some hackneyed *dénouement*. But, perhaps owing to the coarseness of some of the scenes, the play has been much neglected by modern editors. In 1887 Ussing produced a text and commentary (see *Classical Review*, ii. p. 21). We have now a revised text ('*editio fabulae purgatae non purae*') by Schoell, which forms part of the fourth volume of the series inaugurated by Ritschl.

Schoell has grappled with the work in his usual energetic manner. He has provided a full critical apparatus, which forms an important supplement to that of Ussing; for it contains not merely a more accurate collation of *B*, but also a collation of a MS. of the 12th century (*V*) to which attention was recently called by Speijer, and which is evidently of some importance. In his *Praefatio* Schoell has given to the world a collation of the readings of *V* in the *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Epidicus*—plays edited in this series before the discovery of *V*. In one respect the apparatus to the *Casina* will be less useful than it might have been had it appeared a year later. While it was in the press the *Apographon* of the Ambrosian by Studemund was published; it is therefore necessary to control Schoell's collation

of *A* by means of Studemund's. The authority of the latter is generously recognized by Schoell in this Preface.

Of course one cannot expect anything like finality in the text of a play which has as yet received comparatively little attention. In a number of passages Schoell certainly shows ingenuity, and I do not doubt that some of his readings will be accepted as representing the *vera manus* of Plautus. I have been especially struck by his emendations in 256f., 370, 374, 496, 814 (*Casinus*; cf. 859), 1004.

On a number of passages new light may hereafter be thrown. For example in Prol. 23 has Schoell's *papae* any probability? In 126 ff. Schoell reads:

Post autem nisi ruri *érui* tu aceruom éderis
Aut quási lumbrius térram, quod te pós-
tules

Gustare *guttam*: númquam edepol ieiúnium
Ieiúniumst aequé atque égo te ruri réddibo.

In line 126 *A* has *POST AUTEM RURI IN-SITU*, according to Studemund: this would seem to be the true beginning of the verse. *Aceruom* does not suit the context: the older editors seem to have been right in recognizing in it a corruption of *eruum*. Might not the *v.* be completed by introducing before *eruum* some form of *acus* (= *palea*), followed by *aut*? In 128 the MSS. have *Gustare quicquam*, which I think ought to be preserved: Chalinus may eat (chaff and) vetch, but if he demands anything with taste in it, he shall be put on short commons. For *nisi* followed by *quod postules* ('in case you should demand') cf. Rud. 1150, Pseud. 101. I should prefer a comma at *quicquam*.

Lines 168 f. seem to have cretic rhythm:

Nam úbi domi sóla sum, sópor manus cáluitur.

200. Schoell's *quando* is hardly an improvement on Seyffert's *si quae*.

206 ff. seem to be tetrametri. Perhaps it would be well to write *tūquidem* as one word; cf. *siquidem*, *sī quidem*: the short syllable is rightly admitted by Schoell (side by side with *tū quidem* 203, 319, 368) in accordance with the article of Bücheler in Wölfflin's Archiv, iii. 144-146. Here, as in several other cases, two pronunciations were admitted by Plautus.

225. Qui quom amo 'Casiam' magis inicio: munditiis Munditiam antideo. Here Schoell attempts, not very successfully, to keep the MS. *inicio* by supposing a double construction and double sense of the word *casiam* = *Casinam*: 'ever since I love Casina,

I cover myself more and more with *casia*.' The MSS. have *quam* for *quom*.

244. Is Schoell's *in senecta* better than Spengel's *senum hominem*?

301. Schoell reads with the MSS.

Mihi illa nubet: machinare quid lubet quouis modo.

I should write the indefinite pronoun *quid-lubet*; cf. Bücheler's emendation of Truc. 676 *Dic impera mihi quid lubet quouis modo*, and my note on Rudens 946. It is to be noted however that *B* had originally *quod* in Cas. 301: possibly then we should read *quod lubet* (indef.) or *quod lubet* (relative) *quo uis modo*.

347. If it is necessary to remove the hiatus in the caesura of the senarius, which is still a point of great uncertainty, it would be easier to supply *mi* before *empsim* than *pol* after *Non*.

357. The reading of the MSS. *attollamus* (Schoell *attulamus*) is unobjectionable.

378. Schoell reads:

LYS. Vide quid scriptumst. OL. Vnum.

CH. Iniquomst, quia isti *propius* quam mihi.

The MSS. have *prius*, which I take to be equivalent to *prior numerus*. *Propius* is unsuitable. I would suggest *quia isti prius est quam mihi*, and translate 'LYS. See what is written (on the tablet). OL. The figure one. CH. It is unfair that he has a prior number to mine.' Plautus often uses neuter adjectives as substantives: cf. Rud. 620.

382. I do not believe in Scholl's distribution of the speeches, which he bases on 402. The names of the speakers in *B* point to the correctness of Ussing's reading:

OL. Quod bonum atque fortunatum sit mihi

—CH. Magum malum

Tibi quidem edepol, credo, eueniet.

In the last line *B* wrongly inserts *OL*.

451. *Tatae* seems very questionable, as Schoell himself admits in his Appendix.

456. LYS. Licétne amplecti té? CHAL. Quid, 'amplecti licet'?

But surely Olympio ought to answer *Licet*. Read with the MSS.:

LYS. Licétne amplecti té? CHAL. Quid 'amplecti'? OL. Licet.

488. Schoell reads:

Satin astute? OL. *Astute*. CH. Age modo fabricamini:

The italics are not in the MSS., but are

based upon the addition of *OL. Docte*¹ by the second hand of *B*. The combination of *docte* and *astute* (or *astu*) is thoroughly Plautine: cf. Rud. 928, 1240, Most. 1069: in these passages *docte* comes first. Perhaps read then *OL. Satin docte atque astute. CH. Age etc.*

523. f. This is a well known 'crux.' The MSS. have:

Sed facito dum merui aperuorsus quos cantat colas.

Festus quotes the line with *merula per uersus quod*. Scaliger introduced a *parra* for the *merula* to talk to; Schoell a *grus* (*merula grui per uorsus quod*). But is the word *merula* itself certain enough to form the basis of emendation? The blackbird is hardly likely to have known anything about *Sutrium*.

550. Propter operam illius hirci interpolis edéntuli.

The MSS. have *improbi*, which is unmetrical; but *interpolis* is objectionable not only because of the quantity of the last syllable, but also from the point of view of meaning. *Interpolis* is hardly synonymous with *unctus*, as Schoell seems to think.

700 ff. Atque ingratiis quoi non uólt nubet hódie:

Nam quór non ego id perpetrém quod cœpi, Ut núbat mihi—*illuc quidém non*—, uolébam Nostró uilicó.

In 700 the MSS. have *quia* for *quoi*: in 702 the word *dicere* seems to be demanded by Plautine usage (cf. Rud. 423, Mil. 27, 819, Most. 830, Amph. 384, Pseud. 711, 841 ff.); and *A*, according to Studemund, actually has *UTNUBATMIKIILLUDQU. . EMDICEREVOLEBAM* which should form the basis of emendation. *B* has *illud quidem uolebam non sed*; the *sed* is absent in *A* both from the end of 702 and the beginning of 703, according to the express testimony of Studemund; Priscian quotes the line as ending in *uolebam*, or, according to some MSS., *uolebam cum*.

847. Nebula haúd est mollis aéque atque huius ést tegus. The latter word is unsuitable: *A* has *AEQ.ATQ.KUIUSESTPEC-TUS*. Why not read *pectus est*?

¹ To read so, with *B*², would involve the accentuation *ástuté*.

854. I, belle belliatula. I do not think this punctuation is right: the adverb qualifies the verb, and the adjective lends point to the expression; cf. Curc. 521 *sequere istum, bella, belle*, Asin. 676 *i sane, bella, belle*, Most. 187, Rud. 426, and Spenser's 'Poorly, poor man, he lived; poorly, poor man, he died.'

994. Immo extorrem illius [*gratia*]. But is the word *extorris* Plautine?

In regard to the difficult question of spelling in Plautus I find less to criticize in the present work than in the *Menæchmi* by the same editor (*Class. Rev.* Vol. iv.). Schoell's principle is to adopt in each passage the spelling best attested by MSS. in that passage. I do not personally like the principle: it leads to spelling common words in several different ways in the same author.² But I will only call attention to passages in which Schoell appears not to have carried out his own principle. In 92 I regard *IBEIS* as a mere mistake of *A*: cf. *OBEICIAM* Rud. 770. In 165 *A* has *COMITES* (vocative), which is in every way preferable to *comitis* of the Palatine MSS. In 600 f. the MSS. point to *accersituram*, *accersiuisse*, not *arcessituram*, *arcessiuisse*. In 166 the MSS. have *ecquis*; the first syllable is short, as in Rud. 413; but is this a sufficient reason for spelling *equis*?

I have noticed a few misprints: see lines 136 (,), 141 (.), 143 (no.), 238 (, before *myropola*), 252 (:), 260 (*auit*), 280 (!), 806 (*is occentem*).

In conclusion I would call attention to the valuable Appendix in which Schoell has collected all the emendations of importance which have been made in the *Casina*: apart from the other services rendered to criticism by this edition, the Appendix alone establishes a claim to our gratitude, and renders the present work indispensable to all students of the text.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

² E. g. *impudens* and *inpuðens*, *obsecro* and *opsecro*, *minoris* and *minores*, *hirci* and *irci*, *preti* and *pretci*, &c. *Arcesso* and *accerso* and similar cases, in which the evidence points to the probability that the ancients recognized two different words or two different forms of the same word, stand on a different footing.

PESKETT'S CAESAR *B.C. I.*

Gaii Iulii commentariorum de bello civili, liber primus, with introduction, notes, and maps, by A. G. PESKETT, M.A. xx. + 172 pp. Cambridge, Pitt Press Series, 1890. 3s.

As compared with Mr. Peskett's somewhat perfunctory edition of the Gallic War, previously published in this series, his work on the Civil War shows great improvement in many ways. This is partly due to the subject-matter, which in the Civil War makes far greater demands on the resources of reader or editor; partly to the greater indefiniteness of its tradition, which stimulates criticism; but partly no doubt to the experience gained by the editor during his previous work.

Mr. Peskett is thoroughly at home in the extensive literature of his subject, so much so as to forget that no young student, and few teachers who may use his book, can profit by the citation of editors and critics without more definite bibliographical information concerning them than he here gives. A brief bibliography to accompany the notes, giving besides the usual data a concise indication of the general principles of criticism which guide each editor or commentator, would be very useful, and would greatly enhance the value of the book. To cite Hellebodus, Nipperdey, and Paul, as authors of this or that reading, means little to the student who does not appreciate the relative authority and tendencies of these and other critics. The enormous activity of the last decade in the elucidation and criticism of Caesar's commentaries has resulted in the entire recasting of the leading editions. In general Mr. Peskett has drawn from the latest and best aids. It is all the more to be regretted that the Kraner-Hoffman edition of the Civil War, long the surest and safest guide among the German editions, should be cited in the ninth edition (1885). This had for some time been acknowledged by its best friends to be out of date, but the tenth edition (1890) with its extensive revision put the work once more securely in its old relative position. To be regretted also is the fact that Mr. Peskett makes no use of the excellent lexicon of Menge-Preuss. This is by no means made superfluous by the more elaborate but less incisive and scholarly work of Meusel.

In an introduction of twelve pages Mr. Peskett gives a useful sketch of events

leading up to the Civil War. Here, as in various passages in the exegetical notes, he shows that he is strongly in sympathy with the reaction against Mommsen's imperialism. He is distinctly anti-Caesarian, sometimes rather uncharitably so, especially when weighing the conflicting testimonies of Cicero and Caesar.

The text is independently constituted from the MSS., in general with good conservative judgment. An appendix of fourteen pages gives information—unusually full for a work of this scope—about the various MSS. readings and the corrections of editors. Mr. Peskett is repeatedly happy in explanations of the genesis of corruptions from the MSS. readings, and this may be regarded as the dominant characteristic of his independent text-criticism. In my opinion, he lays far too little emphasis on the marginal gloss as a source of corruption. Here, the principles of Nipperdey and Dinter might well have weighed more in the critical balance. Mr. Peskett is happy also in several defences of MSS. readings which are usually rejected. As an instance, I may cite his retention and defence of *tot tantisque classes paratas lxxxv. 6*. Commentators too often forget Caesar the rhetorician in Caesar the apologetic historian. Mr. Peskett modestly suggests several original emendations, without however incorporating them in his text. One of these, XII for XXII of the MSS. lxxviii. 1, is certainly deserving of general acceptance. On the other hand, his acceptance of Hoffmann's II for the IIII of the MSS. at xxx. 2, general as it is, seems to me unwarranted. Domitianus hastily raises circiter XX cohortes (xv. 7). How many of these are included in *milites Domitianos sacramentum apud se dicere iubet* (xxiii. 5), it is impossible to say. But the exigencies of the siege of Corfinium, and the fact that Caesar plainly wishes to avoid compulsion, as in the similar case with the soldiers of Afranius (lxxxvi. 3), make a reduction of the extemporized cohorts to the full legion complement of ten very probable. Or they may have become thus reduced under Asinius Pollio, before Curio is sent to join them in Sicily. So that Curio must take three legions, to make the four which he loses for Caesar in Africa.

The citation of the numerous emendations proposed by editors and critics leaves little to be desired. Heller's *sola eorum audacia*, for the hopeless *salutis latorum*

audacia of the MSS. at v. 3, deserves notice on Mr. Peskett's favourite principle of criticism. However it may be with the Gallic War, where the classification of the MSS. and the determination of their relative value has attained at least a provisional definiteness, the time is not yet ripe for a definitive text of the Civil War. Meanwhile the careful discussion and healing of isolated passages must be the best preparatory activity. Along this line Mr. Peskett's little edition renders no slight service.

The exegetical notes are full (107 pages of notes to 45 of text), admirably written, with none of the angularity so common in lemma literature, scholarly, and generally trustworthy. Syntactical notes are perhaps too infrequent, certainly they do not predominate. There are perhaps twenty references to Roby's *Latin Grammar*, and to Draeger's *Historical Syntax*. Questions of history, chronology, geography, and military tactics are far more fully treated than is usual in other books of this series. The illustrative citations from Cicero's letters are almost exhaustive, while Appian, Florus, Lucan, Dion Cassius, Suetonius, Plutarch, Velleius, Valerius and Strabo are all laid under contribution. Only rarely has a really striking illustration from a Greek or Roman writer escaped the editor's notice. One looks perhaps for a reference to Thuc. i. 13, 6 in the note on the founding of Massilia (xxxiv. 2); to Arrian, *Anab.* i. 4, 6 in the note on rege Norico (xviii. 5); to Plut. *Anton.* 45 in the note on denarios L (lii. 2); to the various passages in the Civil War and African War which give us the subsequent career of the soldiers of Afranius and Petreius (lxxxvii.

fin.). Rarely does one miss any needed explanation. Once or twice the editor seems to create a difficulty where none exists, and then to claim the reward of a discoverer, as in the notes on cum communibus inimicis iv. 4, carris iunctis and XXII at liv. 3. It is most unnatural, considering the real exigency of the situation to make carris iunctis refer to the attaching of the horses, and the two examples cited are not apposite. But these are rare defects. The tone of the notes is refreshingly independent, without being controversial, and nothing is further from the editor's thoughts than iurare in verba Germani. In spite of their suggestiveness and critical acumen, I do not think that those notes by Dr. J. S. Reid which are enclosed in brackets add to the value of the book, and they involve a sacrifice of unity. The typographical execution of the book is excellent. I have noted only one evident misprint, Spain for Sicily p. 159. The modern name for Massilia is twice printed Marseille on p. 101.

This excellent edition should bring the study of the Civil War more generally into schools. No better study to introduce to Cicero's orations, and give them a historical setting, could be found. Even granting the superior transmission of the Gallic War to us, it is to be regretted that our schools give such preference to its narrower and secondary interests. Like the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, it deals with events which, while of unique interest, are yet outside the main stream of history.

B. PERRIN.

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April, 1891.

Livy, Book V. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. By L. WHIBLEY, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1890. 2s. 6d.

THIS edition consists of introduction, text with headings and marginal analysis, explanatory notes, and critical appendix on the text. The introduction deals with general questions which are perhaps scarcely in place in an edition of a single book; but the part dealing with the history contained in the fifth book (pp. xi. to xxix.) is thoroughly useful, and sufficiently treated. The text is carefully and judiciously edited and the critical appendix useful. In one place (c. 43 § 1) Mr. Whibley has ventured on an emendation of his own, *nequiquam* for *nequiquam*. This may be right. But the MSS. reading *nequiquam* is perfectly intelligible, if understood *ex sententia Gallorum*. The panic of the Romans had not produced the result the Gauls hoped for, therefore was fruitless from their point of view.

NO. XLIV. VOL. V.

The notes are sound and scholarly, and contain a great deal of information useful to any student reading this book. In some cases perhaps the information seems more than sufficient. But it is always difficult in an edition of this kind to decide what is necessary and what is not. What is superfluous for a school-boy reading the book under a master may be necessary for a private student or even for a poll undergraduate. In a few cases a note seems to be omitted where it would be desirable. I subjoin some more detailed criticism on a few points in the notes.

C. 2, § 9, *quidnam...facturi essent*.—Mr. Whibley follows apparently some modern authorities in his note on this construction, Roby perhaps among the number, though he is not distinct on the point. But is it not the case that questions in the subjunctive in *oratio recta* require the subjunctive in *oratio obliqua* also?

C. 3, § 2, *si unquam*.—This note seems rather confused, if not misleading. *unquam* is used in conditions excluding an affirmative result. That is

A A

so here. 'If it has ever been doubted at all' implies 'it has never been doubted.'

C. 4, § 10, a note on the tense of *abscedimus* seems wanted here.

C. 4, § 11, l. 27, *quam procul*.—This note is not very intelligible. *quam procul a domo?* is of course not the 'indignant question' alluded to, but a schoolboy might very easily think it was, especially as *piget* has not a note of interrogation after it, as it should have to suit the note, but only one of exclamation. Even assuming the note of interrogation, the structure of two antithetical asyndeta questions conveying an argument *ex contrario* is not clearly explained.

C. 5, § 3, 'a cupiditate'.—The preposition *a* is frequently used in Livy...to denote internal or external cause.' This is insufficient: *ab secundis rebus incantū* (external cause) is different from *ab simili clade profugus* (also external cause). Draeger's explanation of this use is fuller and better.

C. 5, § 10, *si dederis*.—This note seems also insufficient.

C. 6, § 12, 'iv. 52. 11' should be iv. 56. 11.

C. 9, § 2, "*cum pedibus iretur*, 'when a division was being taken.'" Rather, 'when the proposal was being assented to (on the point of being passed) without discussion or opposition.' *Pedibus ire in sententiam*, whether it necessarily implies a *discessio* or not, always seems to imply a 'silent' vote; cf. xxvii. 34 and compare the use of *pedarii*. And that is the point here. The proposal was on the point of being carried without any opposition, when Sergius and Verginius interposed.

C. 10, § 9, "*desiderio*, 'need of a master's care.'" Livy's quasi-poetical use of the word implying a personification seems to call for notice here.

C. 11, § 4, *trepidi rerum suarum*.—It is hardly an adequate explanation of this construction to say that it is 'apparently an imitation of Vergil xii. 589.'

C. 12, § 7. l. 5, "*per tribunos*, 'on account of (the opposition of) the tribunes.'" This is not quite satisfactory. Schoolboys have to be taught that as a rule *per* does not = *propter*. Therefore, if a note is given here at all, the apparent violation of the rule in this and similar expressions, e.g. *per me licet*, should be explained.

C. 16, § 4, "*indignitas*=*indignatio* as in 45. 6' (where it is translated 'indignation'). Here again, if a note is given, it should be fuller and the subjective use of the word pointed out.

C. 25, § 6, "*enimvero*, 'but, really' marks a contrast." This is very questionable. Hand Tursell. ii. 407 says *enimvero* never = *sed*, 'nam etiamsi vero saepe opponit rem aliquam, tamen quae in eo minor est asseverationis vis, magnam in se habet *enimvero*, quod...nec separat aut ex adverso opponit.' *Enimvero* here seems to be used, as it so often is in Livy, to introduce a statement, the reasonableness of which any one will readily understand; as Hand says, 'adhibetur in iis rebus quarum causa facile a quovis intelligitur, ubi non dicimus, mit *gutem recht*, es *versteht sich*,' 'obviously' 'he need hardly say that.' The contrast is conveyed by the sense of the two sentences. 'His own conscience' as translation of *suam conscientiam* is scarcely satisfactory without some explanation.

C. 26, § 7. l. 38, "*alius exercitus* 'the rest of the army.'" The peculiarity of Livy's usage of *alius* should be pointed out; otherwise students may be misled as to the use of the word generally.

C. 30. § 1. l. 26, '*ut qui. ut* gives to the relative the same causal idea as *quippe* and is followed by the subjunctive.' This is distinctly misleading. (1) A

schoolboy might suppose that *quippe* could be substituted for *ut* here. (2) *ut qui* is not causal here, if it ever (strictly speaking) is so. *ut qui meminissent* = simply 'as men who remembered,' the subjunctive implying as with *sunt qui*, etc. that the speaker is thinking of the people he is addressing as a kind of men, or as men who come within a certain description, not as a certain set of individuals.

C. 30. § 7, '*antiquarunt*.—*antiquare* (= to leave in its former state) was used of rejecting a measure.' So Lewis and Short. But the immediate derivation of the technical term was surely from the voting tablet with *Λ* (= *antiquo*) written on it. *Antiquare* in the technical sense was to *antiquo* a measure, that is, record an *Λ* vote against it.

C. 33. § 9. l. 19, "*capita originis* 'mother cities,' lit. 'chief towns of the starting place.'" The literal translation should be made intelligible, if it is to explain how *capita originis* = 'mother cities.'

C. 34. § 3. l. 7, '*in quas sedes*.—This surely cannot properly be called 'attraction of the relative into the case of the antecedent' (*quas* is in its own case) but rather transference of the antecedent into the relative clause, a condensed form of expression, in which sometimes a preposition does double duty, as in the passage quoted in the note, *cum essent in quibus demonstravi angustis* = *in iis angustis in quibus esse eos demonstravi*. A corresponding condensation in English would be 'into whatever homes the gods should give them' instead of 'into such homes as,' etc.

C. 35 § 6. It should be pointed out that this disregard of the distinction between *etiam* and *quoque* begins with Livy.

C. 36. § 5, "*quodnam id ius esset* 'what right they had to seek.'" Rather 'what sort of law (or justice) it was to seek' that is, on what principle of justice they sought.

C. 38. § 1. l. 11, "*non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores* 'regardless not only of men, but even of the gods.'" This translation does not quite give the full force of the Latin words, and the note which follows it, '*si non* is almost always, &c.,' is not quite intelligible. The fact is 'not regarding at least the gods if not men' is really an elliptical way of saying 'not regarding the gods (as at least they should have done) even if they did not regard men.' *Saltem* suggests an unexpressed apodosis to the *si* clause, compare ii. 43. *8 nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisi ducis surum saltem flagitium... cogere potuit gradum accelerare*, where the *et* before *si* and the arrangement of the sentence makes the construction clearer. The unexpressed apodosis in these cases is in sense the same as the statement of the principal clause.

C. 46 § 3, '*sperans esse*.—The infinitive present is often found after *spero* or *spes est*, the verb itself containing the idea of futurity.' If this is true, it seems almost to follow that *spero* would never require the future after it. Is not the explanation here rather that *satis spero* does not contain the idea of futurity, but practically = *confido*?

In offering these criticisms I have no wish to detract from the general merit of the edition which seems to me to be scholarly and useful, especially in the historical part of it.

H. M. STEPHENSON.

The Satires of Juvenal: edited by T. B. LINDSAY, Ph.D., Boston University. New York: D. Appleton and Co.

No edition of Juvenal has been published in America hitherto except Leverett's, in 1853, and Hart's re-

vision of Maclean. At first sight Professor Lindsay's handy and well printed volume appears welcome enough, but it needs no very careful examination to show that it does not fairly represent American scholarship. It contains all the *Satires* except the sixth and ninth, which, with some lines here and there in the others, are omitted because the editor wished 'to make the best work of Juvenal readable without awkwardness even in mixed classes.' The text is said to agree in the main with that of Bücheler's edition of Jahn, which of course is based on *Cod. P.* A list of 45 places is given in which Professor Lindsay has adopted other readings than those of Bücheler; this list is supposed to be complete, but one may doubt it from the fact that in *Sat.* iii. 78 he reads *miseric* (to be sure from the *schedæ Aroviensis*) where Bücheler has *iusseris* with *p ω* (*erassa P.*). Professor Lindsay never states his reasons for departing from Bücheler; yet omitting nine of the 46 passages (as being places in which *P* is illegible or which differ merely in minor matters of punctuation from Bücheler), it appears that, out of the 37 which remain, twenty-two are departures from *Cod. P.* It is difficult to see on what principle these differences are to be justified, especially in the matter of spelling, where for instance he prints *pendentis*, but not *exanimis* nor *felicitis* nor *prægnas*. In not one of the 22 passages has he anything new to offer us, and in seven he stands alone of recent editors in the readings he adopts. Two of these are in spelling (i. 122; vii. 134); two in orthography (vii. 121; viii. 176); three in words. In the first of these he reads *illic* for the adverb *illi* (v. 42) with Heinrich and the last century editions. In viii. 68 he gives *primum*, with the remark that several editors have *primum*, the fact being that Salmassius's emendation has been adopted by all modern editors except Heinrich. In viii. 239 he reads (again only with Heinrich) *gente* for *monte*. It is to be supposed that he has himself read vi. 296 and ix. 131, though he does not print them.

The commentary has the merit of brevity, and the statements made there are in general correct. But it does not seem to be based upon that close study of the habits of style and expression of the author which ought to be one of the first steps in the preparation of an edition. Only in one passage has the writer of this notice observed any reference to this matter—in iii. 247, where on *pinguia crura luto* is the hardly necessary remark, 'Notice the omission of the verb; common in Juvenal,' without a single cross reference. In only three or four places is there any note on the language of the Silver Age, and here again there are no cross references to speak of. In syntax a good many constructions are named, but none explained, and there are hardly any references to grammars, or to parallels in other authors. Professor Lindsay seems fond of Roby's somewhat questionable theory that *tanti* and *quanti* were originally locatives; he repeats it three times (iii. 54, 225; vii. 45; and no cross references). He accepts Weidner's notion that in i. 70 we should understand *eo* with *sitiente*, and consider *viro* a dative, an explanation so harsh that nobody else has ever adopted it. In iii. 54 he remarks that *non* is rarely, as here, used for *ne* and refers to Hor. *A.P.* 460; he might have added several other parallels from the same author and from later ones, and explained why, in xiv. 48, he felt it necessary to read *ne* with inferior *codd.*, instead of *ne* with *P.* On *eloquio* in vii. 139 he remarks that both dat. and abl. are used with *fidere* and *confidere*; true enough, but why not say in what authors, for in Juvenal we cannot tell from this passage nor from xiv. 58 (not referred to) with which case we have to deal?

We come finally to the best part of the book—the

treatment of the *Realien*. Juvenal is a fine field for the study of private antiquities, and the editor has made much of his opportunity. The explanations are correct and to the point. There are further nearly a hundred woodcuts, illustrative of the subjects discussed, carefully drawn and clearly printed. No statement, however, is made of the ancient sources from which they are taken—an aggravating omission. But it is evident that many of them are from the American reprint of Guhl and Koner, issued by the same publishers. None of these, consequently, are later than 1875, an unfortunate circumstance in several instances, especially in the case of the plan of the Forum. Again in several cuts the letters which served as keys for explanations in Guhl and Koner are here retained, though the explanations are not fully given; for example in the house of Pansa (which differs somewhat from the plan in the last edition of Overbeck) and in that of the Roman camps. But on the whole the pictures from ancient sources are excellently chosen and described. Not so much can be said for the modern ones. The familiar picture of the crowded Appian Way was a good choice, for almost every person and thing in it may serve to illustrate a line in Juvenal. But what has Claudius behind the curtain to do with the fourteenth *Satire*, and from whence came the wondrous portrait of an Irishman in a wreath, which forms the frontispiece and is labelled Juvenal?

MORRIS H. MORGAN.

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The Eclogues of Calpurnius. Rendered into English Verse by Edward J. L. SCOTT. (Bell and Sons.) 3s. 6d.

THIS translation was undertaken 'at the urgent request' of Prof. Robinson Ellis, who could doubtless justify urgency for the study of Calpurnius. His choice, in any case, of a translator was most fortunate: Mr Scott is really something like a master of octosyllabic verse, into which he has translated the seven undoubted *Eclogues*, discarding the four now usually ascribed to another hand. Not even the grace of Mr Scott's translation can conceal the fact that Calpurnius' *Eclogues* are almost slavishly imitated from Virgil's. But by his choice of metre Mr Scott has given a certain bright freshness to his translation which the original *Eclogues* can hardly be said to possess. In a word, Calpurnius has imitated Virgil where Virgil is least original and most indebted to Theocritus; and yet Mr Scott has given to his translation of Calpurnius much of the grace of original poetry. Here and there, it is true, his skill fails him; as e.g. in *Ecl.*; iv. ll. 27-8:

certe mea carmina nemo
Praeter ab his scopulis ventosa remurmurat Echo.

'For past a doubt not one my strains
Repeats, except the Echo's sigh,
Reverberating from you bluff.'

Neither 'sough' nor 'reverberating' suits the gentle re-echoing of a pastoral strain. Again, in *Ecl.* vi. l. 44-5, 'a pendent tusk is lain' is doubtful English, and self-contradictory: in *Ecl.* iv. l. 136 English readers of Keats and Tennyson will find it hard to endure the classical correctness of 'Oréads.' But these are slight flaws: here is Mr Scott at his best, in one of the best passages of his original—(*Ecl.* iii. ll. 55-62):

I am that Lyeidas, whose voice,
You vowed, could make you oft rejoice

To hear its tones, on whom you rained
 Delicious kisses unrestrained
 Full many a time; nay, thought not wrong
 To interrupt my half-heard song,
 Seeking once more to kiss in play
 My lips, as o'er the reeds they stray.
 Ah grief! and could you in the end
 To love of Mopsus condescend!
 His feeble Muse, his rough-toned speech,
 His scranell straw's ill-grating screech!
 Whom follow you, whom, Phyllis, fly?
 Far goodlier man, they say, am I,
 Than e'er was he; that this is so,
 Your own lips told me long ago.

Like most poets, Calpurnius is least good when he is most courtier-like: correspondingly, Mr Scott is at his best in rendering 'the happy country tone', while his verse falls flat in compliments to Caesar.

It may be well to call his attention to a curious slip on p. 7, whereby the river Ladon appears instead of the shepherd Lygdon.

E. D. A. MORSHEAD.

Wörterbuch zu den homerischen Gedichten.

Fürschüler bearbeitet von Dr. GEORG AUTENRIETH.

Mit vielen Holzschnitten und zwei Karten. Sechste verbesserte Auflage. Leipzig: 1890. 3 Mk.

AUTENRIETH'S *Homeric Dictionary* has been an eminently useful book, as is shown by the six large editions of the original, published in seventeen years, and by the translations into several languages. The book is known too well to need either praise or blame for its general plan. The later editions have thrown off several of the fads of the original work, such as the unpractical arrangement of the words, according to the forms which happened to be in Homeric use, a somewhat excessive indulgence in oriental illustrations applied to the Homeric age, and the Latin translation of most words. A considerable number of woodcuts and some 'family-trees' have been added.

The author endeavours to give the results of recent research, and does so in the main. The broom could be used more freely on some rubbish,—to clear away such etymologies as those for "Ἡρη and κέ. Whether true or not, such derivations have no place in an elementary book. In some very minor matters the book shows the absence of a minute revision. For instance, in the first edition, the author began marking the quantities by adding a parenthetical note, as ἄλλοσε [], ἄλλοτε [], even though, as in these cases, the quantity of each syllable was distinct. But presently the simple device of marking the quantity of the doubtful vowels only commended itself and was adopted. In the five new editions of the work, however, the [] etc. stand just as they did in the first. So, too, some false accents, as ἀγορήτης, have been handed down. The woodcuts are not conveniently arranged for reference. For instance, under πεμψάβωλα we have a scene in which no πεμψάβωλον is visible, but in which two youths are roasting meat. This cut should stand under ὀβελοῖσι, where a reference is given to πεμψάβωλα [sic.]. From the first edition is inherited 'πάρᾱ, ᾱ κ 242,' where the note that παρά is πᾱρά in κ 242 is based on old editions. Bekker in 1848, and almost all editors since, read πᾱρ β'. The statement that ἀργυρόπειρα is found only in the *Ilial* overlooks ω 92. To see γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη explained as owl-eyed, is almost amusing; especially since this is not an unconscious survival from an earlier edition. In the fourth edition, 'owl-eyed' is said to be due to a misunderstanding of ancient commentators.

But this is not the place for a list of errata; and

while the book before us is not perfect, nor of such convenient form as Dr. Keep's translation of an early edition, it has been greatly improved and is well adapted to its use.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

Georgii Cyprii Descriptio Orbis Romani, aecedit Leonis Imperatoris Diatyposis genuina adhuc inedita. Edidit praefatus est commentario instruxit H. GELZER (Lipsiae: Teubner). pp. lxxii + 247. 3 Mk.

THE 'Description of the Roman World, by George of Cyprus' is the topographical list better known as the first of the *Notitiae Episcopatumum* published by Parthey and often quoted by writers on Byzantine geography. The present edition is something more than a revised and accessible text edited by a competent and experienced scholar, though it possesses these very considerable merits. Its chief feature is its editor's treatment of the second part of the list. In an elaborate preface he points out that the list really falls into two parts, each containing about 500 names. The first part is really a list of bishoprics for the diocese of Constantinople and gives, in the usual fashion of an *Episcopatumum* notitia, the provinces and sees of the metropolitans, autocephali, and bishops within the area indicated. The second part does nothing of the sort. It includes some of the East and the relics of Byzantine power in Italy, Africa, and Spain at the time of its composition, and it deals with them as civil not ecclesiastical districts. It mentions towns not bishoprics, civil rather than ecclesiastical dignitaries, fortresses rather than holy cities, *βεγῶνες* and *σάλτοι*, not Episcopal dioceses. Hence Dr Gelzer concludes that the second half of the *Notitia* is really a secular document, with one or two ecclesiastical notes introduced by a later hand. The conclusion seems very probable. It is true, as Prof Ramsay points out in his new book (*Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 93), that as a rule Zeno's principle was carried out and each city had a bishopric, and that the ecclesiastical and civil topography was often identical. It is possible also that Dr. Gelzer has, in his arguments, not made quite enough allowance for this resemblance. Still, the differences which he points out are so marked that his theory seems tolerably certain. Dr. Gelzer then goes on to settle the authorship and date of the work. A note in the two principal MSS. states that the whole *Notitia* was compiled by one Basileios, while the Cyprian section is said to be by one Γεώργιος ὁ Κύπριος and, as the Cyprian section belongs to the second part of the work, that writer may be assumed to have written the second part. The date of Basileios or at least of the first part is fixed by internal evidence to the early part of the ninth century and the date hitherto usually assigned, A.D. 883, on the authority of a note in one MS., is set aside as intrinsically improbable and devoid of good authority. The date of the second part is, of course, not necessarily the same as that of Basileios; indeed it seems to be a good deal earlier, somewhere about A.D. 600. If this be so, the second part will have to be considered far earlier than the ordinary *Notitiae Episcopatumum*. There are one or two difficulties in the way of this, notably the difficulty that the Byzantine empire was not the same from A.D. 600 till A.D. 830, and it is strange that Basileios should not have taken this into account. However, Byzantine writers did sometimes do such things, and Dr. Gelzer's theory appears to have most weight on its side. It is not the only contribution he has made to our knowledge of the treatise, for he has added copious topographical notes on the second part, and has also edited, in better shape than had been pre-

viously done, certain *νέα τακτικά*, which are apparently the work of Leo the Wise, and he has completed his excellent book by full indices and four good maps.

F. HAVERFIELD.

Chronologie de l'Empire Romain, publiée sous la direction de R. CAGNAT, par GEORGES GOYAU, Elève de l'École Normale Supérieure. Paris. 1891. 6 frs.

THIS very useful little volume is the work of a pupil of Mons. Cagnat, who, wishing to occupy the leisure time of his second year with some employment which would be at once useful to others as well as profitable to his own studies, was advised to compose a chronology of the Roman empire. That the work will be useful to students of the period, there can be little doubt. In studying historians like Dio Cassius, or the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* or *Inscriptions*, it is often impossible to solve the chronological questions raised without a considerable amount of research, either in a regular chronology, e.g. Clinton's *Fasti*, or in the scattered monographs and review-articles which deal with particular points. But Clinton is to a certain extent antiquated, having been composed before the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* or the numismatic collection of Cohen were published, while scattered articles are often either unknown or inaccessible. The present chronology, which reflects the greatest credit upon the industry and research of Mons. Goyau, has been compiled with great care from the most recent authorities, and certainly, as far as I have examined it, is thoroughly reliable. It begins with the battle of Actium, and reaches down to the death of Theodosius. Each page has three columns, the first containing the names of the consuls, both ordinarii and, as far as they are known, suffecti; the second gives the principal events, literary, historical and ecclesiastical, together with the names of the praefects of the praetorium, the vigiles, the City and the Annona. The third column contains, whenever it can be ascertained, the precise date in the year, by day or month, or when this is impossible, by summer or winter, etc. At the foot of each page are very full and careful references both to classical authors and to the latest authorities, so that every facility is afforded for going into the question of all disputed dates. When it is added that at the end of each year is given a list of all the laws (*decreta*, *edicta*, *rescripta*, etc.) belonging to the year, preserved in the *Digest* or the *Codes*, it will be seen how considerable and useful a piece of work Mons Goyau has performed. It would be well if other young students both in France and elsewhere would imitate so meritorious an example.

E. G. HARDY.

La langue française depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du XI^e siècle. Vol. i. E. ETIENNE (Paris, Bouillon). 10 frs.

THE last few years have seen the publication of several works of the highest value in the department of Romance Philology. Among these the present volume may justly claim a prominent place, and it will warmly welcomed by students of the early French language and literature. For the classical student proceeding to investigate the development of Latin on Gallie soil it will be doubly valuable, as forming in some sort a link between Schuchardt's *Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* and the ever increasing literature in the wider field of Mediaeval and Modern French; and as affording a good working *résumé* of the results of recent phonetic and linguistic study of the earliest extant monuments of the French language. To the student who is concerned with these monuments only

in so far as they are important for the study of literature, it offers an exhaustive and valuable linguistic commentary which must greatly facilitate the understanding of such a text as the *Chanson de Roland*. The author needs no excuse for restricting his investigations to the limited and remote period indicated in the title of his work. A language which in the seventh century was already ripe for all the requirements of epic song, and which, in the eleventh, could produce a *Song of Roland*, may well dispense with apologists. Far from being in an elementary stage of development, it already affords a worthy field for the most ambitious investigator. At the same time the small number of extant texts has enabled M. Etienne to cover the whole field with a thoroughness which leaves little to be desired. A preliminary condition of the satisfactory performance of such a work is the establishment of a critical text where the extant manuscripts vary considerably among themselves, or where a unique manuscript obviously fails to reproduce the text of the original version. This preliminary work, in the case of the *St Ledger* and the *Alexis*, has already been performed by Gaston Paris, whose canons of criticism Clédat has also adopted in his classical edition of the *Roland*. The *Oaths*, *Eulalia*, and *Valenciennes Fragment* present no similar difficulty, but the extant versions of the *Voyage de Charlemagne* and the *Laws of William the Conqueror* are known to differ so widely from the original text that, notwithstanding Koschwitz's scholarly edition of the former, the greatest caution is necessary in invoking their authority, except in illustration of the syntax of the period. The utility of the Provençal vowel system as a basis for the hypothetical reconstruction of the vowel developments of pre-literary French may justify some regret that the early Provençal monuments are excluded from the present work. Thus, not only is no place assigned to *Bocce*, but the *Passion* is also omitted, as belonging rather to the langue d'oc than to the domain of French strictly so called.

In Book I (*Phonétique*) there is little, if anything, that can lay claim to originality, and some of the matter has been better and more clearly stated elsewhere. The value of this section lies in the rich profusion of examples adduced from the available texts. This portion of the author's work has been performed carefully, intelligently, and so exhaustively that none of the texts are likely to present any phonetic problem which is not here fully treated in its rightful place. Considering the archaic nature of the *Oaths*, permeated, as indeed the author expressly acknowledges, by the influence of the Latin of written tradition, he sometimes invokes their authority with confidence where it cannot be accepted as conclusive. It seems probable that the young student who requires nothing further than a brief summary of the phonetic developments of the French language will rather provide himself with some such epitome as Bourciez's *Précis* than invest in the present volume for the sake of the appendix which the author has compiled for his benefit.

Books II and III treat of declension and conjugation respectively; and here again the laws enunciated are illustrated by a copious array of examples from the texts on which the investigations are based. M. Etienne's exposition of his subject is, in the main, clear and precise, though not free from an occasional obscurity of expression. In some passages there is a tendency to ignore the distinction between sounds and their corresponding orthographical signs. Excursions into the field of textual criticism are only incidental, and consist for the most part in the expressed preference for one of two or more alternative readings.

F. SPENCER.

A History of Greek Literature, by THOMAS SERGEANT PERRY. Large 8vo. pp. xv. + 877. New York: H. Holt & Co. 1890.

THE preface states that 'this book is an attempt to recount the history of Greek literature, not so much to classical students as to those who have no direct knowledge of the subject.' As there is no lack of good histories of Greek literature for the English reader, histories written by specialists in the field, the question at once arises, What new advantages are offered by a history which comes from a writer of large general culture rather than of professional training for the work? One finds that the author's large reading in other literatures and histories enables him to draw many effective comparisons, and saves him from that fervid exaggeration of the genius and the products of the Greek mind into which the professional Hellenist is prone to fall. In the main, we gain in the book just what we expect at the outset—breadth of view and independence of judgment: we miss also just what we expect—precision of touch and inner perspective.

The author's authorities are usually up to date. Many old superstitions are duly discarded. The theory of an early 'Aryan Home,' for instance, is discredited. But there is too often a second-hand tone to reference or analysis, as when 'silver-buckled' is given as the translation of ἀργυρόδηλος (p. 121). It suggests the German 'mit silbernen Buckeln versehen.'

An 'it is said' often introduces loose statement, as that Sokrates watched with anger the way in which he was caricatured in the *Clouds* (p. 467). The notices that Lucian 'passed through Gaul,' that late in life 'he was reduced to poverty and compelled to fill a minor office in an Egyptian court of law' (p. 831), will not bear scrutiny. All minor writers, and even Appian and Pausanias are summarily and indistinctly treated.

A few positive errors should perhaps be pointed out. Achilles does not drag Hektor's body around the walls of Troy in the *Iliad* (p. 5), but in the *Aeneid*. This is a common error, even among professional Hellenists. The facts are given correctly on p. 43. The population of Attika, not of Athens, is estimated to have been 500,000 (p. 219). The description of the Greek theatre (p. 226 ff.) deals almost wholly with the features of late Roman times, and is full of glaring errors. Choregos and Korymbos are confounded (p. 231). Neither of them furnished a tripod 'as a reward for the successful tragedian.' The parabasis did not follow the prologue (p. 451), nor did the chorus step from the stage down into the orchestra to utter it. The expenses of preparing the comic chorus were not borne by the city, nor was this 'the case with the tragedy' (p. 452). The oration *On the Crown* is no exception to the rule that 'an oration should not end in a turmoil of excitement' (p. 639). For a long time Plato was regarded as a model of personal beauty, although this reputation rests on a slenderer basis than it did before one of the busts supposed to portray him was 'discovered to be a representation of the younger Dionysius' (p. 692). Is not Mr. Perry referring to the elegant 'bearded Dionysos' among the bronzes of Naples?

In his introduction of translations Mr. Perry misses an opportunity to assist and instruct. They are rarely assigned to their authors, even in the case of such translations as have become integral parts of English literature. Surely the reader will be tempted often to read beyond the extracts given. Nor are the best translations always selected, even on the basis of Mr. Perry's own estimate. After stating that the taste

of the present generation is best satisfied by an archaic prose version of Homer, he gives his lengthy extracts from both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in Worsley's Spenserian stanza. Hesiod is cited in Chapman's version, with no mention of the source (p. 148). Translations by the same author are introduced with and without quotation marks. In many cases the reader might fairly draw the false inference that the translation given was by Mr. Perry himself.

Of a piece with this careless treatment of the translations is the almost utter lack of cross-references in the text. Very rarely, too, is even a Greek author cited by book and verse and paragraph. In other ways also Mr. Perry lays too great a burden on the general reader, as by introducing variant or new names without explanation. Thus, 'the height of Pergamos' (p. 38), Mentor (p. 84), Cronion (p. 141), should either not be used, or else explained. 'A proud youth would say' (p. 95), and the reckoning by Olympiads (pp. 166, 168), will be dark for the general reader.

Of the pictorial illustrations which form one of the most attractive features of the book, many are excellent, but some are of indifferent quality, and not a few positively bad. They are also occasionally inapposite and anachronistic, as when the Hermes of Praxiteles is used to illustrate the Hermes of the *Prometheus Bound* (p. 269). Conversely, a crude or rude art is used to illustrate a consummate literary work (p. 400). This should never be done except to establish disputed relations. Many illustrations are merely ornamental, and sometimes disturbing rather than helpful. The author evidently employs them χαρίζομενος παρέδωκεν.

As in the case of the translated extracts, there is no uniformity or precision in the description of the illustrations. Very seldom is the provenience or the present home of a work of art given, or its author, or its position and lesson in the history of art. For examples, there is lack of sufficient motive in the introduction of the famous torso of Apollonios in the Belvidere to illustrate the *Herakleidae* of Euripides (p. 404). On the other hand, this is one of the few illustrations sufficiently described. The so-called 'Theseus' of the East Parthenon pediment cannot in any way illustrate the Theseus of the *Oidipous at Kolonos* (p. 333). 'Penelope at the loom' (p. 5) were better introduced at p. 84, where the text by the way leaves the reader to infer that Penelope persisted in her stratagem even after its discovery by the suitors. The prostrate warrior in the Aiginetan pediment group (p. 133) is now generally named Patroklos, not Achilles. The Diskobolos Casting (p. 580) is not in the palazzo Massimi, but in the Vatican, as the position of the head shows, while the Diskobolos on the opposite page is not 'resting,' but just advancing for the cast. The bust of Perikles given on p. 451 is in the Vatican, not the Louvre. Apollo's shrine on Delos is given (p. 59) where the text alludes to Pytho. The purely ideal warrior figures of the Nereid monument are confidently called Greeks and Persians, and used to illustrate the account in the *Persai* of the sea-fight at Salamis (p. 247). The famous stele of Aristokles, son of Aristion (Murray, *Hist. of Greek Sculpture*, p. 193), is spoken of in the text as 'the statue of one of the soldiers of Marathon,' and entitled 'Soldier of Marathou, from the monument of Aristion' (p. 248). The Nike of Paianios, at Olympia, is described as 'from temple of Nike, memorial of Persian Wars' (p. 539).

In the difficult matter of the transcription of Greek and Roman proper names Mr. Perry is inconsistent.

There is no index of illustrations, and the general index is meagre. From a long list of evident mis-

prints, the following may be noted as specially misleading: Achilles for Achilleis (p. 21); Helenus for Helen (p. 96); Hermes for Herakles (p. 273); Nessus for Lichas (p. 349); butte for beetle (p. 474 *bis*); formed for found (p. 512); Athenian system for Spartan (p. 579); horse for noise (p. 592); Pliopion for Phokion (p. 622); Apollinis for Apollo (p. 788); Ermenes for Eumenes (pp. 800, 819); Samorata for Samosata (p. 830), etc.

Mr. Perry's book has many attractive features, but all friends of Greek studies must hope for some revision and correction before it is extensively read.

B. PERRIN.

Adelbert College, Cleveland, Ohio.

An Easy Walk through the British Museum; or, How to See it in a Few Hours. By Louis Fagan, of the British Museum. London. 1891, pp. 98. One shilling.

There is an admirable Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum which is sold for 6*d.*, in which each Department is treated by the respective officials of that Department. It was always open to a person of average intelligence to boil down this material into a popular summary: and such a work would have been serviceable for the use of those who have not much leisure time to spend in the Museum.

Mr. Fagan is a subordinate official in the Department of Prints. His *Guide* to the other departments of the Museum is a compilation based on the official publication, flavoured with cuttings from certain archaic Dictionaries of Biography and Mythology. This should have been a fairly easy task to accomplish, but Mr. Fagan has lamentably failed. His book is altogether inadequate as a guide, and it is full of gross blunders.

A PETITION.

To Spring belongs the violet, and the blown
Spice of the roses let the Summer own.
Grant me this favour, Muse—all else with-
hold—
That I may not write verse when I am old.

And yet I pray you, Muse, delay the time!
Be not too ready to deny me rhyme;
And when the hour strikes, as it must, dear
Muse,
I beg you very gently break the news.

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.

Εἰς Θάλειαν.

Ἦρος λευκοῖον καιροῦ πρόσχημα θερείου
βλάστη ἔφθ θαλερῶν ἢ θνέσσεια ῥόδων.
Ὡ μοῦσ', εἰ μὴ πάντα πόροις, ἀλλ' ἔν γε μέγιστον
δὸς μὴ μουσοποιεῖν ὄντα με γηραλέον.

Ὅψ' ἐ δέ γ' αὖ γῆρας προμολόν μ', ὦ μοῦσα,
κατάσχοι,
μηδ' ἐ με πρῶ λείποι σὴ χάρις ἡδυμελῆς.
Κεῖνο δ' ὅταν κακὸν ἡμῶν ἄγῃ πολὺπικρος
ἀνάγκη,
πρῶως μοι χαλεπὴν, μοῦσα, φέρ' ἄγγελίαν.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

LINES WRITTEN IN THE VISITORS' BOOK AT VOULCANO (THE ANCIENT ITHOME), May, 1891.

Ἦσυχια θεία, θύγατερ Διὸς, ἣν τέκετ' αὐτὸς
πρεσβίστη χαρίτων ἐν φιλότῃ συνών,
σὸν κράτος, ὦ σώτειρα, σεβασσάμεθ' ἐνθάδε πρῶην
ἱγμένοι ἀλγεινῆς ἐκτὸς ὁδοιπορίας·
ἢ τις ἔριν παύσασα Λακόνων ὀβριμοεργῶν
ἢδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδου μακρὰ βιβάντα νόον
Μεσσήνης κρατέεις κρημνώδεος· ἀντὶ δὲ φωνῶν
φυλόπιδος δεινῆς τειχομάχου τε βοῆς,
σεμνῆς εὐμενῶν μοναχῶν μόνον ἐνθάδ' ἀοιδῆς
ἡδυμελῶν τε κλύειν ἔστιν ἀηδονίδων.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

NOTES ON THE 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

RECENT LITERATURE.

THE question of the authorship of the newly discovered treatise on the Athenian Constitution has naturally occupied a good deal of attention of late. By a most curious inversion of traditional tendencies, the sceptical view, which refuses to attribute the work to Aristotle, has found most favour with the English scholars who have as yet expressed themselves in print, while the leading scholars of the Continent have declared themselves in favour of Aristotelian authorship. No doubt much will be written before long on this subject, but at present the only detailed discussion of it that has appeared is a pamphlet by Dr. Friedrich Cauer of Tübingen, '*Uat Aristoteles die Schrift vom Staate der Athener geschrieben?*' (Stuttgart, 1891). Dr. Cauer is a follower of Valentine Rose, and his work is a temperate statement of the case against the Aristotelian authorship, based not, as has chiefly been the case in England, on the peculiarities of the language and style, but on the contents of the treatise. He admits that we have here the work which was known to antiquity as the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle; he admits that it was written during the last years of Aristotle's life; he admits that it contains much information of the highest value; but he maintains that it was not written by Aristotle, but by a pupil of moderate capacity, who was directed on his path by the master, but was afterwards left to finish his work by himself. The reasons with which Dr. Cauer supports his hypothesis are briefly as follows. Admitting a distinct flavour of the Peripatetic school, and recognizing that the work contains some valuable information well employed, yet he maintains that we also miss much that we should expect from a historian of the first order, and find much which can only be ascribed to a writer of very inferior capacity. *E.g.* many of Solon's laws, which are quoted by Plutarch and others, are not noticed in this treatise; the author tells us nothing of the legislation of the time of Pisistratus, and not nearly as much as he might of the measures of Cleisthenes; there is nothing about Pericles which we did not know before, nothing at all about Alcibiades or Hyperbolicus. In this part of his argument it may be objected that Dr. Cauer is dangerously 'subjective': because the author does not quote inscriptions, because he does not tell us all we should like to know, because he omits interesting matter which others record, he is therefore not a great historian, and therefore not Aristotle. He is on safer ground when he tries to show that the author of the Πολιτεία is not at one with the Aristotle of the *Politics*; but except in the case of the passages concerning Draco and Solon in the doubtful 12th chapter of the second book of the *Politics*, the argument turns on somewhat disputable points of interpretation, and the contradictions do not seem to be insuperable. Dr. Cauer naturally lays stress on the chronological difficulties involved in the story of Themistocles; he also thinks he finds uncritical handling of the materials, and a use of inferior authorities,—though in these latter points we are back on the 'subjective' ground again, as the argument depends on what views we take as to the probable explanation of certain events in Greek history. Dr. Cauer is, however, scrupulously fair in his reasoning, and freely admits that most of the points raised by him admit of explanation consistent with Aristotelian authorship; but his final

argument is that the author of the Πολιτεία differs decisively from the author of the *Politics* in being a panegyrist of the Athenian democracy. This somewhat surprising position involves the explanation of the commendation given to Nicias, Thucydides, Theramenes, and others as due to the 'sources' used by the author, and it rests on an apparent misunderstanding of a passage in ch. 41, by which a commendation of a single step in a democratic direction is applied to the whole development of the unlimited democracy. The discussion of this view may be left to those critics who have condemned the Πολιτεία as being too openly aristocratic in its sympathies.

The second part of Dr. Cauer's pamphlet (pp. 54-78) is occupied with discussions of isolated historical points, chiefly in connection with the writer's previous theories on Greek history, and is therefore of less immediate interest. The first part, though it does not appear convincing, and though it omits to attach any weight to the unanimous testimony of antiquity, is distinctly interesting and contains much careful and suggestive criticism. It may not convert any one who has not been converted before, but no one can complain of any unfairness or prejudice in the argument. F. G. K.

In addition to Dr. Cauer's pamphlet, mentioned above, several articles by leading continental scholars have recently appeared, dealing with the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία. Prof. Bruno Keil reprints from the *Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift*, Nos. 17-20, an abstract of the treatise, with some discussion of its character. He declares it to be 'beyond all doubt' that the book proceeds from Aristotle. Prof. Rudolf Schöll reprints a similar article from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nos. 107, 108, and he also maintains that the personality of the author 'bears the genuine features of Aristotle.' Prof. Th. Gomperz contributes a descriptive article to the May number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, and in a paper communicated to the proceedings of the Vienna Academy (*Jahrg.* 1891, No. x.-xi.) contests the argument against the Aristotelian authorship based on the style and vocabulary of the treatise, with especial reference to the lists of 'Un-Aristotelian Words and Phrases' which have appeared in the *Classical Review*. Prof. Gomperz draws especial attention to the frequent occurrence of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in the Aristotelian works; out of 35 words contained on two pages of the Index 18 occur only once in Aristotle, and on two other pages 21 out of 46. Professors Hultsch and Wachsmuth have written articles on the bearing of the new treatise on their special subjects, the former discussing the Pheidonian system of weights and measures in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, 1891, lft. 4, and the latter dealing with the topography of Athens in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xlv. Finally, on the other side of the Atlantic, Prof. Wright gives a summary of the treatise in the *Nation* for May 7th, and Prof. Gildersleeve reviews it in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. xii. Prof. Wright intimates that he thinks it can be shown that Philochorus, writing less than 20 years after the composition of the work, quoted it as Aristotle's, and Prof. Gildersleeve states that his own first impressions are also in favour of Aristotelian authorship.

Meanwhile another edition of the text has appeared, by Prof. C. Ferrini of Modena, together with an Italian translation, an introduction, and a few explanatory notes. Prof. Ferrini's text does not

appear to be based on a collation of the facsimile, but is a revision of the British Museum text on conjectural grounds, the conjectures of Prof. Blass, in particular, being largely adopted. In many cases the text is unquestionably improved; in some instances the corrected readings which have been obtained from a revision of the MS. supersede the conjectures here adopted. The critical edition of the text by Professors Kaibel and Wilamowitz, based on an independent study of the facsimile, is likely to be issued shortly.

The British Museum is now issuing a new edition of the facsimile, the first issue having been insufficient to meet the demand. Several of the plates have been re-photographed, in the hopes of obtaining more satisfactory results, and in some cases with success. Moreover, the fragments on plates 19 and 20 are now arranged, as nearly as may be, in their true order.

F. G. K.

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy Professor Gomperz finds fault with some English scholars for calling attention to points in which the language of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* seems different from that of Aristotle. Professor Gomperz has no doubt about the authenticity of the treatise and he considers these criticisms on the language unreasonable. As the matter is one of some importance and a good deal may turn upon it, I venture to make one or two remarks in reply.

He is undoubtedly right in arguing that no importance ought to be attached to new technical terms. One-third of the treatise is of a very technical nature. It was sure to be full of technical terms, and there is nothing surprising in some of these being new to us. If indeed a writer habitually uses one technical or semi-technical term for a thing, and a different technical term is used for the same thing in some work attributed to him, this may give rise to suspicion. But this is not the case, as far as I know, with regard to the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, except possibly in one or two instances (e.g. *δόγμα*, 65, 4).

Nor again is the mere occurrence of some *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* of an unimportant kind any argument against the authenticity of a work. There was no need of Professor Gomperz' examples to convince us that there are many instances in the Aristotelian writings of words that are found in no author earlier than Aristotle and that Aristotle himself only uses once. But there are words and words. *προσαναπύττεσθαι* occurs once in Aristotle; *μοῖρα* 'part' occurs once in the new treatise and not at all in Aristotle's previously known writings. Professor Gomperz will not argue that, because the former word occurs only once, the absence of the second, which Aristotle might have used many times, is of no importance.

The point is this. If a very voluminous author, who has often had occasion to express some given idea, has never used some particular word or phrase to express it, the expression of it by that word or phrase in a writing newly discovered and attributed to the author is a noticeable thing. The importance of it does not admit of being stated in uniform terms. It depends on the circumstances of the case, such for instance as the frequency with which the author expresses the idea, the use of the word or phrase by other writers, and so on. It varies greatly with what may be called the grammatical value of the word in question. A new substantive

or verb may not be very remarkable, but a preposition or a particle or a mood, used in a way in which the author in all his writings has never used it, will seem very significant to persons accustomed to the close study of language. Finally, a great deal depends upon the number of such apparent discrepancies. Instances must be counted as well as weighed, and weighed as well as counted. Professor Gomperz seems entirely to overlook the cumulative nature of evidence. No point by itself may be anything like conclusive, or even very strong, and yet a very large number of points may establish among them a strong presumption. A court of law will often find a man guilty on the ground of a number of circumstances, each of which by itself proves nothing.

In the case with which we are immediately concerned a good many important differences have, I think, been pointed out. Noticeable non-Aristotelian words and phrases are used; well-known Aristotelian words are used in a novel way, and others are noticeably absent altogether. In some small, but not therefore unimportant, points—perhaps they are all the more important for being small—the grammar of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* diverges from the ordinary grammar of Aristotle. Some of these things are undoubtedly due to corruption, and several of them have already been dealt with, perhaps successfully removed, by emendation of one kind or another. Some probably may be shown to be Aristotelian after all. On the other hand it is likely enough that the list of un-Aristotelian usages may be enlarged. The list, as it finally stands, will be a thing for scholars to consider. Professor Gomperz somewhat exaggerates both the confidence with which the discrepancies have been pointed out and the disposition to take them as sufficient evidence of different authorship. Many of them have only been indicated with the proper amount of doubt and interrogation, and no one of the writers he mentions has said that any of the points or all of them taken together amount to proof. We are all, no doubt, well aware of the nature of the evidence with which we are dealing. Historical students have yet to speak much more fully than they have done about the contents of the treatise as distinct from the Greek in which it is written. They may tell us that there is nothing in its contents inconsistent with its having been written by Aristotle, and with its being the same treatise in the same form that was familiar to Plutarch and others. On the other hand they may find great difficulties one way or another. In any case the evidence of language and the evidence of contents must be taken side by side.

But another thing remains to be said about the language. Over and above the use of particular expressions there is the general style of an author, 'something far more deeply interfused' than the use of this or that word or phrase, and the consideration of it is a more difficult, as it is often a more important, task. It would be interesting to collect the suffrages of scholars as to whether the style of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* reminds them of the style of Aristotle. Making allowance for the narrative character of most of the treatise (with which some parts of the *Politics* admit best of being compared), I still think that the style is not Aristotelian. I do not therefore conclude that Aristotle was certainly not the author, any more than I conclude it from the use of particular expressions, but considerable doubt is thereby thrown upon the authorship and it becomes very desirable to have it thoroughly considered from every possible point of

view. Are we sure for instance that the simple antithesis of Aristotle or not-Aristotle exhausts all the possibilities of the case? ¹

HERBERT RICHARDS.

P. 3, 6. If *δεδεμένοι* is wrong (see *C.R.* for April), it seems likely from Plut. *Sol.* 13 *ἅπας μὲν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ἦν ὑπόχρεως τῶν πλουσίων* that the right word is *ὑπόχρεω*. Polybius has *ὑπόχρεως* with the dative.

P. 14, 14. *πρεσβυτάτην ἐσώραν γαίαν Ἰωνίας*. ? *Ἰαονίαν*, or rather *Ἰαονίην*. Solon is not likely to have used 'Ionia' for 'all lands where Ionians dwell.'

P. 33, 1. 4. *οὐκ ἐπέστησαν ἄρχοντα*. I doubt *ἐπέστησαν*. ? Perhaps *κατέστησαν*, *κατεστήσαντο* or *ἐπεστήσαντο*.

P. 65, 1. 10. *παρεχόρουν αὐτῇ τῷ ἀξιώματι*. This phrase has already been called in question : see *C.R.* for March. I conjecture something like *τῷ ἀξιώματι πεισθέντες* or *ὑπεκόντες*, or something like *τῷ ἀξιώματι ἰσχυροῦσι* or *διαφερούση*. A great many cases of words omitted have now been pointed out in the text.

P. 67, 1. 11. *ἑῶντες τὰς τε πολιτείας παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄρχειν ὧν ἔτυχον ἄρχοντες*. It has been proposed to add *ἔχειν* after *παρ' αὐτοῖς*, but even if we read *παρ' αὐτοῖς*, this would hardly do : *παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν* cannot be used for 'having in their own hands, at their own discretion.' *ἑῶντες τὰς τε πολιτείας <τὰς> παρ' αὐτοῖς <ἔχειν>* would give a fair sense and construction—'keep their own forms of government.' It is possible, though hardly likely, that the author gave *ἑῶντες* a double construction and wrote *ἑῶντες τὰς τε πολιτείας τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔρχειν ὧν ἔτυχον ἄρχοντες*. Cf. Dem. 15, 19, *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, εἰ δὲ*

¹ I notice briefly Professor Gomperz' remarks on two or three particular passages. He justifies *ὑπερβάλλεσθαι* (96, 9) for *ἀναβάλλεσθαι* by its use in a highly-wrought passage of Plato (*Phaedrus*, 254 D); but Plato uses all sorts of words that other prose writers do not. From its frequent use by Herodotus *ὑπερβάλλεσθαι* may be another of the more or less Ionic words that occur in several places of this treatise. Professor Gomperz actually seeks to justify *προσεκεκόσμητο* *τοῖτοῖς* (36, 7) by *στρατιὰ κεκοσμημένη*. There is no analogy whatever between the two expressions. (It is however likely enough that *προσεκεκόσμητο* is corrupt, though none of the emendations at present proposed is exactly convincing.) As to *ἐλεγεία* (14, 2), I had said that Aristotle used *τὰ ἐλεγεία* and that the feminine form 'is quoted from late authors only.' Mr. Newman noticed the same thing. Professor Gomperz writes, 'Man liest das Wort, welches als Bezeichnung einer im elegischen Versmass abgefassten einheitlichen Dichtung kaum zu entbehren war, schon bei Theophrast. Hist. Plant. ix. 15. 1.' But the answer is (1) that the main question is as to Aristotle, not Theophrastus; (2) that in the parallel case of epic the Greeks had no word for 'an epic poem' except the plural of *ἔπος*, *ἐποποιία* being 'epic poetry' in general; (3) that in the passage of Theophrastus and some other similar ones (e.g. Plut. *Solon* 26: *Cimon* 10) *ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις* should very probably be altered to *ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις*. When the reference is to a particular poem, any one using the feminine word *ἐλεγεία* would naturally, though not necessarily, use it in the singular (as the author of this treatise does) and say *ἐν ἐλεγείᾳ τινὶ* or *ἐν τῇ ἐλεγείᾳ*, not *ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις*. I do not think most of Professor Gomperz' criticisms are more serious than these. They refer only, I should add, to what appeared in the March and April numbers of the *Classical Review*.

ὀλιγαρχίας ἅπαντα συστήσεται, τὸν παρ' ὁμῶν δῆμον ἑάσονται (L. and S. s.v. *παρά*). Or should we read *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι*?

P. 68, 1. 8. *ἐπεὶ συνεστήσαντο τὸν πόλεμον*. The verb is inappropriate, and *ἐνεστήσαντο* would hardly be better. Perhaps *κατέστησαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*.

P. 72, 1. 15. *νεώτερον*, to which objection has been taken, seems wrong (1) on historical grounds, (2) because its conjunction with *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὀφεί προσελθόντα* is something like a contradiction in terms. Prof. H. Weil has suggested *ἐνεώτερον* or *νωθέστερον*. Perhaps some such word as *πολεμικώτερον* would be better. Polybius 23, 10, 4 (quoted by L. & S.) calls a man *στρατιωτικώτερος ἢ πολιτικώτερος*. Can *στρατιωτικώτερον* have been corrupted here by an easy change to *στρατιώτην νεώτερον*, and *στρατιώτην* have then been lost, like many other words? *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὀφεί προσελθόντα* is quite right: cf. Dem. (?) *Theocr.* § 30 *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσελθών*. For the missing epithet to *ἡγεμόνα* just before I should propose *ἐμπειρον*.

P. 78, 1. 3. *περιωσάμενος ἔδημηγόρησε*. Though the two scholiasts quoted in Mr. Kenyon's note agree in the aorist participle, I think we ought to read *περιεζωσάμενος*. Cf. *ἐνδεδικώς* in p. 92, 1. 2.

P. 101, 1. 15. *εἰ τίς τινα αὐτοχειρὶ <ἀπέκτονεν> ἐκτίσει ἱεράσας*. It is plain that the provision refers to deeds of violence already done, not to any still future, and that the *δικὰς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* is a sufficient statement of how they were to be investigated and punished, so that no further specification is needed. These words therefore only describe the nature of the offence. The MS. has *αὐτοχειρα* without *ἀπέκτονεν* and the two first letters of *ἱεράσας* are written over an erasure. *ἐπὶ τίσει* and *χειρώσαι* have been proposed by Herwerden, but (1) *χειροῦν* is not convertible with *ἀποκτείνειν*; (2) *τίσει* is not a prose word, unless the prose be Plato's, and no motive for the offence need be or ought to be specified here. Mr. Wyse suggests *ἡ τρώσας*. Cf. p. 145, 1. 1 *<ἀπο> κτείνειν ἢ τρώσαι τινα*. Is it not possible that the latter part of the MS. reading *αὐτοχειρα-εκτίσει* contains some part of the verb *ἀποκτείνειν*, e.g. *αὐτόχειρ ἄ<π>έκτονε τρώσας* or *ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ ἔτρωσεν*, if the aorist is admissible? It would perhaps be best if we might venture to write *εἰ τίς τινα <τυγχάνει> αὐτόχειρ ἀποκτείνειν ἢ τρώσας*.

P. 106, 1. 16. *ἀπένγωνσαν ποιεῖν*. ? *ἀπένγωνσαν<μ> ποιεῖν*, as in Dem. 15, 9.

P. 108, 1. 7. *κὰν μὲν μὴ δόξῃ δικάως ἐγγράφεσθαι*. Probably *δίκαιος*. The question is not whether the youth is being rightly admitted, but whether he has been wrongly rejected. The adverb may however be right, if we take the present tense of the verb in its tentative sense.

P. 113, 1. 1. *αἱ δὲ δύο*. It seems necessary either to add *ἄλλαι* or to read *[ἄλλ]αι δέ* or *[ἕτερ]αι δέ*.

P. 113, 1. 11. *γράμματα*. Probably *τὰ γράμματα*.

P. 122, 1. 8. *τίμημα [παρα]λαβόμενος*. Mr. Wyse *ἐπιγραφόμενος*. Would not *ἐπιγραφάμενος* be better? Cf. Aesch. in *Timarch.* 41.

P. 122, 13. *τοῖς θεσμοθέταις ἀναγράφει*. *ἀναγράφειν* seems not to be used in any such way, and the form of the sentence shows that *τοῖς θ.* was meant to depend on *παράδιδωσι*. Can the right reading be *παράδιδωσι...τοῖς θεσμοθέταις ἀνακρίνειν*, like p. 82, 1. 10 *παράδυναι τοῖς ἑνδεκα θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι*? Cf. Plato *Lysis* 855 E *ἄλλῃ τὴν ἀνάκρισιν παραδίδωτο*.

P. 126, 1. 4. *ἐπιμελείσθαι...ὅπως...παλῆται*. Read *πωλῆσεται*, like *ὅπως...ὄνιος ἔσται* on the next page. *ὅπως...χρήσονται* in line 7 has already been corrected to *χρήσονται*.

P. 144, 1. 7. *φάρμακον* should be *φαρμάκων*, which is always used in this formula.

P. 152, l. 6. τούτων. Perhaps <κα> τούτων. Cf. p. 151, l. 5.

P. 147, l. 18. τὰ ψευδομαρτύρια ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου. Read τὰς. Pollux has τῶν ψ. τῶν ἐξ Ἀ. π.

H. RICHARDS.

P. 137, l. 7. ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ καὶ τὸ [ὄν]ομα τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀναγράφεται.

Cf. *C.I.A.* II. 594 (127 B.C.?) v. 1. ε[πί] Ἐπικλέους ἄρχοντος ἐν ἅστει, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ Ἀνδρονίκο[υ], v. 31. Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τραγωδοῖς. *ib.* II. 469 (somewhat before 69 B.C.), v. 75. ἐπὶ [Π]υθίου ἄρχοντος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν ἅστει δὲ Ἰππάρχου, v. 82. Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τραγῶδων τῷ ἁγῶνι (cf. n. 470, v. 58).

Before the discovery of this treatise there was nothing to show how the archon in Salamis was appointed. Cf. de Schoeffer, *De Delī Insulae Rebus*, p. 201: 'Archon Salaminis insulae fueritne ab Atheniensibus constitutus an a cleruchis electus, prorsus ignoramus; nomen archontis minime obstat quominus illud verisimilius videatur,' Dittenberger, *Syll. Inscr. Graec.* n. 383, n. 2 (on an 'archon' in a decree of Scyrrus posterior to 196 B.C.).

P. 159, l. 7. προσπαγαλίσσθαι. Can προσπαγαλίσσθαι be read in the papyrus? It is difficult to make out γίνεσθαι in the facsimile.

P. 161, l. 9. The use of ἑλ[κει] which might seem too forcible a word for 'drawing' a tablet from an urn is confirmed by Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, p. 114, v. 35, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑλκέτω τὸν [καττίτε]ρον ἐκάτερον ἐμ μέρει.

Cf. Eustath. p. 675, 53 (Ἐρμοῦ κλῆρος) ἦν ὁ ῥήθεις κλῆρος φύλλον ἐλαίας δὲ κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰώθεσαν ἐμβάλλειν καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέλκειν. Phot. s.v. Ἐρμοῦ κλῆρος; ὁ πρῶτος ἀνέλκεται εἰώθεσαν γὰρ κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύλλον ἐμβάλλειν ἐλαίας καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέλκειν τοῦτον· ἐλάγχχανε δὲ ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον (read τὸν θεόν); but s.v. κλῆρος Ἐρμοῦ, Photius has πρῶτον ἐξήρουν τοῦτο.

P. 103, l. 3. Archinus' action in this prosecution is described from a different point of view in the *Laurentian Scholia* on Aesch. 3, 195 (ed. Schultz. p. 348): Θρασύβουλος ὁ Στεριεὺς μετὰ τὸ κατελθεῖν τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔγραψε ψήφισμα δοθῆναι πολιτείαν Κεφάλῳ (read Λυσία τῷ Κεφάλῳ) γὰρ ῥήτορι πολλὰ ἐνεργητήσαντι τοὺς εἰς (τοὺς εἰς Schultz for τὴν of MS.) Φυλὴν καταφυγόντας καὶ τοῦτο ἀπροβούλευτον εἰσηγγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον. οὐδέπω γὰρ ἦν καθεστειμένη βουλὴ μετὰ τὴν τῶν Λ' καταλυσιν· τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἔγραψατο παρανόμῳ Ἀρχίνῳ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης καὶ εἰλε καὶ ἐτίμησαν τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ οἱ δικασταὶ δραχμῆς μιάς. Ἄλλως· ἐπίστευον τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἀμύνειν τοῖς νόμοις. Ἀρχίνος γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἔγραψατο παρανόμῳ ὅτε κατήλθεν ὁ δῆμος. . . . Ἀυσίον τοῦ Συρακουσίου πεντακοσίας μὲν ἀσπίδας δόντος τοῖς μαχσαμένοις ἐν Φυλῇ, τριακοσίους δὲ (Blass: MS. Συρακουσίοις). στρατιῶτας μισθωσαμένον ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἔγραψε ψήφισμα πολιτὴν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι Θρασύβουλος. παρανόμῳ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κοίλης ἔγραψε, ὅτι οὐκ αὖτε γενομένης βουλῆς ψήφισμα ἔγραψεν καὶ σοῖς δικασταὶ κατήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τὰς ψήφους ὀλιγῶρος πρὸ τοῦ βουλὴν ὑπάρχει (ὀλιγῶρος—ὕπάρχει placed by Schultz after ἔγραψεν). ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ τιμῇσει παρελθὼν, θάνατον, ἔφη, τιμῶμαι ὅτι ἀχαρίστους Ἀθηναίους ὕψας εὐ ἐποίησα. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ αἰδεσθέντες τῷ μὲν ἐτίμησαν τὴν καταδικὴν δραχμῆς, τὸν δὲ Λυσίαν οὐδ' οὕτως ἐποίησαντο πολιτὴν. Cf. Walz. *Ilh. Gr.* v. 343 (*Max. Plan. Schol. de Stat.*), παραπλήσιον καὶ τὸ περὶ Θρασυβούλου ἱστοροῦμενον, ὅς μετὰ τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καταλυσιν ἔγραψε τῷ Λυσίᾳ ψήφισμα περὶ τοῦ δεῖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι πολιτὴν, καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς ὡς ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα [περὶ τοῦ δεῖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι πολιτὴν] εἰσηγγεῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πῶ κατὰστάσα ἡ

βουλὴ, κατεδικάσθη χρημάτων ὁ δὲ, οὐ μὰ Δία, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ θανάτου· τί γὰρ τοιοῦτους ἔσωζον; *Vil. X. Or.* 835 EF, 846 A. That the author of the 'Constitution of Athens' applauds Archinus' action in this business is an interesting illustration of his political sympathies.

P. 137, l. 2. In the facsimile τὰ Ἐλευσινάδε cannot be deciphered. Read τετάρτη δὲ Ἐλευσίνια. Cf. the inscription from Eleusis in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883, pp. 110—126. β. 50. σύμπαν κεφάλαιον ἱερῶν καὶ ἱερείαις εἰς τὴν τριετηρίδα τῶν Ἐλευσινίων καὶ εἰς τὴν πεντετηρίδα, cf. *ib.* 1887, p. 3, v. 25, τῆς παν[γύρε]ως τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τῶν μεγάλων. A discussion of the Ἐλευσίνια will be found in Nebe, *De Mysteriorum Eleusiniarum tempore et administratione publica*, Hal. Sax. 1886, p. 15 sqq. Nebe follows Tsuntas (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883, p. 257 n. 1) in supposing that the τριετηρίς fell in the second year of an Olympiad, the πεντετηρίς in the fourth, but at present the evidence is not enough to make this conjecture absolutely certain. If the supplements in *C.I.A.* II. 741 be accepted, it follows that ἱεροποιοί, presumably οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, were concerned with the annual celebration of the Ἐλευσίνια: compare c. 66 [ἐξ Ἐλευσινίων παρ' ἱεροποιῶν —], an entry belonging to 332/1, the first year of an Olympiad, and d. 74 [ἐξ Ἐλευσινίων παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν —], which is assigned to 331/0, the second year of an Olympiad. For the fourth year of an Olympiad 333/2 the inscription b. 39, as restored in the *Corpus*, has [ἐκ τῆς θυσι]ας [τῇ Διμήτρει καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ] τῇ Δασείρῃ παρὰ ἐπιμελητῶν: the supplements are uncertain (Cf. Töpffer, *Att. Gen.* p. 96), and the lacunae might have contained a reference to the Ἐλευσίνια. The entries for 334/3, the third year of an Olympiad, begin too late to admit a mention of the Ἐλευσίνια.

Possibly πέμπτη δὲ Παναθήναια should follow τετάρτη δὲ Ἐλευσίνια, it being assumed that the ordinal πέμπτη was abbreviated.

It is a curious coincidence that the inscription mentioning the πεντετηρίς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων should be an account of moneys spent in 329/8, i.e. the year when the Cephisophon mentioned in our text was archon, and the entries deserve examination on the chance of discovering a clue to guide in the restoration of 137, 4. Payments are made to the ἱεροποιοὶ οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν β. 8 and 38 (κατὰ ψήφισμα δήμου [τ]ὸ [εἰς θυσι]ας), and to the ἱεροποιοὶ ἐγ βουλῆς, β. 67, 72, 76, 82 (εἰς τὰ ἐπιθύσια) γ. 4, and there are allusions to the intervention of ἐκκλησία and βουλὴ, β. 38, 48, εἰς τὴν ἵπποδρομίαν τὴν προστεθείσαν κατὰ ψήφισμα ἄθλα μέδιμνοι □ Δ Δ (the reference being to ἡ πεντετηρίς τῶν Ἐλευσινίων) 69, ὡς ὁ δῆμος ἔταξεν, 74 (*id.*) 76, ὅσον ὁ δῆμος ἔταξεν, 7, 6, ἀρεστῆριαν θύσαι ἱερίῳ τὸν θεοῖν κατὰ ψήφισμα βουλῆς ὁ Λυκοργὸς εἶπεν, 7, τοῦτο ἱεροποιοὶς κατεβάλοιμεν κατὰ ψήφισμα δήμου ὁ Λυκοργὸς εἶπεν. Thus the inscription, though exhibiting the activity of the state in regulating religion during the administration of Lycurgus, only contributes the fact that a horse-race was added to the contests of the πεντετηρίς at Eleusis either in 329 B.C. or in some year between 329 B.C. and 332 B.C. (cf. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, p. 42). It does not furnish the information we seek: for what seems required in the mutilated passage, p. 137, 3, 4, is some general provision affecting all the πεντετηρίδες.

P. 156, l. 5. In the supplement to the Sandwich Marble (*C.I.A.* II. 814, b.) it is stated v. 33 sqq. that in the year when Socratides was archon at Athens, Pyraethus in Delos, i.e. 374/3 B.C., the Athenian Amphictyons (Ἀμφικτυόνες Ἀθηναῖων) together with their secretary and under-secretary received 2658 dr. 'εἰς τάπιτήθεια,' the Andrian Amphictyons (Ἀμφικτυόνες Ἀνδρίων) 2100 dr. (the

figures here restored by Köhler). There were five Athenian commissioners (b. 19), but unfortunately the names of the Andrians are mutilated: traces exist of four and there is room for a fifth (De Schoeffer, *De Deli Insulae Rebus*, p. 55, n. 19). Assuming that each of the commissioners whether from Andros or Athens received the same sum, we get the result that the salary of a commissioner was 420 dr., of the secretary the same amount, of the under-secretary 138 dr. (De Schoeffer, *ib.* p. 71). There are no data to determine the daily allowance, but it seems clear that the scale of payments was higher in 374/3 B.C. than at the date of the composition of this work when a commissioner only received a drachma a day.

P. 13, l. 10. ἐπ'ἀνέστη?

P. 111, l. 10. καθέκει. The fifth letter in the facsimile looks like ζ. Is καθέζει consistent with the remains visible in the papyrus?

P. 113, l. 2. The MSS. of *Aesch.* 1, 23 exhibit the same order of business as the 'Constitution of Athens': ἐπειδὴν τὸ καθάρσιον περιερχθῇ καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τὰς πατρίους εὐχὰς εὐξεται, προχειροτονεῖν κελεύει τοὺς προέδρους περὶ ἱερῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ κῆρυξ καὶ πρεσβείας καὶ δόσιων. Cf. the Schol.: ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ πρῶτον εἰσεκάλουν, οὐκὼν πρῶτον περὶ ἱερῶν καὶ περὶ κηρύκων· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι ἱεροί· εἰτα πρεσβέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δόσιων. ὅσα δὲ ἔστι τὰ μὴ ἱερὰ ὥστε πρῶτον τὰ ἱερὰ, δεύτερον δημόσια, τρίτον ἰδιωτικά. Benseler in deference to Pollux (8, 96) proposed περὶ ἱερῶν τῶν πατρίων καὶ δόσιων καὶ κηρύξ καὶ πρεσβείας and this is accepted by Schultz. It is now clear that Franke and Weidner were right in adhering to the MSS. (The latter however brackets περὶ—δόσιων.)

P. 144, l. 9. The MSS. of Schol. *Aesch.* 2, 87. (cited by Prof. Mayor p. 122) have ἐδικαζον δὲ ἀκουσίου φόνον καὶ βουλευσέως καὶ οἰκίτην ἢ μέτοικον ἢ ξένον ἀποκτείνει. Sauppe's correction ἀποκτείναντι has been generally received, but in view of the text of the 'Constitution of Athens' it is better to read καὶ τις οἰκίτην...ἀποκτείνει.

P. 153, l. 2. Cp. the ὅρκος ἡλιαστῶν inserted in Dem. 24, 150 τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων καὶ τοῦ ἱερομνήμονος καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων κυμαίνονται ταύτῃ τῇ (τῇ αὐτῇ;) ἡμέρᾳ.

W. WYSE.

THE DRACONIAN CONSTITUTION.—The question raised by Mr. J. W. Headlam as to the genuineness of the Draconian constitution given in ch. iv. of the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία' raises some interesting points. In favour of his supposition there is the fact that Heraclides Ponticus in his epitome of the work agrees in connecting the first two stages in the Athenian constitution with the names of Ion and Theseus, but knows nothing of Draco. It is indeed remarkable, considering the wide circulation the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία' had, and the extent to which its contents filtered into later writings, that this passage should have left absolutely no traces of its existence elsewhere. It must be noticed, however, that the argument from silence against its genuineness draws with it the further assumption that the passage was either a figment of late date or that it was based on some document very little known. On the other hand there are two other places in the work that recognize a description of a Draconian constitution. One is the first sentence of ch. iii. ἡ τάξις τῆς ἀρχαίας πολιτείας τῆς πρὸ Δράκοντος. The other is the passage in ch. 41 where the Draconian is distinctly mentioned as one of the stages of the constitution. It would be more easy to decide whether we have here a definite interpolation or not were the rest of

the treatise a more homogeneous work. I note at once two inconsistencies.

(1). There can be little doubt that in the lost beginning of the work the 'original constitution' was connected with the name of Ion, who is made older than Theseus. This was by no means the invariable tradition, and marks the influence of some document in which for some reason the 'Ionic idea' was specially accentuated. But on p. 5 we get a trace of the other tradition that 'Ion' was a later immigrant, and not king but polemarch.

(2). There is nothing in the epitome in ch. xli. corresponding to the constitution described in ch. iii. Moreover this is called at the beginning of ch. iii. ἡ ἀρχαία πολιτεία, and at the beginning of ch. iv. πρώτη πολιτεία, ignoring Ion and Theseus both.

It is obvious enough that the authorities for the early history which the writer or writers of this book had before them were both scanty and inconsistent. The material, such as it was, was to some extent assimilated, but the assimilation was not complete.

As far as internal evidence goes there is no impossibility in accepting the account in ch. iv. as substantially a true picture of the Athenian constitution towards the end of the seventh century B.C. Some of the apparent difficulties arise from corruptions in the text for which corrections have been put forward in the pages of this *Review*. It has been before now suggested (Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.* I. 128) that Draco's criminal legislation was merely a stereotyping of existing custom, and probably the remark may be extended to his treatment of the constitution. With this view the statement in the *Politics* II. xii. harmonizes. The regard in which Solon was held as the founder of the democracy tended, as is continually seen, to exaggerate the importance of his work, and hence to obscure previous stages. To Solon was ascribed much that was later and also much that was earlier than his time. For instance a property classification is proved for times not only before Solon but before Draco by the statement, twice occurring in ch. iii., that the magistrates were chosen ἀριστιδὴν καὶ πλουτιδὴν.

The fact is that in spite of the contrast so sharply drawn by the openings of chapters iii. and iv. the amount of new work definitely ascribed to Draco in ch. iv. is not so great as appears at first sight. If indeed it were clearly stated that Draco created the ἐκκλησία, and further that whereas the Areopagus had hitherto appointed the chief magistrates the election was by him transferred to the ἐκκλησία, we should see him as the author of a great revolution, the ignoring of which by other writers would be hard to explain. But neither of these things are stated. To what extent the ἐκκλησία was in earlier times submerged we cannot tell, but we hardly need infer from ch. iv. that Draco did more than settle the franchise and perhaps place its meetings on a more regular basis. The statement in ch. viii. that the Areopagus in early times appointed the magistrates need not apply to the time immediately preceding Draco. It is indeed noteworthy how at this place Solon's work is contrasted directly with the primitive constitution, and Draco is passed over.

Lastly, I admit that the account of Draco's βουλῇ has much to arouse suspicion.

E. S. THOMPSON.

P. 13, l. 11. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς τάξεως οὐσης ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τῶν πολλῶν δουλευσίων τοῖς ὀλίγοις... As τάξεως ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ is somewhat strange, perhaps for τάξεως we should read τάσεως or συντάσεως, suggesting σύντονος or συντομία, terms used to express exaggeration of some political type.

P. 106, l. 16. In πολλά ψήφισμένων τῶν πρυτανέων ὅπως προσίστηται τὸ πλῆθος, the scense seems to require us to change πρυτανέων into ἐπιφανῶν, or πλουσίων, or τι ἐχόντων, or something equivalent, to express that aristocratic measures were sometimes carried.

P. 159, ll. 4, 5. In νενέμηνται γὰρ κατὰ φυλὰς δέκα μέρη οἱ δικασταί, παραπλησίως ἴσοι ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ γράμματι. The sentence would be rather less of a

puzzle if for ἴσοι we read ἴσα. Even then it is hard to say whether the direct assertion is that each group was divided into ten parts, one taken from each tribe: or that each tribe was divided into ten parts, one going to each group. The result of course is the same.

P. 135, l. 8, and 136 l. 2. For κληροῖ read κληροῦσι, as elsewhere. The singular number seems to have no meaning.

E. POSTE.

NOTES.

PINDAR, *Nem.* ix. 22, 23.

Ἴσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκὺν
νόστον ἐρεϊσάμενοι λευκανθέα σώματ' ἐπίαναν καπνόν.

Mr. Bury has shown good reason for preferring σώματ' ἐπίαναν to σώμασι πίαναν, but it may be doubted whether λευκανθέα σώματα has been adequately explained. Now λευκός is inept to express a 'pale' or 'blanched' corpse: we should rather expect χλωρός. The application of the former word to the colour of the flesh may be conveniently tested from Euripides, who uses it in this connection at least fourteen times. In nine of these passages the allusion is to the fairness of women, and *Bacch.* 457 is equally significant. In the other four the point of the epithet lies in its reference to the brightness of bare limbs. Of course it might be contended that here too the paleness of death is not necessarily implied, but the editors judge otherwise, rightly recognising that Pindar's style is too highly wrought to countenance the merely picturesque. I believe the explanation lies deeper. Few will now question the allusiveness and subtlety of Pindar, and Prof. Jebb has shown (*Journal of Hellenic Studies* III. 184) that there is often a special archaeological reference in his epithets. If it is rightly inferred from Philostratus that φαίδριμος ἵππος of *Ol.* vi. 14 refers to the white steeds of Amphiarus, it is not overbold to suggest that λευκανθέα σώματα are the bodies of those λευκάστιδες Ἀργεῖοι of whom we read in the Tragedians (*Soph. Ant.* 106 etc.).

A. C. PEARSON.

* *

VIRGIL, *Aeneid* vi. 567.

Castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri.

It appears to have escaped notice in the discussion on this line that *castigare* used without qualification should mean neither *punish* nor *torture* but *rebuke*. If the latter is Virgil's meaning I think that he may have had in mind ἀτίμως of *Gorgias* 525 A, which may imply rebuke, for he certainly has Plato's general description in his thoughts. The passage of Claudian referred to by G. McN. R. does not show what Claudian understood by *castigat*, for he might more naturally get the idea expressed by him from the words *subigitque fateri* etc.

Aeneid iii. 702.

Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

The scansion of *fluvii* has caused much trouble. If Virgil could use *fluviorum* as a molossus (*Georgic* i. 482) he might scan *fluvii* as a spondee and therefore the line cannot be regarded as necessarily wrong.

ARTHUR PLATT.

* *

HOR. *C.* II. xi. 21.

Quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden?

Every lover of Horace must have rejoiced at Professor Palmer's impeachment of the word *scortum* here, which appeared in a late number of the *Classical Review* (vol. v. pg. 139). He concludes by suggesting that it was a marginal gloss in an early MS. But gloss on what?

Ovid *Trist.* III. vii. 29 has according to Merkel:—

Pone, Perilla, metum: tantummodo femina non sit
devia, nec scriptis discat amare tuis.

[Mr. Owen reads *femina nulla, neve vir a scriptis*, but *devia* has the support of many good MSS., ABF G³QECR and a large number of others; and intrinsically it is far more likely that Ovid would caution Perilla against teaching *women amare*, than suggest it possible that she should write *Artes* for both sexes. *non* where we should expect *ne* is paralleled by *A.A.* iii. 129, *Pont.* I. vi. 24 &c.] Here the sense of *devia* is plain, whether as 'led astray' (in *Cic. Phil.* v. 13, 37 *devius* is used of mental rather than moral aberration) or as being what Propertius (*I.* v. 7) terms a *vaga puella* (*devius*=*vagus* Hor. *C.* iii. xxv. 12), or because such people generally lived in *side-streets* as is seen in the ruins of Pompeii. If then *scortum* were a coarse but not incorrect gloss on *deviam* (sic)—the alteration to *devium* would follow as a matter of course when *scortum* got into the text—we have here a case of a word absolutely lost, as in Hor. *C.* IV. vi. 17 *sed palam captis gravis*. That word may have been an attribute of *domo*, e.g. *sola*, or have qualified *eliciet*, e.g. *scite* (the messenger would need tact), *blande*, *dono* or *nardo*, cf. *C.* IV. xii. 17 (the *fille de joie* would need tangible allurements), or more simply *ad nos* or *nunc*, which would easily be ousted by the gloss. But if, as I believe, the passage in Ovid is right, there is strong ground for reading *deviam* here as an epithet of Lyden 'wayward light love.' It may be urged that

Quis deviam *ad nos* eliciet domo
Lyden?

is open to some of Professor Palmer's objections, but at all events it accords well with the tone of line 7.

P. SANDFORD.

* *

HORACE, *Ep.* 1. vii. 29.—It is well known that Bentley altered 'volpecula' into 'nitedula' on the ground that a fox could not eat corn if he wished. Commentators since his time have been content to retain the reading of the MSS. and to assume that the fox was merely one of the conventional animals which appear in fables. But surely the most obvious solu-

tion of the difficulty is to ask why the fox-cub should have crept into the corn-bin for food. The obvious answer is that the corn-bin is precisely the place where the fox would have found mice to eat. Any one who has seen a fox's earth knows that these small deer are in Reynard's *menu* an excellent substitute for rabbits, which the Romans, fortunately for themselves, never seem to have acclimatised from Spain into Italy. They kept them in *vivaria*: had they let them loose, Apulia might have been plagued as badly as Victoria or N. S. Wales. The 'mustela' who taunted the fox was of course the substitute for the cat, just as the mungoose in modern India is at the present day. Pliny's testimony to the use of the mustela should be added to the passages quoted by Hehn and Mayor. 'Haec autem [mustela] quae in domibus nostris oberrat, et catulos suos (ut auctor est Cicero) quotidie transfert, mutatque sedem, serpentes persequitur.' It may be of interest to add that the mummy cats sent as a cargo of manure from Beni-Hassan in Egypt to Liverpool have been pronounced by my colleague Professor Herdman to be the immediate ancestors of the cats which we now possess, and that the latter are in no way connected, except of course generically, with the wild cat of Scotland. The date of the advent of the cat in Italy seems to be in post-classical times. It may be added that Pliny's knowledge of the 'felis' is very slight. He knows that it catches mice with singular adroitness and that its colour is similar to that of an Indian ant. Can he have been thinking of a white ant, and may the cats he had seen have been the common *chaus* cat of India, which is of a dirty white or yellow colour?

H. A. STRONG.

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Nepó.—Mr. Bury in the May number of the *C.R.* says that *νηρόν* could never give us *νερό*. Are there any adequate investigations in modern Greek phonology by which such a statement can be supported? Certainly *πλερώνω* is the ordinary modern pronunciation of *πληρόνω*, and I see that Psycharis, in *Τὸ Ταξίδε μου*, writes *φιλάργερος* for *φιλάργυρος*. This would seem to imply that an *i* sound under certain conditions regularly becomes *e*. Whether the change is due to the neighbouring consonants, and whether it is found only in unaccented syllables, I imagine it is at present impossible for us to say. Some day, let us hope, the Greeks will see that they can render more service to their language by faithfully recording it as it is spoken than by adulterating it with pseudo-archaic abominations. Meantime we must remember that the ordinary spelling is entirely under the ban of classical tradition, and is therefore worthless for philological purposes.

WALTER LEAF.

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Classical Review, p. 279 b.—May I refer Prof. Clement to the *Journal of Philology*, vol. viii. pp. 214—217? Munro's arguments have sometimes been ignored: I do not think that they have been answered. I added an additional argument in the *Academy* for June 6, 1885.

A. S. WILKINS.

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TELEGRAPHING AMONG THE ANCIENTS.—My thanks are due to J. G. for the additions which he makes in the May number of the *Classical Review*, p. 220, to the sources mentioned in my 'Telegraphing among the Ancients.' The passage in Julius Africanus,

Cesti (Meursius-Lami, vii. p. 978), is an interesting one, but I do not understand it in the same way as J. G. He remarks:—'Africanus says that his system was used by the Romans, though it is founded on the Greek numerical alphabet. Set up three posts, one for units, one for tens, and one for hundreds. The number of torches attached to each post will indicate a numeral of which the symbol is a letter of the alphabet. Clearly this system could be employed more rapidly, and for much greater distances, than the other' (described by Polybius).

It is not necessary to assume that this system has any connexion with the numerical alphabet. The ordinary alphabet is divided into three sections, with eight letters in each, α to θ , ι to π , ρ to ω , and each section is assigned to a signalman, so that there will be three at each station. Posts of observation (*τόρτοι*) are selected, suited to the service, and a signalman is stationed on the left to telegraph the letters which fall within the first section, another at an intermediate point for the second section, and one on the right for the third. Nothing is said about the distances between these posts, but it must naturally be sufficient to avoid confusion, or the system would be inferior to the other with its more elaborate apparatus. One torch on the left signals α , two, β , etc.; one in the middle signals ι , two, κ , etc.; one on the right ρ , two, σ , etc. In general, this system reduces the number of times a torch is to be displayed to signal a word. As compared with the method of Polybius we have the proportion of 20 : 38 for *Κρήτες*; 25 : 35 for *ἱππεῖς*; 15 : 36 for *σίτος*, etc. On the other hand, a larger number of signalmen is required. The possible gain in the distance between the stations would not be great. Africanus does not appear to be acquainted with the Polybian system of telegraphing. His description, however, is based entirely upon the use of Greek for transmission, whatever may have been the source from which he drew. One misses the practical knowledge of the matter displayed by Polybius. But A.'s system could easily be adapted to the Latin, or any other written language.

I should beg leave to add that J. G. has misinterpreted me when he makes me class the Ciconians and Paenonians among the Greek host.

A. C. MERRIAM.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, N.Y.,
May 29th, 1891.

[It is very unlikely that the system of Africanus has no connexion with the numerical alphabet. In the latter, letters stand for numbers: in the former, the numbers stand for the letters, except that ζ , η , θ , seem to have been indicated by 6, 7, 8 torches respectively (and not 7, 8, 9) on the first post. My remark about the Ciconians was a blunder for which I apologise to Mr. Merriam and the editor.—J. G.]

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DR. VERRALL says in his note to line 301 of the *Agamemnon*, with reference to the position of Macistus: 'As the distance is impossible in any case, the question is of little moment.' It is to this note that I meant to refer (p. 238), and there is no danger of this particular question being misapprehended. With regard to the wider issues raised in his Introduction, I certainly had acquired the idea that one of the legs on which his reconstruction of the plot stands is the patent absurdity (to an Athenian audience) of the beacon-line as described by Clytaemnestra. If it can be shown that a very large bonfire on Mount Athos could, in tolerably clear weather, be seen from Mount Macistus, this leg

would be removed ; for, given the possibility, it is not too daring an assumption that the Chalcidians thus communicated with their colonies, and that the maintenance and use of beacons on Athos and Macistus was therefore a very old institution, with which any Greek audience might be familiar. I do not say that so much has been shown, but the evidence tends to make it probable. I know that it is the rule, not the exception, that Samos is clearly visible *from the sea-level* at a distance of 60 miles ; I think it is the rule, not the exception, that the Cretan mountains are clearly visible *from the sea-level* at a distance of 70 miles. I should therefore imagine it to be the rule that Athos is visible from the high Euboean peak. Dr. Verrall's argument that this was not a night of average clearness, because stormy, should not, and indeed cannot, be pressed, for the strongest northern gales often blow with a clear sky.

I lately entertained a hope of being able to damage the other leg of Dr. Verrall's reconstruction—the marvellously quick passage from Troy—by showing that Argive tradition placed the fall of Troy and the murder on the 12th and 13th days of the same month. In case any other iconoclast should be led this way, I would say that close study of Dorian calendars has convinced me that it is not the right one.

Even if both legs of the idol were cut off, it would still, I have no doubt, remain suspended by the magic art of its creator. If I err in describing it as a biped, it is because I respect it so much.

W. R. PATON.

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SPLIT TOTEMS IN ANCIENT EGYPT.—The curious development of totemism known as 'split' totems

was first brought into general notice by Mr. Frazer, from whose work on *Totemism* I quote the following explanation : 'A remarkable feature of some of these Oraon totems is that they are not whole animals, but parts of animals, as the head of a tortoise, the stomach of a pig. In such cases (which are not confined to Bengal) it is of course not the whole animal but only the special part which the clansmen are forbidden to eat. Such totems may be distinguished as *split totems*.' I was much interested to find this extraordinary species of religion mentioned by Lucian as existing among the Egyptians : καὶ ἐτι κατὰ κόμας, τοῖς μὲν ὁ δεξιὸς ὤμος θεὸς τοῖς δὲ κατ' ἀντιπέραν οἰκοῦσιν ἄτερος· καὶ ἄλλοις κεφαλῆς ἡμίτομον, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 42. Mr. Frazer has sent me a passage from Sextus Empiricus which strongly confirms Lucian's statement : Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν σοφῶν εἶναι νενομισμένων οἱ μὲν κεφαλὴν ζῶον φαγεῖν ἀνέρον εἶναι νομίζουσιν οἱ δὲ ὠμοπλάτην οἱ δὲ πόδα οἱ δὲ ἄλλο τι (p. 173, ed. Bekker). The statement of Sextus appears to me in one point the more correct ; it is far more likely that one clan would adopt the head, another the shoulder, etc., than that one clan should have half the head, another the other half, or that two clans should adopt the two different shoulders as their totems, as Lucian says. However the two statements together seem to establish the existence of split totems in Egypt beyond reasonable doubt. For explanation of their origin, and examples from America also, see Frazer's *Totemism*, pages 62—64.

The Oraons are Dravidian, and it is interesting to find this feature common to Dravidians and Egyptians as there are several other connecting links, such as the use of the boomerang, between them, connecting them also with the Australians.

ARTHUR PLATT.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Chester.—Mr. F. Haverfield has published fourteen inscriptions discovered here in the recent excavations on the Roman wall. All are of a sepulchral nature ; the most interesting are (1) the figure of an adjutant (*optio*) with staff and tickets : D·M·[CAEC]ILIVS·AVITVS·EMER[ITA]·AVG[VSTA]·OPTIO·LEG·XX, etc. ; (2) >ATTI·CELERIS (from an earlier wall) ; (3) the inscription to the shipwrecked sub-centurion mentioned in the June record, p. 287 ; others bear inscriptions to Gabinus Felix Miles ; Cassius Secundus (missus honesta missione) ; D. Capienus Urbicus of the tribe Voltinia ; to Etacontius, a freedman, by C. Asurius Fortis ; and to C. Iulius Marullinus, a beneficiary tribune.¹

Portslade, near Brighton.—A find of Roman pottery has been made here consisting of ten vessels collected together a little below the surface of the earth, embedded in the tenacious clay of a brick-field, all of familiar patterns.

Concygarth, near Wigton, Cumberland.—In ploughing a field on this estate, near the great Roman camp of Old Carlisle, a broken sepulchral slab, without inscription, was found on April 9th. Two figures were represented thereon ; one being a seated

figure of a woman, whose head and shoulders are gone ; her left hand rests on her lap, and holds a dove. At her left side stands a child, apparently a boy, who holds in his hands a lamb, which he seems to offer to the seated figure. The bottom of the slab is broken off as well as the top. Similar Roman stones are built into the walls of a farmhouse here, one being a fragment of a replica of the Hermes of Praxiteles.²

The Antonine Wall.—This wall has been carefully excavated by the Glasgow Archaeological Society, with the following results : (1) the stone base has carefully-squared kerbs all along ; (2) the width of the base, measured over the kerbs, is usually 14 feet or more, which negatives Stuart's statement that it is 20 feet broad ; (3) Stuart's plan and ideal section of the vallum and fosse are wrong, as the vallum is not close to the inner side of the ditch, but has a distinct platform between, averaging 25 ft. in width ; (4) no large stones are used in the vallum above the stone base, and usually very few small ones ; (5) the mound, wherever sectioned, shows a steady succession of horizontal layers with dark lines, probably of vegetable matter ; hence probably the wall of Antonine was of sods throughout, built carefully row by row, and strengthened here and there by twigs.³

¹ *Athenaeum*. 16th May 1891.

² *Antiquary*. June 1891.

³ *Athenaeum*. 30th May 1891.

ITALY.

Rome.—Twenty-five more fragments of the marble plan of the city have been discovered in the excavations for the Tiber embankment, on the farther side of the river. In the sixteenth century, under Pope Paul III. these had been found with the other pieces, but were cast into a heap of building materials, and built into the walls of the Alfieri palace, where they have now been found, at a depth of twenty-three feet. Some differences in the appearance of these fragments point to the fact that they must belong to both plans, the original of Augustus, and the one restored by Septimius Severus.

Among other discoveries in these excavations the most important is that of a column with corniced edges, on which is inscribed the official record of the public games and fêtes celebrated by Augustus in the year 17 B.C. The decree of the Senate is quoted, by which these *Ludi Saeculares* were established; then follows the decree fixing the days of June for the celebration, and the arrangements of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*. Next follow the invitation to the people to participate in them; the various prayers and sacrifices to be offered to different deities; and the songs, chariot-races and theatrical spectacles that were to take place. The *Carmen Saeculare* composed for the occasion is alluded to (CARMEN COMPOSITO Q. HORATIVI FLACCVS); twenty-seven youths and as many maidens were to take part in it. [See *Bull. dell' Acad. des Inscr.* 1890 (letter from Gelfroy to the Acad.)] The stone fits with a plaster copy of a fragment in the Vatican Museum, discovered in the sixteenth century.¹

Signor Lanciani communicates some interesting facts relative to the Temple of Venus Erycina. In 1887 a marble parapet was discovered, with reliefs which were thought to be archaic, and to refer to the lesser Eleusinian mysteries. Petersen has shown that it is a true and genuine archaic masterpiece, and that the central relief represents the birth of Venus, the side ones, sacred and profane love. The greater part of the statue of the goddess has been found [in the gardens of Sallust; it is of archaic workmanship. The head had existed previously in the Ludovisi Museum, and was known in Braun's Catalogue as a head of Juno. Petersen has had a restoration made in plaster of the figure and of its throne, and they fit perfectly. This is therefore the original temple-statue that was placed in the temple when it was erected in 572 B.C.²

The following antiquities have come to light during excavations in various parts of Rome. (1) On Monte Testaccio: a fragment of decorative sculpture, a male figure about life-size, wanting head, arms and legs, in a sleeveless tunic open on the right side; behind the right leg, the remains of a support. Height, 0.45 m. In grey marble; moderate style. Fragment of a large sarcophagus, with the head of a bearded man, of the third century, with remains of a mantle at the back of the neck. In Luna marble, 0.11 × 0.15 × 0.13 m. (2) Between the Porta Salaria and Porta Pinciana: *Ossuarium* of travertine, in the form of a mortar, with dome-shaped cover, 0.26 × 0.23 m. Female mask, bacchic, of terra-cotta, in good style; the mouth is open, the hair curly, ornamented with *corymbi*, and a large *taenia* with ends hanging down. Height, 0.13 m. Head of Silenus, in good style, with pointed ears, crowned with ivy and *corymbi*; the left eye and part of the skull wanting. Height, 0.11 m. A lamp of red clay, of circular form and good fabric; on the top, four deer running. Dia-

meter, 0.06 m. (3) Near Trastevere: Lion's head, forming the spout of a gutter, of ordinary type. (4) In the new garden on the Quirinal: A lamp of red clay, the mouth partly broken, 0.10 metres in diameter, stamped below: CASSI. Two *balsamaria* of the usual type, one of glass, 0.06 m. high, the other of terra-cotta, 0.07 m. (5) In other parts of the city: A lamp of yellow clay, oblong in shape, with fan-shaped mouth, and handle, well preserved. Diameter 0.05 m. Stamped: C-OPPI-RES. A *balsamarium* of glass, in the form of a flask, part of the mouth wanting. Height 0.11, diameter 0.06 m.³

GREECE.

Athens.—In the Πρακτικά for 1889 is given a plan of the excavations near the Olympieion. A large open court was found, with columns round it, and surrounded with large and small chambers. On the west is a similar court, but semicircular, the round side turned to the south, with large and small chambers built on all round; along the diameter is an oblong water-basin. The date is about the first century of our era. The buildings are richly decorated with mosaic pavements, marble crustae, and reliefs, but whether it was a bath, palaestra, or gymnasium, is uncertain.⁴

Recent acquisitions of the National Museum.—From Boeotia: A r.f. two-handled vase (ht. 0.37 m.) with Herakles slaying Busiris (Dumont et Chaplain, *Cér. de la Grèce propre* I. pl. 18); a b.f. lekythos (ht. 0.25 m.) with Polyxena and Achilles at the fountain; a r.f. lekythos, with the transformed companions of Odysseus; twenty-seven other b.f. lekythoi; six kylikes, one with Herakles strangling the lion, another with the alphabet; other small vases and a number of terra-cotta figurines; part of a terra-cotta relief from Corinth, with a representation of *Od.* θ 424–460; a pinax with a nymph riding on a sea-monster. From Thorikos: four b.f. lekythoi; part of an archaic relief of a female figure, etc. From Bare; ten lekythoi, some with sepulchral scenes, and other vases.

Outside the Kerameikos three cemeteries have been discovered, the oldest going back to the seventh century B.C. In this one the dead were buried, not burnt, and with them were found numerous vases of the Dipylon style, also two lions of Egyptian porcelain, inscribed with hieroglyphics, and nude female figures of ivory. The second cemetery dates from before the Persian wars, and the bodies in it have been burnt. The tombs are partly dug in the ground, as in the two previous cases, and partly of marble and limestone sarcophagi; their date apparently is not earlier than 300 B.C. In them were found fragments of vases, and the pot-shoulder with Ξανθίππος Ἀρπ...scratched upon it, which is described in *C. R.* p. 277.

In the excavations for the new railway to the Peiræus was discovered a large base of Hymettian marble, with inscriptions of the third century B.C.:

(1) Διονύσιον Διονυσίου Θριάσιον | Πανδίων Ἀπολλωνίδιον Θριάσιον | ἀνέθηκεν.

(2) Πανδίων Ἀπολλωνίδιον Θριάσιον | Βίλακρος Ἀπολλωνίδιον καὶ | Ἀρισταγόρας Ἀριστοκλέους | Θριάσιον ἀνέθηκεν.

This base must have originally supported statues of Dionysios and Pandion. In the same spot was found a tablet with three decrees and fragments of four others, the first two referring to Eumaridas of Cydonia, a proxenos, to whom the Athenians voted a crown for his services in keeping off pirates from Crete, and his statue was erected in the temenos of Demos and the Charites. The third decree refers to his son Charmion,

¹ *Standard*, June 1891.

² *Athenaeum*, 30th May 1891.

³ *Bull. Comm. Arch.* Marz e Apr. 1891.

⁴ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 23 May 1891.

whom the Athenians made proxenos in succession to his father, for his services in an embassy to Delphi.¹

At *Kampos* in Attica has been found a dome-shaped tomb of the Mycenaean period, the roof of which has fallen in nearly to the height of the door, filling up the interior, but there is hope that the contents of the tomb may have been preserved uninjured.¹

At *Bare* in Attica a large number of ancient graves were known to exist, which had been extensively plundered for some years, but it was resolved to excavate them completely, in the hope that they might not have been wholly exhausted. They consist partly of separate tumuli, partly of *τετράγωνα*, or tombs of rectangular shape, and partly of sepulchres, in which a large number of bodies had been buried together. The excavations brought to light a circular building containing seven tombs, partly of buried, partly of burnt bodies, with fragments of lekythoi, dating from the fifth century B.C. One of the tumuli was also investigated, but owing to depredations nothing was found except a few b.f. lekythoi.¹

Plataea.—The American School has been at work here, and has succeeded in laying bare part of the base of a large peristyle building, probably the temple of Hera.¹

Epidaurion.—Excavations have been continued in the temple of Asklepios, and the peristyle of an ancient building discovered, in the Doric style, on the stylobate of which the bases of columns are visible. In one of the corners is an Odeion, of late Roman date, built on the stylobate of the older building after it had fallen into ruins, the bases of the columns being built into the sides of the *σκηνή*, and the supporting walls of the auditorium.¹

Mycenae.—A way has been discovered leading from the Lion-gate to the higher parts of the Acropolis, consisting of alternate layers of large and small stones; by its side were found a cistern, and some bronzes. Of the latter the most important was a bronze figure of a man, 0.105 m. high, like the one found in Tiryns, and published by Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 64. Also, five two-edged axes, eight wedge-shaped tools, thirteen sickle-shaped knives, and a peculiar object, apparently a dagger with handle. Outside the Acropolis two graves were discovered, one having *parastades* adorned with coloured rosettes. In the second grave were three engraved stones, one with a lion tearing an ox, the second with a deer wounded by a spear, and the third with a lion with head between his legs.²

Thessalonika.—In the neighbourhood of the Sultan's palace, a number of Greek and Graeco-Roman graves have come to light, with *stelae*, and inscriptions on marble, four of the latter being well preserved. Unfortunately the marble has been used for Turkish buildings, and no information about them can be gained.³

Perachora, near the Isthmus.—A stone monument has been found here, consisting of a seated lion resting on a rectangular base, of excellent workmanship.³

Crete.—Unauthorized searches by shepherds have

resulted in the discovery of fragments of bronze votive shields, lamps, and archaic figurines, similar to those found at the shrine of Zeus a few years ago.⁴

ASIA MINOR.

Troy.—Schliemann, in his last excavations in 1890, found a whorl of brown terra-cotta with characters scratched upon it while the clay was moist. It was found in the same layer of ruins as the vases of Mycenaean-type, together with monochrome grey or black local ware. The characters appear to resemble the Cypriote syllabary, and other instances of their use at Troy are known, so that it seems probable that the syllabary came originally from Asia Minor. Professor Sayce interprets the inscription as ΠΑ-ΤΟ-ΡΙ-ΤΥ-ΡΙ, *sc.* 'to the father Tyris;' πατορι being Phrygian for πατρι, and Tyris a Phrygian deity. Dr. Meister, with more probability, reads Pa-ko-ri-si-se, *sc.* Pakorisais, a Phrygian proper name. (See Schliemann-Dörpfeld, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*. 1890).⁵

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, 23 May 1891.

P. 643. Note by M. Fränkel on Zeus Eubuleus.

He confirms Otto Kern's theory (*Mittl. Ath.* xvi. p. 1, ff.) that the Eubuleus worshipped at Eleusis was a form of Zeus, resting his authority on two Delian temple-accounts (Homolle, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* xiv. 505. Ann. 4), one of 250 B.C. in which occur the words: Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερῶν ΔΡΗ, the other of 246 B.C.:

δελφάκιον τῷ Διὶ τῷ Εὐβουλεῖ ΠΗΗΗ. In these inscriptions he is connected with Demeter and Korē. Furthermore, a Ζεὺς Βουλαῖος occurs at Pergamon.

P. 670. *Mittheilungen über Versammlungen*.

Dr. Puchstein communicates his views of the women's dwellings in the old Greek houses. He regards the old Homeric house as a very simple building, in plan resembling those at Mycenae, but the later Homeric house as possessing a ὑπερφῶν and chambers built on the right and left of the courtyard, corresponding fully with the universal Greek dwelling-house of historic times.

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. 13 June, 1891.

P. 746. Review of Miss Harrison's *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, by A. Milchhofer.

The reviewer regards Miss Harrison's mythological views as somewhat too one-sided, and disputes many of her topographical theories. With regard to the 'Thescion,' he considers the subject of the sculptures as fatal to its being a temple of Hephaistos, but suggests that the central figure of the frieze (Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Plastik*. 3rd ed. vol. i., p. 348, no. 15) is a god, *sc.* Apollo παρπῶς, hence the temple is dedicated to that deity, a view which Loeschke also supports, on topographical grounds.

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ, Jan.—March 1891.

² ΔΕΛΤΙΟΝ, Nov.—Dec. 1890.

³ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 9 May 1891.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, 16 May 1891.

⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 23 May 1891.

ACQUISITIONS OF BRITISH MUSEUM.

AMONG the Greek antiquities recently acquired by the British Museum the following may be noticed:—

(1) A hydria with red figures, from Eretria. The subject appears to me to be Thersites insulting Agamemnon as in *Iliad*, ii. 225 fol., and if this is so

the design on the vase is unique so far as I know. On a fragment of a tabula Iliaca there is a rude representation of the subsequent proceedings in that memorable scene, when Odysseus beats Thersites (Jahn, *Chronikenbilder*, pl. 3 C¹). But a representa-

tion of the actual insult does not seem to be known. On the vase are three figures. The figure on the right unmistakably answers to the description which Homer gives of the personal appearance of Thersites, his tapering head (*φοῖδς ἐν κεφαλῇ*) being very noticeable. He is turned toward the central figure whom I take to be Agamemnon and would have no hesitation in the matter were not this figure armed with shield, cuirass and spear, whereas Agamemnon in the scene in the *Iliad* is not armed. On the other hand the figure on the vase is clearly a king from the broad diadem he wears. He has no helmet. He is bearded and has his face turned to the front so as to exhibit the better his suppressed indignation. He is moving away from Thersites, his hand being taken by a figure on the left who appears anxious to prevent a scene. This third figure ought to be Nestor, who was present just before the incident of Thersites. On the fragment of a tabula Iliaca already mentioned we have Nestor and Agamemnon at this point. But on the vase this figure is not indicated as an old man, though he is certainly bearded.

An alternative explanation of the vase would be the scene when Thersites reviles Achilles with reference to Penthesilea in the fragment of the *Aethiopis*. But an Achilles on a red figure vase of a good period would not be bearded, nor would he move away from Thersites. On the whole the reference of this vase to the scene in the *Iliad* seems to be preferable. Such divergences as exist might be explained by supposing that the vase-painter had taken his subject not directly from the *Iliad* but from a later poet who had worked up this subject, or possibly from a version of the scene prepared for acting in the manner of the Homeristae whom Petronius introduces so amusingly at the banquet of Trimalchio.

(2) Three silver paterae (phiale mesomphaloi) such as the just mentioned Trimalchio boasted of possessing. They were found at Rochemaure in France (Gard). One is enriched only with patterns, but the two others have each a band of chariots driving round the centre omphalos. The more complete of the two has five quadrigae, each driven by a Victory accompanied by a deity. Among the deities are included Heracles, from which it may be inferred that the whole scene represents Heracles being conducted to Olympus by Athene and other deities—a subject as old in Greek art as the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Pausanias iii. 18, 7) and the altar beside the throne (Paus. iii. 19, 4). On this view the order of the chariots will be (1) Athene, (2) Heracles, (3) Ares, (4) Hermes, (5) Dionysos. The other patera is of a much finer style. The chariots are not only driven by Victory but in each case there is another Victory leading the horses, forming a finely composed group, suggestive of Greek art in the third century B.C. The patera has been injured, but there is sufficient evidence that the order of the chariots was (1) Athene, (2) Heracles, (3) Apollo, (4) Dionysos.

Thus the three constant figures are Athene, Heracles, Dionysos, and from this we may fairly conclude that the intention was to represent the Apotheosis of Heracles. This subject was peculiarly appropriate to a class of vases (paterae, phialae), which were associated with victories, e.g. the patera aurea which Amphitryon brought back from the wars and the numerous representations of Victory offering sacrifice with a phiale in her hand. In the scenes of the Apotheosis of Heracles on archaic vases there is only one chariot as a rule, and it carries Athene and Heracles. The other deities are on foot. The design on these silver vases reminds us of the description which Plato gives (*Phaedrus*, 57) of the gods proceeding in chariots, *πρὸς*

δαῖτα καὶ ἐπὶ θόλῳ, alluding no doubt to the visit of the gods to a banquet with the Aethiopians (*Iliad* i. 423). Probably it was part of an apotheosis that the hero should be received in Olympus with a banquet. On one painted vase we see Heracles received by Zeus who offers him a phiale. In this case the design on the silver paterae would be appropriate to the use of these vessels both for Victories and for banquets. The same design occurs again on two terracotta phialae of this shape which the Museum already possessed. On the silver paterae the designs have been first beaten up in a rough way on a model and then finished by chasing the surface.

(3) A terra-cotta panel with relief representing the infancy of Zeus whose name is inscribed over him (*ΖΕΥΣ*). In the centre of the composition the infant Zeus is seated apparently on a small altar with a small thunderbolt behind him. Three Curetes, armed as Pyrrhicists, dance round him clashing their shields and swords so as to drown the infant's cries and prevent them being heard by his father Cronos. The subject occurs under various conceptions in ancient art and especially on these terra-cotta panels. A composition very much resembling that of the new acquisition occurs in Overbeck, *Gr. Kunstmythologie*, pl. 4 fig. 4. The action of the figures is full of grace which, combined with the low delicate relief, gives the panel a special attractiveness.

(4) A series of primitive or at all events rude vases. One of them—a very large vase—was found at Tamassos in Cyprus and undoubtedly is a very early example of Cypriote pottery. The designs on it consist of men in chariots, huntsmen and animals, the drawing being extremely rude. The other vases come from Egypt and no doubt had been made there, since the favourite design on them is a Nile boat. The drawing is even ruder than that of the Cyprus vase, but the spirit of decoration, if we may so speak of such elementary productions, is the same in both. Possibly the rude class of Cyprus pottery, of which the new acquisition is an excellent example, had been influenced by contemporary pottery in Egypt as seen in these new specimens in the Museum.

(5) Several very beautiful and interesting Greek gems. One is a large scaraboid in chalcedony with intaglio design representing in a most charming manner a girl writing on her tablets intently, and sitting on a rock. Another is an archaic scarab in green jasper with a powerfully drawn lion attacking a bull. A third is a scarab in plasma—an uncommon material for scarabs—with the figure of a ram and inscribed in slightly archaic letters *ΜΑΝΔ-*

ΡΩΝΑΞ. The forms of the letters point to Asia Minor as the locality where the gem had been made. The name *ΜΑΝΔΡΟΝΑΞ* (with *Ο = Ω* on gem) occurs as that of a magistrate on a coin of Clazomenae (*Rheinh. Mus.* N.S. vi. p. 387). A fourth gem is a small carnelian scarab with a representation of Heracles attacking Nereus, the conception differing from that of the same subject on the temple of Assos and on the archaic vases.

A. S. MURRAY.

(6) THE Committee of the Cyprus Exploration Fund have presented to the Museum the large capital of a column found last year in the excavations on the site of the agora at Salamis. It will shortly be published in the forthcoming number of the *Hellenic Journal*, but meanwhile the following note may be offered as a preliminary description. It is of white marble, perhaps circular in plan (diameter about 3 ft. 2 in.),

supporting an abacus 5 in. thick and about 2 ft. 3 in. square. The entire lower surface has been tooled away, apparently so as to adapt the capital to some purpose for which it had not been originally intended. On each side is carved the forepart of a crouching winged bull projecting considerably beyond the abacus; the head is bent forward, and the wings are partly shown; but there is no trace (as at Persepolis) of the bent foreleg. The horns and ears have been broken off short. One of these bulls has been almost wholly split away.

On each of the other two sides is carved in low relief one of those curious composite figures which are found chiefly in Græco-Roman mural decoration but occasionally also in the late Greek periods. The upper part is the figure of a woman facing the front, with a polos or perhaps a kanēon on her head, and, like a kanēphoros, supporting with both arms uplifted the abacus above her; the general treatment is formal and symmetrical; a lock of hair falls on each side of the neck, the short chiton girt at the waist is arranged in stiff regular folds which spread on each side and below into actual leaves of acanthus; so that the effect is like one of the rich acanthus ornaments of an Athenian stele inverted. From this descend, in place of legs, two thick shoots or tendrils of acanthus form curved spirally inwards and each terminating in a leaf (?) now partly destroyed. One of these figures is almost entirely broken away, but sufficient remains to make it probable that the figures on opposite sides were in both cases pairs.

The question of date is difficult in the absence of the evidence which the excavations may supply. The mixture of Persian influence (in the crouching bulls) with a late Greek style is interesting, and may be compared with the little gold pin from Cyprus (*Hellenic Journal*, vol. ix. 1888, p. 223, pl. xi.¹) where the crouching bulls are combined with the Corinthian type of capital. This pin, from the inscription on it, would seem to date from the Ptolemaic period; and this would correspond with the date generally assigned to the 'Portico of the Bulls' at Delos, where the crouching bulls are similarly applied as an architectural feature.²

The decorative female figures offer additional evidence of date, but here again the evidence is not final; the nearest parallel appears to be that which occurs on the capital of a free quadrate shaft in the Propylæon to the precinct of the temple of Athene Polias at Priene. Bötticher, *Tektonik*, pl. 39, fig. 2, gives one side of this capital; the upper part of the female figure is exactly the same as on the Salamis capital, but the feet terminate in the calyx of an

acanthus flower, of which the foliage rises on either side; her hands are not uplifted, but grasp the foliage to right and left. Another example is given in Rayet's *Milet*, pl. 45, 46. This is a nearly rectangular block from the temple at Didyma, the capital of a shaft which Rayet thought belonged to a small building under which the cult statue was placed. Two sides of this block are decorated with reliefs; a winged female figure wearing a polos, whose drapery merges into leaves of acanthus, and whose lower limbs terminate in foliage of the same plant, which rises on each side and is grasped in her hands. A third architectural example Dr. Winter tells me has been found by Humann at the temple of Artemis Leukophryne at Magnesia; the figure in this case resembles the Miletus figure and has been identified with the type of Artemis Leukophryne. This identification may be true of the winged polos-wearing type; but it seems clear that the figure had elsewhere developed into a purely decorative lay figure, as was probably the case in the parallel instance of the heads rising from acanthus flowers so frequently found on late Attic vases. At any rate on the terracotta mural reliefs, every phase of its development occurs, from the type which is identical with the Miletus example, down to that in which even the polos on the head is transformed into an anthemion. These terracotta reliefs are, as far as the types are concerned, of very various periods; but it is generally agreed that they may extend back at least to the Hellenistic, if not to earlier, times. The temples of Priene, Didyma, and Magnesia were all probably built within the half century from 300-250 B.C. Taking all the evidence into account, we may perhaps suggest the latter part of the third century B.C. for the date of the Salamis sculpture, but any decision must necessarily await the publication by the excavators.

For what was this sculpture intended? The fact that no trace of any similar blocks have been found on the same site would seem to oppose the supposition that it was the capital of one of a series of columns. Unfortunately the injury that it has undergone leaves it uncertain whether the plan is circular or elliptical; the elliptical form would well coincide with the great projection of the bulls and the comparatively flat treatment of the side figures: in that case an architectural function would be out of the question. It is true that at Persepolis the width of the capitals along the bulls is much greater than from front to back, but there the bulls assist in supporting the architrave. In the Salamis sculpture the square abacus does not project beyond the base of the bull's neck: moreover, as Mr. Murray suggests, it is treated in a manner the reverse of architectural and presents no regular line, some portions being even merged in the sculpture. On the whole it seems probable that it was intended as the support for some object, possibly a laver: the Paphos gold pin with its storied capital supporting the large pearl would be a parallel instance.

CECIL SMITH.

¹ The description given *ibid.* is obviously inaccurate in describing the figures on the Corinthian capital surmounting this pin as 'goats'; they are quite clearly bulls. The doves do not drink out of the 'cups'; and the 'large bead of Egyptian porcelain' is a pearl.

² The four crouching bulls which project from the outer surface of the S.E. wall of the Heroön at Gjölbäsch are an earlier instance; though they are placed immediately under the coping of the wall, they suggest no structural supporting function, and may perhaps be referred rather to the projecting lions, horses, &c., of Lycian gable tombs. It is noticeable that they are winged, whereas at Delos and in the Persepolitan columns the figures are wingless. Perhaps the winged type may have been due to general Mesopotamian influence; while the wingless bull capital was distinctively Persian. Latterly the wings came to be added to the capital also, as at Salamis.

EVOLUTION OF THE GREEK THEATRE.—At the present time when all the questions relating to the Greek Theatre are so eagerly discussed, it may not be amiss to call attention to an interesting inscription which I have never seen referred to in this connection. It is published by Sir Charles Newton in the *British Museum Inscriptions*, II. No. ccxxxi, and was discovered by him near the site of the temple of Delian Apollo at Calymna. Its date would probably fall in the second century B.C. A certain Aratoeritus proposes to bring his native land into prominence and to adorn the sanctuary of Apollo, in order that the

lyric and choric (dramatic) contests may be celebrated in honour of the gods and the benefactors, as the people desire; and he therefore asks for a site in the sanctuary adjacent to the theatre, so that he may build 'whole and entire' a *skene* and *proskénion*, undertaking individually the construction and the enclosure. The spot adjacent to the theatre is granted, and he is also allowed to inscribe the decree upon the *skene*, and a dedication upon the *proskénion*. The decree is as follows:

Ancient Inscription in the British Museum.

Part II. No. cccxxi.

Ἀρατόκριτος Ἀριστία.....προαιρέμενος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δαλίου ἐπικοσμεῖν καὶ τὰν πατρίδα εἰς
ἐπιφάνειαν ἄγειν ὅπως τοῖ μελικοί καὶ χορικοί ἄγῳνες
συντελούνται τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις καθὰ καὶ
ὁ δῆμος [προ]αίρειται, αἰτεῖται τόπον ποτὶ τῷ θεάτρῳ ὅς
ἔστι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὥστε σκαλ[ῶν καὶ] προ-
σκάνιον κατασκευάζει τῷ θεῷ πᾶσαν ἐντελῆ, τὰν οἰκο-
δομίαν καὶ τὰν σύμφραξιν ὑφ[ιστάμε]νος, ἐξ ᾧν συμβαίνει
δαπάναν ἀξιόλογον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλίσκειν εἰς
τὰν τᾶς σκαλῶν καὶ προσκάνιον κατασκευῶν, δεδόχθαι
τᾷ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ.....δόμεν αὐτῷ τ[ὸν τύ]πον τὸν
ποτὶ τῷ θεάτρῳ ὃν αἰτεῖται, δεδόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνα-
γραφᾶν τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος [ἐπὶ] τᾶς σκαλῶν ἂν
ἀνατίθῃται καὶ ἄλλαν ἀναγραφὰν τὰς ἀναθέσεις ἐπὶ τοῦ
προσκάνιου τάν[δε] Ἀρατόκριτος Ἀριστία τὸν σκανὴν
καὶ τὸ προσκάνιον στεφαναφορήσας Ἀπόλλωνι Δα-
[λίῳ].

(Cf. the inscription of the *proskénion* at the Amphiaraium near Oropus, and Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 356.)

The stone is of white marble with a moulding round the edges, and on the right and left edges oblong holes are sunk to receive cramps. We may infer that it was affixed to the *skene* in some conspicuous position, and that the wall with which it was connected would be also of white marble. A fragment of the proscenium dedication was also found on an architrave and this is presumably of white marble. The structure was therefore worthy of the original plans proposed by Aratoritus. The chief importance of the inscription lies in the fact, as I interpret it, that the process of development of the theatre in our sense of the term is set before us. Previous to the days of Aratoritus the Calymnians had no building for lyric and dramatic contests in the sanctuary of Apollo, only a *theatron* or orchestra with its circle for auditors about it. Aratoritus adds the building consisting of the *skene* and *proskénion*, and the Calymnians are thereby placed in a position to attract the attention of the world at once. The contrast here intimated is very instructive.

A. C. MERRIAM.

I wish to correct my statement with regard to the theatre at Eretria on p. 240 of the *Classical Review* (May). The early Greek *scenae frons* and the later columned *proskénion* (not 'stage' as inadvertently written in the letter) can be recovered from the existing remains; but there is no trace of any late *logeion* or stage. I had made the statement with a query (?) as only vague reports of the excavation had reached me at the time; I may add that the whole of my letter had been intended for private perusal only, but appeared by some misunderstanding in the columns of the *Review*. By the courtesy of Professor Richardson, Director of the American School, and of Mr. Fossum, the excavator of the theatre, I have since been able to be present at the time of Dr. Dörpfeld's visit to Eretria on May 8. The difference of level between the older *skene* buildings and the later *proskénion* is due, according to Mr. Fossum, to a sinking of the orchestra, effected in

order to provide the solid support of a bank of earth for the *theatron* of stone seats. In the period to which the earlier buildings belong the orchestra would be surrounded merely by wooden seats (*ἱκρία, ξύλα*).¹ Thus the theatre at Eretria, while showing the ordinary development from *scenae frons*, adapted to a movable *proskénion*, to the fixed columned *proskénion*, also promises to throw an interesting light on the theory of 'a change in the level of the orchestra' at Megalopolis.² Further, the orchestra exhibits curious contrivances for theatre machinery. The plans will shortly be published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

June 22, 1891.

EUGÉNIE SELLERS.

THE MEGALOPOLIS THEATRE.—Mr. E. A. Gardner has sent us a further statement on this subject signed by himself and Mr. Loring, in which they reiterate their disagreement with Dr. Dörpfeld's line of argument, and ask for a suspension of judgment on the points at issue. Unfortunately their communication, which is published in the *Athenaeum* for June 27, arrived too late for insertion in our present number, and any discussion of its controversial points must therefore be postponed for our next number in October.

Ed.

ΒΝΘ▷ΟΝΒΞ

ΡΙΝΩΝΟΣ

Εὐφρόνης

Ῥίνας

The squeeze from which this facsimile is taken was sent me by my friend Dr. Eustáthios Tournákes of Kiáton, Korinthia, under date of Jan. 25, 1891 (O. S.). He found it at Megara (*εἶδρον ἐν Μεγάρῳ περιπατῶν*) on a plaque of marble (*ἐν πλακῇ μαρμαρίνῃ*) but little larger than the inscription, *i.e.* circ. 0.14 m. × 0.07 m. The height of the letters averages about 0.017 m. in the upper line and 0.016 m. in the lower, the O in the upper being about 0.016 m. high, and that in the lower about 0.015 m.

The following points may be noted:

1. The difference of alphabet in the two lines; cf. ▷ in the upper and Ρ in the lower; the Megarian Β = ε, η, in the upper and the Ionic Ω in the lower. The former name would thus be in the epichoric alphabet, the latter in the Ionic.

2. The very peculiar archaic *rho* in the upper line.

3. The form of the upper name, which would seem to be the genitive of *εὐφρόνη* (used as a woman's name?) and written with an Ionic termination in a Doric alphabet. The name *Ῥίνας* is otherwise known and not peculiarly Megarian (cf. Pape, *Lexikon der gr. Eigennamen s.v.*).

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Archäologisches Jahrbuch. 1890, part iv. Berlin.

1. Robert; publishes the mosaic of Portus Magnus; explains the main scene by reference to Hyginus *Fab.* 140 as the story of Latona and Python, and compares it, in the character of its composition, to the later mythological scenes upon sarcophagi: the other subjects are—the contest of Apollo and Marsyas: the youthful Achilles protecting Chiron from Herakles;

¹ Cf. Kawerau in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, pp. 1730 seq.

² *Classical Review*, p. 285 (June).

and Zagreus playing with Pratolaos, from the Kabiric legend: three plates, cut. 2. Holwerda; collects and studies the Corinthio-Attic vases; their system of ornamentation, types of myths &c., and shows how closely they are dependent on Corinthian originals; examines in this light the statements of Pliny as to the early history of painting; thinks the Peloponnesian silhouette style was probably originally a national Dorian style: 'the great Attic-Ionic art which shaded its figures was the first that knew how to fully carry out perspective in its figures, and was the first to free itself from the necessity of treating the head in profile.' These vases are Attic, and only Attic, in spite of the different qualities which they show. As to the influence of Asia Minor, it is more probable that like the b.f. technique, so also the Corinthian-Attic types found their way thither: five cuts. 3. Koepp; the restoration of the temples after the Persian wars; discusses the reasons why Athenians allowed twenty years to elapse after Salamis before they set up again the temples of their gods.

Anzeiger. The bequest of MSS. of E. Schaubert, by Koepp. Acquisitions of German collections; (vi.) West Germany; (vii.) Mannheim; (viii.) Private collections in Leipzig. Körte, Vases in the Museum of Aachen-Suermondt. Lists of new casts of the Aegina and Lansdowne House sculptures. *Sitzungsberichte* of the Arch. Gesellschaft at Berlin. Notes on publications of the Institute. Bibliography. C. S.

Römische Mittheilungen. 1890, parts 3-4. Rome.

1. Petersen; a study of Lokri, preliminary to the fuller study to be published by Orsi; (i.) the earlier temple; (ii.) the Ionic temple: a study of the remains shows that this was, at any rate possibly, the famous temple of Persephone: the youth on horseback with a Triton supporting the horse's feet, is one of the Dioskuri; the date is shortly before B.C. 420: three plates, eighteen cuts. 2. Mau; report of excavations in Pompeii (continued). *Insula ix.* 7: including cuts of some interesting mural paintings. 3. de Rossi; a gold plate of the fifth or last years of the fourth century A.D.: on it is punctured the inscription *iace noli periere ego te vidi aliani aviare*, that is, *tace, noli perierare, ego te vidi aliam (?) aviare*. 4. Hülsen; *Miscellanea epigraphica* (continued from 1888, p. 92): among the subjects treated is the interesting decree relating to the corpus eborariorum et citriariorum found in Trastevere in 1886; also among the fragments found in the forum Augusti and published in the *Bull. Comunale* 1890, p. 254, he proposes to identify the eulogia on C. Duilius and C. Marius. 5.

Reisch; Vases in Corneto: publishes a vase in form of female head, by Charinos; a r.f. kantharos by Nikosthenes; two cups by Duris; a cup with *ἐπιόησεν*; and a cup with a representation of Kadmus as a young warrior killing the snake: two plates, ten cuts. C. S.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1891, pt. i.

B. V. Head. 'Archaic coins probably of Cyrene.' The most interesting of these is a specimen lately acquired by the British Museum with the reverse-type of a winged male figure holding in each hand a wreath. Mr. Head recognizes in him one of the Boreades as represented on a Cyrenean vase found at Naucratis (see Studniczka, *Kyrene*, fig. 10; Petrie, *Naucratis*, pt. i. pl. viii.). *Reviews.* Svoronos's *Crète*; Svoronos's *Ἀρχαία Ἑλληνικὰ νομίσματα* in *Ephemeris arch.* 1890, p. 159; Ramsay's *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*; Babelon's *Rois de Syrie*.—*Miscellanca.* W. Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1889. Corrections.'

Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. Jan.—Feb. 1891.

A. Vercoeur. 'Les types du denier frappé par Cassius Caecianus.' The reverse-type—two oxen drawing a plough—has been explained by Babelon as referring to the foundation of a colony. Dr. Vercoeur thinks that the oxen are those of Hercules stolen by Cacus (Caecius), the mythical ancestor of the moneyer C. Caecianus.

Revue numismatique. Premier trimestre. 1891.

Prince P. de Saxe-Cobourg. 'Monnaies grecques inédites ou peu connues.' Some new varieties, chiefly Greek Imperial.—E. Saglio. 'Sur un denier d'Hostilius Saserna, et sur le culte primitif de Diane en Italie.'—E. Babelon. 'Quatre médaillons de bronze d'Asie mineure.' Finely preserved Greek Imperial coins of Ephesus, Acmonia in Phrygia, and of Cyzicus. One of the Cyzicene coins has the reverse-type a galley, the other has a male figure standing holding spear and chlamys, a representation which, as M. Babelon suggests, may reproduce an actual Cyzicene statue of the hero Cyzicus as *κτίστης* (cp. *C.I.G.* No. 3667).—*Reviews.* Babelon's *Rois de Syrie*; Imhoof-Blumer's *Griechische Münzen*.

Rivista italiana di Numismatica. (Milan.) Fasc. i—ii. 1891.

F. Gnechi. 'Appunti di Numismatica romana' (continued).—L. A. Milani. 'Aes rude signatum e grave rinvenuto alla Bruna presso Spoleto' (with plates). W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. May—August, 1890.

THE LITERATURE OF LIVY, by H. J. Müller.

I. Editions. *T. Livii ab urbe cond. librorum partes selectae*, ed. C. J. Gysar, recogn. R. Bitschofsky. 1889. Contains bks. I., XXI., XXII. and parts of II., III., IV. and V. About thirty emendations are noticed, most of which cannot be commended. *T. Livii ab urb. cond. libr.* VII., VIII. F. Luterbacher, 1890. With all his leaning towards Weissenborn, L. is always independent and shows judgment and thoroughness in criticism and illustration. Several new read-

ings appear here for the first time. *T. Livii ab urb. cond. lib.* XXII. 1889. K. Tücking. 3rd ed. The new literature has had some influence on the text, yet the revision should have been more thorough. *Livy*, Book XXII. L. D. Dowdall. 1888. Contains a wealth of material brought together from all sources but nothing independent in the text. [*C. R.* ii. 42]. *T. Livii ab urb. cond. libri.* XXVI.—XXX. O. Riemann et T. Homolle. 1889. A worthy successor to the earlier edition of books XXI.—XXV. by Riemann and E. Benoist. *T. Livii ab urb. cond. libri.* Vol. iv. bks. XXVI.—XXX. ed. Aug. Luchs. 1889. The larger ed. of 1879 is the foundation of the text

but emendation is here carried further [*C. R.* iv. 181]. *T. Livii ab urb. cond. libri*. Ant. Zingerle. Pars V. lib. XXXI.—XXXV. ed. maj. Shows the well-known care and accuracy of the editor. Several emendations considered.

II. Contributions to criticism and illustration. J. J. Cornelissen, *Ad Livii decadem primam*. Mnem. XVII. (1889). A number of emendations. J. W. Beck, *Conjunctis viribus*. A defence of the text against the conjectures of Cornelissen. A. Zingerle, *Zu Livius* Zeitschr. f.d. österr. Gymn. 1889. Various conjectures to the first decade. J. C. G. Boot, *Suspiciones Livianae* Mnem. XVII. (1889). Many emendations. A. Nagl, *Ueber eine Parallelstelle bei Plutarch und Livius*. Zeitschr. f.d. österr. Gymn. 1889. A comparison of the numbers in Liv. xxii. 10, 7 and Plut. Fab. 4. W. Heraeus, *Vindiciae Livianae*, I. Progr. Hanau 1889. A judicious defence of the received text against many emendations. J. Vahlen, *Index Iectionum*. Berlin 1890. Rich in acute observation. Most of his results are certain. V. defends *terra mari annibibusque* in 29, 27, 2 by comparing Theoc. xvii. 91 and Eur. H. F. 1295. A. Luchs, *Emendationum Livianarum particula quarta*, Progr. Erlangen 1889. J. Vahlen, *Ueber eine Rede bei Livius*. 1889. A detailed criticism of the speech of L. Aemilius Paulus on the day before the battle of Pydna (Liv. xlv. 38, 1—39, 9). M. Manilius, *Citate und Handschriften des Livius im Mittelalter* Philol. 48 (1889). MSS. of L. are little mentioned in old library catalogues and quotations from L. are rarely found in the middle ages. O. Rossbach, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Periochae des Livius*. Rhein. Mus. 1889. The variations of N (cod. Nazarianus saec. viii.) and P (cod. Puteaneus saec. xii.) from O. Jahn's edition are collected. Several emendations follow. *Lexicon Livianum*. Partim ex Hildebrandi schedis confecti F. Fügner, Fasc. I. 1889. A work of extraordinary industry. After Hildebrand's death in 1869 his collections came to Moritz Müller and from the latter in 1888 to F. Fügner. This first instalment only reaches to *ac*. Adolf M. A. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Livianischen Lexikographie*. Part. II. 1889. In seven chapters.—(1) subst. in *-mentum*. (2) adjs. in *-alis*, *-elis*, *-ilis*. (3) adjs. in *-bilis*. (4) advs. in *-ter*. (5) advs. in *-im*. (6) diminutives. (7) borrowed Greek words. A. Koeberlin, *De participiorum usu Liviano capita selecta*. Diss. Erlangen 1888. Consists of two chapters (1) on Livy's free use in joining participles with other constructions, (2) observations on the use of the fut. act. partep. in Livy, Q. Curtius Rufus, and Julius Florus. G. Wulsch, *De verbis cum propositioe PER compositis apud Livium* I. Progr. Barmen 1889. Diligent and well thought out. P. Petzke, *Dicendi genus Tacitinum quatenus differat a Liviano*. Diss. Königsberg, 1888. As far as regards Tac. see Tac. summary *C. R.* vol. iv. 332b. On Livy there is nothing new. The best chap. is that on 'ellipsis praedicati'. Pflug, *Diodor und Livius als Quellen für den zweiten Samniterkrieg*. Progr. Waldenburg, 1889. D. is jejune and short, L. fanciful and detailed. Where they differ D. deserves greater credence as having had older and purer sources of information. H. Hesselbarth, *Historisch-Kritische Untersuchungen zur dritten Dekade des Livius*. 1889. Concludes as follows; (1) Livy has in the most general way borrowed from Polybius. (2) Appian, apart from certain traces of Polybius, represents the pure annalistic tradition. (3) Plutarch, in his Lives, goes back to Livy and Polybius. (4) Cassius Dio has not used Polybius, but Coelius and other annalists, including Livy. (5) Livy is deficient in information, judgment and method, helpless in face of the rich partly excellent material, he has only been able to

produce a patchwork. Adolf v. Breska, *Quellenuntersuchungen im 21 bis 23 Buche des Livius*. Progr. Berlin 1889. Does not consider that L. takes Polybius generally as his authority, but rather Coelius and, in the second half of the twenty-third book, Valerius Antias. The similarity between L. and P. is due to a Carthaginian source (Silen) used by Polybius and Coelius. H. Stürenberg, *Zu den Schlachtfeldern am Trasimenischen See und in den Caudinischen Pässen*. Progr. Leipzig, 1889. For the battle at the Trasimene lake no place suits the description of Polybius and it is impossible to make a consistent account from Polybius and Livy. On the Caudine forks S. follows Nissen, except that the latter makes the Romans pass through the valley of Arienzo into the valley of Candium, instead of through the valley of Moiano. M. Berthelot, *De l'Emploi du Vinaigre dans le Passage des Alpes par Annibal*. Journ. des Savants 1889. Nothing new. A. Breusing, *Die Lösung des Trierenrätsels*. Bremen, 1889. In Liv. xxvi. 39, 13, *alio remigio* refers to the help rendered by one ship to another when the latter through some accident can only be rowed on one side. In xxviii. 30, 11 and xxxiii. 30, 5, the notion of the writer as expressed by *quingueremis* and *navis*, *quam sedecim versus remorum agebant* (ἐκκαδεκήρης) is shown to be mistaken. One row only of the three banks of oars could be used at a time, and which row depended on the state of the sea. *T. Livii ab urb. cond. libri*. Ant. Zingerle. Pars. II. lib. VI.—X. ed. maj. From the diligence of Z. our information on the origin of the readings is much corrected and increased. The readings of other edd. under the text are fully given. It is instructive to know the conjectures of Gronov. and Madvig, but those of Drakenborch and Altschul do not stand on the same footing.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius. Leipzig, 1891.

Heft 1 contains (1) F. Blass, *Ein neues epigramm aus Kreta*, copied from Museo Italiano III. 2. 3, 559 ff. with some corrections and observations on the dialect. (2) H. Blümner *Die metaplier bei Herodotus*, an elaborate collection, from which, at present, the only conclusion drawn is that Her. uses metaphor more freely than Thucydides and especially in reported speeches. (3) F. Rühl, *Die uebertieferung von Xenophon's Hipparchikos*, a discussion of the relations of several MSS. but not all. (4) A. Faust, *Der neue stern vom j. 134 V. Ch.*, showing that the *avis ignota visa* mentioned by Julius Obsequens, c. 27 (86), probably means this star, the appearance of which is attested by Chinese records and from other sources. (5) L. Mendelssohn, *Analecta Tulliana*, many emendations to the Letters.

Heft 2 contains an unusual number of unimportant papers criticising or correcting small observations in various German works. The chief contents are (1) O. Rossbach, *Epica*, a collection of many little epic fragments which require correction or make small additions to mythology or are otherwise interesting. (2) H. v. Kleist, *Der eingeschobene genitiv des Ganzen bei Thuc.* criticising a remark of Krüger's that there is 'a kind of hyperbaton' in such expressions as *αἱ ἀρίστα τῶν νεῶν πλεούσαι*. (3) E. Weissenborn, *Zu Xen. Memorabilia*, III. ii., discussing Zeller's remarks on the Theodote episode. (4) O. E. Schmidt, *Cicero beim ausbruch des bürgerkriegs*, a protest against the prevalent habit of sneering at Cic. (5) E. Körner, *M. Tullius Tiros freilassung*, determining the date as B.C. 53, not 54. (6) M. Kiderlin, *Zu Quintilian VII.* emendations.

Heft 3 contains (1) H. Welchhofer, *Zur geschichte der Perserkriege*, papers on Mardonios' march in B.C.

492, and on the strength of the armies of Dareios and Xerxes (to be continued). (2) H. Mayer, *Handschriftliches zu Thuc.*; some account of the fifteenth century MS. of the first four books in the Hamilton Library. (3) K. Tümpel, *Telchinen*, contending that they were an Arcadian people. (4) Ch. Cron, *Zu Platons Euthyphron 15 E*, a very long discussion of the moods of ἀπαλλάξομαι and βωσσιουν. (5) K. H. Keck, laudatory review of Blass's *De Corona*. (6) J. Sommerbroot, *Zu Lukianos*, emendations continued from the vol. for 1886. (7) M. C. Gertz *Zu Arist.*

Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία c. 38 p. 100. 2. 1. (8) M. C. P. Schmidt, *Kleine beobachtungen zum Latein. sprachgebrauch*, chiefly on *vitare, servare* and *observare* with *ne* and *defendere, addere, adicere, adjungere* with *acc.* and *inf.* (9) J. Lange, and F. Week, emendations to *Caes. B. G.* (10) K. Hachtmann, *Zu Tac. Germania*, c. 2, proposing a *uicio ceterorum ob metum*. It seems that a *uicio* was originally suggested by Jacob Grimm. (11) J. H. Schmalz, review of W. Kalb's *Roms juristen nach ihrer sprache*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

- Abbott* (Evelyn). *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens*. Portrait and Illustrations. 12mo xiv, 379 pp. G. P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y. 1 dol. 50c.
- Blackie* (J. S.) *Greek Primer (Colloquial)*. Post 8vo. 82 pp. Macmillan. 2s. 6d.
- Caesar*. A Complete Lexicon of the Latinity of Caesar's Gallic War, by E. G. Sihler, Ph.D. 8vo. 188 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co. 1 dol. 60c.
- Curtius*. Quintus Curtius Rufus. *Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis, libri iii. et iv.* For sight-reading. Edited by Harold N. Fowler, with an introduction on reading at sight by J. B. Greenough. 12mo. xii, 96 pp. Ginn & Co., Boston. Paper, 30c.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, including the Laws, Institutions, Domestic Usages, Painting, Sculpture, Music, the Drama, &c. Edited by William Smith, LL.D., W. Wayte, M.A., and G. E. Marindin, M.A. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Illustrations. Vol. II. 8vo. Murray. 31s. 6d.
- Dyer* (Louis). *Studies of the Gods in Greece at certain Sanctuaries recently excavated, being Eight Lectures given in 1890 at the Lowell Institute*. 8vo. xii, 457 pp. Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.
- Euripides*. *Ion*. With Introduction and Notes by J. Thompson and A. F. Burnet. Post 8vo. 138 pp. Clive. 3s. 6d.
- Frost* (W. G.) *Greek Primer, introductory to Xenophon*. Second Edition, revised. 12mo. xii, 219 pp. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. 1 dol.
- Homer*, *The Odyssey*; translated by George Herbert Palmer. 8vo. 6, 387 pp. Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co. 2 dol.
- Homer's Iliad*. Books iv. v. vi. Edited on the basis of the Ameis-Heutze edition by Thomas D. Seymour (College Series of Greek Authors). 12mo. 213 pp. Ginn & Co., Boston. 1 dol. 40c., paper 1 dol. 12c.
- Kelsey* (F. W.) *Topical Outlines of Latin Literature, with references*. 12mo. 47 pp. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. Paper 30c.
- *Fifty Topics in Roman Antiquities, with references*. 12mo. 101 pp. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. Paper 50c.

- Lamerton* (W. A.) *πρός* with the accusative; Note on the *Antigone*. 8vo. 2, 55 pp. Philadelphia, University of Penn. Press. [New York, N.D.C. Hodges]. University of Penn. series in philology, literature, and archaeology. Vol. i. No. 3. 60c.
- Lewis* (C. T.) *An Elementary Latin Dictionary*. 8vo. iv, 952 pp. Harper, N.Y. 2 dols.
- Livius Patavinus, Titus*. Books xxi. and xxii.; Edited on the basis of Wölfflin's edition with introduction by J. K. Lord. 16mo. 26, 388 pp. Boston and New York, Leach, Shewell and Sanborn. (Student's Series of Latin Classics). 1 dol. 20c.
- Livy*, Books i. xxi. and xxii. With Introduction and Notes by J. H. Westcott. 12mo. xxvii, 399 pp. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. 1 dol. 25c.
- Monro* (D. B.) *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 444 pp. Frowde. 14s.
- Ovid*. *Selections from Ovid*. With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by F. W. Kelsey. Illustrated. 12mo. vii, 298, 142 pp. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. 1 dol. 25c.
- Plato*. *Talks with Athenian Youths*; translated from the Charmides, Lysis, Laches, Euthydemus, and Theaetetus. 16mo. xx, 178 pp. C. Scribner's Sons, N.Y. 1 dol.
- Plato*. *Talks with Athenian Youths*. Translations from the Charmides, Lysis, Laches, Euthydemus, and Theaetetus. 12mo. xx, 178 pp. D. Nutt. 2s. 6d.
- Plautus' Pseudolus*. With Introduction and Notes by Edward P. Morris. 16mo. xxxii, 205 pp. Allyn & Bacon, Boston. 1 dol. 20c.
- Plutarch's Lives of Illustrious Men*; from the Greek by J. Dryden and others; a life of Plutarch by J. and W. Langhorne. 12mo. 16, 335 pp. New York, United States Book Co. (Lovell's Literature Series, No. 126). 30c.
- Virgil*. *Bucolics*. Edited for the use of Schools by T. E. Page, with Vocabulary. 18mo. 152 pp. Macmillan. 1s. 6d.
- Xenophon*. *The Anabasis*. Book I., with Map, Plan, Notes, Vocabulary and Exercises for translation, edited by H. R. Heatley. Cr. 8vo. x, 122 pp. Percival & Co.. 2s.

FOREIGN BOOKS.

- Aristotelis* de anima, liber B, secundum recensionem Vaticanam, edidit H. Rabe. 8vo. 34 pp. Berlin, W. Weber. 1 Mk.
- Aristoteles*. La costituzione di Atene, tradotta da C. O. Zuretti. 16mo. xxvii, 61 pp. Torino, Loescher. 2 lire.
- Becher* (F.) Zum 10. Buch des Quintilian. 4to. 28 pp. Auriich. 1 Mk. 20.
- Bellezza* (P.) Dei fonti e dell' autorità storica di C. Crispo Sallustio. Dissertatio. 16mo. 182 pp. Milano. 2 lire 50.
- Benard*. Formes verbales en grec. 8vo. Paris, Hachette et Cie. 5 frcs.
- Boemer* (A.) De correptione vocabulorum natura iambicorum Terentiana commentatio philologica. 8vo. 69 pp. Münster, Theissing. 1 Mk.
- Cauer* (F.) Hat Aristoteles die Schrift vom Staate der Athener geschrieben? Ihr Ursprung und ihr Wert für die ältere athenische Geschichte. 12mo. 78 pp. Stuttgart, G. J. Göschen. 1 Mk.
- Cicero*. Recognovit C. F. W. Müller. Pars. I. Opera rhetorica, recognovit G. Friedrich. Vol. II. continens de oratore libros, Brutum, oratorem, de optimo genere oratorum, partitiones oratorias, topica. 12mo. lxxxviii, 449 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 2 Mk. 10.
- Rede gegen Q. Caecilius. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von K. Hachtmann.
- Ausgabe A. Kommentar unterm Text. 8vo. vi, 47 pp. Gotha, F. A. Perthes. 45 Pf.
- Ausgabe B. Kommentar und Text getrennt in 2 Hefen. iv, 18, 31 pp. 45 Pf.
- Ausgewählte Reden. Erklärt von K. Halm. Bd. III. Die Reden gegen L. Sergius Catilina und für den Dichter Archias. 13te umgearbeitete Auflage besorgt von G. Laubmann. 8vo. v, 140 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 1 Mk. 20.
- Cornelius Nepos* post Carolum Halmium recognovit A. Fleckeisen. Mit einem Wörterbuch für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben von H. Haacke. 11te verbesserte Auflage. 12mo. vii, 118 pp., with Dictionary, x, 200 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 Mk. 20.
- Commentationes philologicae. Conventui philologorum Monachii congregationum obtulerunt sodales seminarii philologici Monacensis. 8vo. iii, 209 pp. München, C. Kaiser. 4 Mk.
- Index commentationum: Ziebarth, De novo paene in honorem Aesculapii facto.—Weigmann, Ueber den Rhythmus des Asklepios-Päan.—Kershaw, Die megarischen Psephismen.—Rodensteiner, Ueber choregische Weihinschriften.—Rose, Das Psephisma des Kannonos.—Stöhr, Engel, &c., Curiae criticae in Aristotelis politica.—Hümmerich, Die Pindar-Handschriften B und D in Nem. and Isthm.—Herbig, Zur Chronologie der Pindarischen Siegesgesänge Isthm. III., IV., und Isthm. VII.—Rehm, Pindar und die Aigiden.—Mayr, Ueber Tendenz und Abfassungszeit des sophokleischen Oedipus auf Kolonos.—Hildebrandt, De causa Polystrati.—Karo, Handschriftliche und kritische Beiträge zum bellum Hispaniense.—Stöcklein, De iudicio Inniano.—Boll, Num Cluentius de crimine iudicii corrupti causam dixerit.
- Euripides*. Ausgewählte Tragödien. Bändchen I. Die Bakchen. 3te Auflage. Erklärt von E. Bruhn. 8vo. iv, 150 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 1 Mk. 50.
- Gabelentz* (G. von der). Die Sprachwissenschaft, ihre Aufgaben, Methoden, und bisherigen Ergebnisse. 8vo. xx, 502 pp. Leipzig, T. O. Weigel. 14 Mk.
- Gache et Dumény*. Petit Manuel d'archéologie grecque d'après J. P. Mahaffy. 12mo. vii, 155 pp. Paris, Klincksieck.
- Gehring* (A.) Index Homericus. 8vo. iv, pp., 874 columns. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 16 Mk.
- Haacke* (H.) Wörterbuch zu den Lebensbeschreibungen des Cornelius Nepos. Für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben. 11te verbesserte Auflage. 12mo. x, 200 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 Mk.
- Haag* (F.) Lehrmittel zur Einführung in die lateinische Sprache. Exercices de langue latine. 8vo. 96 pp. Burgdorf, C. Langlois. Bound. 2 Mk. 20.
- Harre* (P.) Lateinische Schulgrammatik. Teil I. Lateinische Formenlehre. 3te Auflage. 8vo. viii, 118, xxv. pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 1 Mk. 20.
- Haupt* (C.) Livius-Kommentar für den Schulgebrauch. Heft 2. Kommentar zu Buch II. 8vo. 59 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. Boards. 80 Pf.
- Homer's* Odyssee in verkürzter Ausgabe. Für den Schulgebrauch von A. Th. Christ. Mit 1 Titelbilde, Illustrationen, and 1 Map. 12mo. xlviii, 339 pp. Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1 Mk. 70.
- Ilias. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von J. La Roche. 3te Teil. Gesang IX.—XII. 3te vielfach vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. 8vo. 166 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 Mk. 50.
- Horatius Flaccus* (Q.) Recensuit atque interpretatus est J. G. Orellius. Editio IV. maior emendata et aucta. Vol. II. Satirae, Epistulae. Lexicon Horatianum. Post J. G. Baierum curavit W. Mewes. Fasciculus IV. 8vo. 481–640 pp. Berlin, Calvary & Co. Each 3 Mk.
- Kaegi* (A.) Griechisches Übungsbuch. Teil I. Das Nomen und das regelmässige Verbum auf -ω. 8vo. viii, 147 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 1 Mk. 40.
- Kroll* (G.) de Q. Aurelii Symmachi studiis graecis et latinis. Pars I. 8vo. 41 pp. Breslau, Koebner. 1 Mk.
- Livi* (T.) Ab urbe condita libri. W. Weissenborn's erklärende Ausgabe. Neu bearbeitete von H. I. Müller. Band III., Heft 2, and Band IV., Heft 2. 8vo. Berlin, Weidmann. 3 Mk. 60.
- (III. 2. Buch 8–15. 5te Auflage. vii, 232 pp. 2 Mk. 10. IV. 2. Buch 22. 8te Auflage. iv, 166 pp. 1 Mk. 50.)
- Lücke* (O.) Bürger's Homerübersetzung. 4to. 39 pp. Berlin, R. Gaertner. 1 Mk. 50.
- Schmidt* (J.) Commentar zu Caesar's Denkwürdigkeiten über den gallischen Krieg. Für den Schulgebrauch herausgegeben. 12mo. iv, 197 pp. Leipzig, G. Freytag. 1 Mk. 20.
- Schwarcz* (J.) Aristoteles und die 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία auf den Papyrus des British Museums. 8vo. 25 pp. Leipzig, W. Friedrich. 1 Mk. [Extract from "Die Demokratie."]
- Tacitus*. Gespräch über die Redner, übersetzt und erklärt von E. Wolff. 4to. 44 pp. Frankfurt a/M. 1 Mk. 20.
- Thukydides*. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von G. Boehme. Band II. Heft 2. Buch VII. and VIII., mit einem geographischen, historischen, und grammatischen Verzeichnis. 4te Auflage. Bearbeitet von S. Widmann. 8vo. viii, 224 pp. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 Mk. 50.

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1891.

THE vacation has witnessed the publication of two more volumes from the salvage of Greek literature reserved for our generation in Egyptian papyri. The former volume, which has been brought out by the Royal Irish Academy under the title *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, is edited by Professor Mahaffy and contains the following fragments in addition to the *Antiope* lately printed in *Hermathena* (1) some brief scraps of Epicharmus and Euripides and two dramatic fragments of unknown authorship; (2) thirty-five lines of the eleventh *Iliad*, of which five do not appear in the text of Aristarchus, unfortunately only a few letters remain of each line; (3) portions of the *Phaedo* of Plato, embracing pages 67—69, 79—84 (this is supposed to have been written early in the third century B.C.); (4) a prose fragment on the contest between Homer and Hesiod; and (5) a variety of letters, wills, and other documents dating from the third century B.C. The palaeographer will find much to interest him in the thirty autotype plates which accompany the volume. We are further told that Professor Sayce has in hand many private letters, as well as documents containing the accounts of overseers, tax-gatherers, &c.; and that there still remains to be dealt with 'a store of unseparated fragments sent to the Editor by Mr. Petrie in November 1890.

The second volume is edited by Mr. Kenyon for the Trustees of the British Museum. It contains (1) the unemended text of seven poems by Herodas, written in iambic scanzons, and giving scenes from everyday life, something after the fashion of the *Adoniazusae* of Theocritus. The author seems to have lived at Cos about the year 200 B.C.¹ The MS. is assigned to the second or third century after Christ. After this follows (2) the conclusion of a speech against Philippides, attributed to Hyperides, from a MS. of the second or first century B.C.; (3) the greater part of the third epistle of Demosthenes, of the same date; (4) the greater part of Isocrates *περὶ εὐρήνης*, dating probably from the first century after Christ; (5) a few lines of the *Iliad*, Book I., and a collation of nearly 900 lines (*Il.* II. 101—IV. 40 omitting the catalogue), written in the fourth or fifth century after Christ; (6) fragments of the two concluding books of the *Iliad*, written in the first century B.C.; (7) written on the *verso* of (5) a short grammatical treatise bearing the name of Tryphon, and dating from the fifth or sixth century after Christ. This volume includes all the hitherto unpublished papyrus MSS. of literary works in the possession of the

¹ An improved text, with short notes, was brought out by Dr. Rutherford simultaneously with the Museum volume.

Museum. We subjoin Notes on Herodas by Dr. E. L. Hicks, Dr. H. Jackson, and Mr. Robinson Ellis, and Notes on the Fragments of the *Phaedo* by Professor L. Campbell, from whom we have also received some further notes on the *Antiope*, which will appear in a subsequent number. We hope shortly to give a review of the Dublin volume by Mr. Wyse, and one of the British Museum volume by Professor Jebb.

EMENDATIONS OF HERODAS.

MR. KENYON has put before us, as near as may be, the MS. text of these poems, and Dr. Rutherford has published his 'first recension' of the text. Much still remains to be done, and Dr. Rutherford would be the first to own how tentative his suggestions are. Like him, I bestowed some study upon the poems before Mr. Kenyon's text appeared. Some of my suggestions are incorporated in Mr. Kenyon's edition. The following emendations or explanations have also occurred to me. They may perhaps help other scholars to something better. I hardly think the time has yet come for publishing a corrected text, though I think I see my way to the continuous meaning of all the poems, except the mutilated poem vii., *Σκυτεύς*.

I.

3.—τ[ὴν δὲ] θύρην. W.G.R.'s *ἔρειδε* for *εσοδε* is probable. But strike out his interrogation, and read : τίς σὺν δειμαίνεις κ.τ.λ.

7.—καλεῖ τις might equally well be assigned to Metrichè.

9.—θε[ὸς πρὸς] ἀνθρώπους had occurred independently to me.

18.—W.G.R.'s restoration [γῆρας φιλεῖ] unquestionably supplies the sense, if not the actual words, of the original.

19, 20.—Gyllis.

σίλ[λ]αι[ν]ε ταῦτα τῆς νεωτέρης ἡμῖν
πρόεστιν.

Metrichè. Ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτο μὴ σε θερμῆν.

Gyllis. ἄλλ' ὦ τέκνον, κ.τ.λ.

26.—W.G.R. rightly κέ for ἐκέθι, κέθι. 'Tis there the Goddess has her home,' i.e. Aphrodite as the goddess of love and delight ; compare line 62.

34 foll.—W.G.R.'s text does not satisfy me. The sense runs on after ὥρμησαν :

τῇν δ' ὄψιν οἶαι πρὸς Πάρην κοβ' ὥρμησαν
[θεοὶ ἐπιφά]ναι καλλονῇ—λάθοιμ' αὐτὰς
[λέγουσα]—κοῖν ὄν κ.τ.λ.

For similar expressions of superstitious fear see iv. 58 ; vi. 34-35, 55-56.

* 37.—Perhaps τάχ' οὖν. MS. κατ οὖν.

38.—[γῆρᾶσα] had also occurred to me ; it is indeed obvious.

39, 40.—I had written

[ἐκκλι]νον ἄλλῃ χῆμέρας μετ' ἄλλαξον
[τὸν ν]οῦν δὲ ἢ τρεῖς.

42.—I prefer [οὐκ ἄσφα]λής, which K. has printed.

45 foll.—Something of this kind :—

κοῦδ' εἰς οἶδεν
[τῇν μοῖραν] ἡμέ[ων], ἄστατος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις
[καιρὸς τελευτ]ῇ[s.]—ἀλλὰ μή τις ἔστηκεν
σύνε[γγ]υ[s] ἡμῖν ;

Metrichè. οὐδ' εἰς.

Gyllis.

ἄκουσον δῆ.

50.—The first proper name needs to be explained or emended.

54.—πλουτέων τὸ κ[αλ]όν, i.e. καλῶς. Compare Theoc. iii. 3 ; Call. *Ep.* 56. 'With a handsome fortune.'

55.—Perhaps ἀθικτ[ος εἰς] Κυθηρίην σφρηγίς. 'An unbroken seal,' i.e. a heart untouched. Of course the forms in Κυθερ- are regularly used for Aphrodite ; but there seems no reason why the other form should be impossible.

56.—Read (with W.G.R.) καθ' ὁδὸν τὴν Μίσης. Μίσα was a daughter of Isis according to some ; by other accounts, the daughter of Baubo the friend of Demeter. See Pape-Benseler *s.v.* Μίσση ; Hesych. *s.v.* Μισαίς ; Harpocration *s.v.* Δυσανλῆς, where for Νίσαν read Μίσαν. The street, therefore, in which Metrichè had been seen, probably led to a temple of Isis. At least we may suppose that Metrichè was on her way from or to a temple, or was taking part in a religious procession ; this would account the better for her public appearance. I have again looked at the MS. for l. 57, and read : ἐκύμνε | τὰ σπλάγχν' ἔρωτι καρδίην ἀνοιστρήβεις.

60.—MS. καὶ τ ἀγκαλιζει. W.G.R. καί σ ἀγκαλίζει, which he translates " 'Has your name ever on his lips.' ἀγκαλίζει = ἀνακα-

λίξει." It is not impossible to suppose an active form of ἀγκαλίζομαι, and adopting σ' to translate: 'he clasps you (in imagination) to his bosom.' Or possibly τανταλίζει, 'he hovers about restlessly.'

64.—The second half of the line is torn away. MS. και οια πρηξεις ηδ—, οια being corrected from δια. W.G.R. writes: δι' οια πρηξεις ηδε σοι χαρις κειται—. Perhaps rather something like this:

καὶ οἶα πρήξεις ἥδ[ε ρήσις ἀρκείτω,—]
δοθήσεται τι μέζον ἢ δοκεῖς.

66.—It is equally possible to make ναὶ μὰ τὰς Μοῖρας the end of Gyllis' speech especially if we adopt W.G.R.'s emendation φιλεῖ. MS. φιλέω.

71, 72.—W.G.R.'s text is very ingenious, but not quite convincing. Is it not possible to retain χωλὸν and ἐξεπαίδευσα? Rendering thus: 'By dear Demeter I would not have heard such words in patience from any other woman, but would have taught the bearer of so lame a tale to sing a lame tune, and to hate the sight of my doorstep.' There may have been a proverb τὸν χωλὸν διδάσκειν χωλὸν αἰδεῖν, of sending away a shuffling messenger, one who comes with a dishonourable proposal, with a blow for his pains. Or the proverb may come from the story of Thersites in *Il.* ii.

74.—MS. μυθον ος μετρηαις | πρεπει γυναιξει ταις νεαις απαγγαλλε. W.G.R. μύθον ὅς τῆς μετρήτης. I do not understand μετρήτης. Possibly: μύθον ὅς [γε] μητρῴτης | πρέπει γυναιξὶ τῆς νέης ἀπάγγελλε. 'Carry to young women a story that befits one who mothers them.' μητρῴος would answer to ἀμμία of *l.* 7.

76.—Πύθew of the MS. may stand, if we suppose a nom. Πύθης.

80.—W.G.R.'s conjecture is ingenious, but does not adhere to the MS. I read: [καὶ ἐ]κ[τῆ] μ[ό]ρου [τ]ρεῖς [εἰ]τα [δεύσον?] ἀκρήτου.

83.—Possibly: πέισονσά σ' ἦλθον, ἀλλ' ἄ[πρακτος] ὦν[ῆ]μην, i.e. 'I am glad to be thus disappointed.'

II.

5 foll.—I can make no consecutive sense out of these sixteen mutilated lines. Note however προστάτης mentioned in *ll.* 10, 15. There was a board of προστάται at Cos, as will be seen from *The Inscriptions of Cos*, which Mr. W. R. Paton and I are just issuing from the Clarendon Press. I therefore retain προστάτην in line 40, where the MS. is dubious and W.G.R. writes προσταγίν.

18.—ἐκ Τύρου τι τῷ δήμῳ evidently refers to a cargo (of wheat) which the shipmaster

Thales has imported from Tyre to Cos. He is likely to plead this service to the city by way of defence. The pandar anticipates him in *ll.* 19, 20:

—[δ]ωρεῖν γὰρ οὐθ' οὗτος πυροὺς
[εἰσάγαγ'] ἐς θῖν', οὐτ' ἐγὼ πάλιν κείνην.

Κείνην seems to refer to one of his own unholy wares, who must be supposed to have been alluded to in the mutilated lines.

27. τὴν αὐτονομίην. This the Coans had a right to boast of. I have remarked upon this in the Introduction to *The Inscriptions of Cos*, p. xxix. foll.

28, 29.—Read:

τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχρην ὅστις ἐστὶ κῆκ ποίου
πηλοῦ πεφύρηται εἰδόθ' ὥς ἐγὼ ζῶειν κ.τ.λ.

38.—The full stop in W.G.R.'s edition must be a misprint.

40.—προστάτην, see note on *l.* 5.

44, 45.—W.G.R. is bold but not convincing. I think there is a proverb here, introduced by φησί. If λήτης κύρση may be understood passively = 'become a prey,' 'fall into the hands of the spoiler,' then we may suppose the original to have read somewhat thus:

μὴ πρὸς γ' ὁ χρυσός, φησί, χῶ τάπης ἡμῖν
τὸ τοῦ λόγου δὴ τοῦτο λήτης κύρση.

i.e. 'Lest, as the proverb says, my gold and my raiment to boot,—I mean this my chance of pleading,—be a spoil to the robber.'

57.—ἐν Βρικινδῆροις. Βρικίνδρηα was a port of Rhodes: see Ross, *Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae*, iii. No. 277. It is mentioned in the Athenian tribute-lists (Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. des Bundes*, p. 184), and was famous for its figs (Athenaeus xiv. 652; Julius Pollux, vi, 81). On the spelling of the name see Böckh-Fränkel, *Staatshandsh.* ii. p. 432.

65.—τὰ ὑπέρθυρ' ὀπτά, 'my lintel is charred,' viz. by the torches of *ll.* 35, 36.

68 foll.—Is this a parody of the famous expedient of Hyperides in his defence of Phryne?

71, 72.—ὦ Γῆρας, | σοὶ θυέτω = 'Let him thank his stars that I was too old to fight him.' Then: ἐπεὶ τοί μ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν κ.τ.λ. 'Else he would have swelled my passion.'

73.—Perhaps a good conjecture might be made with the MS. before one. Possibly ὁ Βράγχος, the mythical founder of the Branchidae; though I know of no story about him that suits our text. Or perhaps Φιλ... is the hero of the story, and ὁ βραγχός (*raucus*) his epithet. There must have been many merry tales current among these islands (ἐν Σάμῳ ποτε) of which we know nothing.

78.—I am not young, like Thales, nor do

I pretend to be a gentleman; but, if you speak of courage, why, if I were Thales, I should say frankly and bluntly, "You are fond of Myrtale, perhaps; no wonder: and I tried to burn you all. Condone the assault, and here is Myrtale." Or else, if there is any part of my household that you have got fond of, pay Battaros cash down, and then take your property (*i.e.* Myrtale) and maltreat it as you please.' I cannot doubt οὐδὲν δεινόν of line 79, nor θλῆ of l. 83. It must however be confessed that ἐρᾶς κ.τ.λ. would suit far better if spoken by Battaros to Thales. I accept W.G.R.'s reading of lines 78, 80. For θάλλειν compare i. 76.

95 foll.—These lines interested me very much when I was writing the Introduction to *The Inscriptions of Cos*. They show how proud of their legendary glories were the Coans of the third century B.C. Battaros appeals to this pride: 'We shall see what all these distinctions come to, and whether Cos is any the better a town to live in for such divine favours.' Κόσον δρᾶναι in l. 93 = *quid valeat*. Line 97 contains the question: κῶς ἦλθε, 'with what intent he came.' W.G.R. wrongly alters κως to κοτ'. So in l. 98 read: κῆτικτε Λητοῦν ὧδε τεῦ χάριν Φοῖβη, where both K. and W.G.R. write ὧδ' ἐτ' εὐχαριν.

III.

7 foll.—I think W.G.R. has quite missed the drift of the passage. I read thus:

συμφορῆς δ' ἦδη
ὄρμᾳ ἐπὶ μέζον, χοῦ μὲν ἡ θύρη κείται
τοῦ γραμματίστew καὶ τριηκᾶς ἡ πικρὴ
τὸν μισθὸν αἰτεῖ κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω
οὐκ ἂν ταχέως λέξεις (MS. ληξεις). τήν γε μὴν
παίστρη,

ὅκουπερ οἰκίζουσιν οἱ τε προῦνικοι
χοὶ δρηπέται σάφ' οἶδε χιτέρw δέξαι.
The tears of Nannakos, as the explanation of the proverb (see Kenyon *ad loc.*) proves, were tears of supplication. The boy has played truant from the elementary school so long that he scarce could tell the way to it, though his mother asked with tears on her cheeks, and though (as the mother painfully recollects) his fees are due as his name has been on the list.

12.—παίστρη = 'playground,' 'the idle corner,' exactly analogous to παλαίστρη: compare ll. 64, 65.

19 foll.—W.G.R. has deserted the MS. In l. 19 I transpose λι (which might the more easily have got out of place through NAI following), and read with the MS.:

αἱ δορκάδες δὲ ναὶ λιπαρώτεραι πολλὸν
ἐν τῇσι φύσης τοῖς τε δικτύοις κείνται
τῆς ληκύθου ἡμέων τῇ ἐπὶ παντὶ χρώμεσθα.

'His pets lie about upon the bellows' (was the father a smith?), 'and the nets' (fishing was universal in the islands), 'and are sleeker, fatter, than our oil-flask which we use for everything.'

22.—'He does not know how to tell the syllable A, when he sees it': γνῶναι, 'to recognize.'

24 foll.—'Three days ago, when his father was teaching him to spell MARON, he turned him into SIMON, did this bright youth.' It seems to have been a lesson in dictation. Μάρων has nothing to do with Virgil, as K. shows in his Introduction. The following are the instances I have noticed of the name Μάρων occurring as pure Greek and not as a transliteration from the Latin: *C.I.G.* iii. p. xiv. No. 6; *ibid.* p. xv. No. 87 (cp. Dumont, *Inscriptions Céramiques*, pp. 198, 285), both are from Cnidian amphora-handles; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No 77, l. 12, l. 43, from Iasos; *C.I.G.* 3846z⁷⁰, from Aezani in Phrygia, late but apparently not Roman; *C.I.G.* 4325k, from Olympus in Lycia, late but not Roman; *C.I.G.* 276, 284, among the ἐπὶνγραφοὶ in the Athenian Ephebic lists, and possibly therefore Roman, but quite as probably not; *C.I.G.* 2850f, fragment of an epitaph from Aphrodisias, apparently Greek; *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* i. 336, Maron a deity (late), from Olbasa in Pisidia; Dionysus and Maron united in worship in *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* v. 93, viii. 51, from Maroneia. It will be observed that nearly all these examples come from Asia Minor and the Eastern Aegean; in other words, from the regions indicated by these poems.

30 foll.—ῥῆσιν. They try to teach him 'a piece' of poetry to say by heart, οἷα παιδίσκον, 'as a little boy should.'

33.—ἐνθαῦτα ὅπως μιν ἐκ τετραρμήνης ἦθεῖ (*sc.* χύτρας). I take ὅπως as = ὥς. 'He lets it run out of his head as out of a cracked pot.' W.G.R. is certainly wrong here.

34 foll.—I put no stop after l. 33, and write the whole passage thus:

ἐνθαῦτα ὅπως μιν ἐκ τετραρμήνης ἦθεῖ
—'Ἀπολλων ἀγρεῦ, τοῦτό φημι—χὴ μάμμη
τὰ λῆς ἐρεῖ σοι (κῆστί γραμμάτων χήρη)
χὼ προστυχὼν Φρύξ.

'It runs out of his head like a cracked pot, —I do declare, by Apollo, it's true,—and yet his poor old grandmother, who doesn't know her letters, will say off the piece you ask for, and the slave-lad who may chance to be by.'

43.—κοῦ τόσος λόγος τοῦδε is part of the mother's speech. She is a voluble woman, and her temper is up, so that she runs on without a break.

44.—MS. ὁ κέραμος πᾶς ὥσπερ ιτια θλήται.

W.G.R. writes ἴτρια, of the *cracking* of the roof tiles. I had suggested ἰτέα, of the *bending* of the tiled roof under his weight, 'like a willow.

46.—ἐκάστον τοῦ πλατύσματος, 'for every tile that is found to be broken,' when the roof is being repaired before the rainy season.

49.—W.G.R.'s conjecture ὥστε μὴδ' ἰδόντα κινῆσαι is excellent; 'so as to move even one who has not witnessed him.' She then proceeds to give *ocular evidence* of a kind: ὄρη δ' ὁκοίως κ.τ.λ.

55.—παιγνίην: 'the holidays.'

57.—I retain αἶδε, understanding the Muses, who are invoked in ll. 1 and 71, and appear to be referred to in l. 97. There were probably statuettes or reliefs of the Muses to be seen in front of the school-master's house. Read:

ἀλλ' εἴ τί σοι, Λαμπρίσκε, καὶ βίον πρῆξιν
ἐσθλὴν τελοῖεν αἶδε κάγαθὼν κύρσαις,
μὴ ἔλασσον αὐτῶν Μητροτίμη ἐπεύχοιο,
ἔξει γὰρ οὐδὲν μέζον.

I accept W.G.R.'s μέζον for MS. μειον, and I alter the unmetrical ἐπεύχοιο into ἐπεύχοιο.

64.—ἀστραβδόκος is a conceivable word, for ἀστραβοδόκος, from ἀστράβη, δέχομαι, 'you pack-ass!' ὥσπερ οἶδα (MS. οἶδε) refers to δορκάσιν παίζειν, 'as I understand your habit to be'; and the next words convey a distinct statement πρὸς δὲ τὴν παίστην...χαλκίζεις.

I write the whole passage thus:—

δέξον τέ σ' αἰνέω τάργα, Κότταλ', ἃ πρήσσεις·
οὐ σοι ἔτ' ἀπαρκεῖ τῇσι δορκάσιν παίζειν,
ἀστραβδόκ', ὥσπερ οἶδα; πρὸς δὲ τὴν παίστην
ἐν τοῖσι προνίκουσι χαλκίζεις φοιτῶν.

67.—W.G.R.'s conjecture is brilliant and convincing.

70.—MS. πρὶν χολῇ βῆξαι. W.G.R. πρὶν χολῇν λῆξαι, 'before my anger cools.' This sounds weak. Perhaps the MS. is right: πρὶν χολῇ βῆξαι, 'before my bile begins to choke me.'

71–73.—W.G.R.'s treatment of these lines is a brilliant piece of criticism. It would be just possible, however, to read in l. 71: μὴ, μὴ ἱκετέω, Λαμπρίσκε, and in l. 72 to understand τῆς τε κοτιτίδος ψυχῆς of 'the very life of your brain, or head.'

74, 75.—A slave-dealer selling a slave was under the strongest temptation to conceal his vices, and under Roman law the vendor was liable for an untrue warranty (*Dict. of Ant.* s.v. Servus, p. 665): οὐδ' ὅκως χωρῆς, 'not even to get rid of you.'

79.—May not εἴ τί σοι ζῆγν be an optative? 'If I live under your lash.' If so, the MS. is right.

80.—φέρειν depends on σθένη and governs ὄσας.

87.—MS. οὐδ' ἐκλήξαι. W.G.R. οὐδ' ἄν ἐκλήξαις. Perhaps better οὐ δέον λῆξαι.

89 foll.—The speech of Metrotime continues unbroken to the end of the poem. The hydra is proverbial for labour in vain, and ποικιλώτερος does not refer to the wheals in the boy's back, but to his artful ways and endless resources; this is why he needs chaining. τὸ μὴθέν 'at the least,' 'as a mere nothing.' Write the passage thus (ll. 87 foll.):—

οὐ δέον λῆξαι,
Λαμπρίσκε, δεῖρον δ' ἄχρῃς ἥλιος δύσῃ·
ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὕδρης ποικιλώτερος πολλῶ,
καὶ δεῖ λαβεῖν μιν κήτῃ βυβλίῳ δήκου
τὸ μὴθέν ἄλλας εἰκοσὶν γε κ.τ.λ.

96, 97.—Write

ὅκως μιν σύμποδ' ὦδε πηδεύντα
αἰ δὴ θεαὶ βλέπωσιν ἄς ἐμίσησεν.

σύμποδα πηδεύντα form an *oxymoron*: with his feet tied, he could struggle but certainly could not jump or run. It is spoken in banter. The goddesses again are the Muses.

IV.

1 foll.—The best illustration of the poem would be the votive reliefs discovered of late years in the Asklepieion at Athens, south of the Acropolis. The text of lines 1–30 is fairly certain, and I agree with W.G.R.'s corrections. Perhaps however in l. 16 πολλῆς φορίνης of the MS. is right, and is a genitive of quality.

30 foll.—The sentence runs on without break. The old man is looking down on the boy at his feet playing with a goose; you would think he was going to speak to the boy, it is all so life-like. See K.'s note, and read:—

κείνον δὲ Κυννοῖ τὸν γέροντα, πρὸς Μοιρέων,
τὴν χηναλώπεχ' ὥς τὸ παιδίον πνίγει
πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν γοῖν, εἴ τι μὴ λίθος τοῦργον
ἐρεῖς Ἀαλήσει' κ.τ.λ.

35 foll.—She points now to a portrait-statue, as a proof of the sculptor's realism. Read:—

τὸν Βατάλης γὰρ τοῦτον οὐχ ὀρῆς Κυννοῖ
ὅκως βέβαιος ἀνδριάντα τῆς Μύττω·
εἰ μὴ τις αὐτὴν εἶδε Βατάλην, βλέψας
ἐς τοῦτο τὸ εἰκόνημα, μὴ θῆς δέισθω.

The order of words in 35–36 is οὐχ ὀρῆς τοῦτον ἀνδριάντα τὸν Βατάλης τῆς Μύττω ὅκως βέβαιος. I take both Batale and Myttes for proper names ('lisper' and 'mute'): the stone image is really dead and mute. It would be well to examine the other proper names in Herodas, and see how far they are suggestive and suitable. This is certainly the case with Πατακίσκος in l. 63 (see W.G.R.'s note).

41 foll.—None of Herodas' poems seem complete unless a slave gets a sound rating. Poor Kydilla is a dull, stupid wench, and stands gaping and inattentive.

42.—οὐ σοι λέγω αὐτῇ τῇ δίχ' ὥδε χασκεύσῃ; i.e. 'yawning as if you would come in two'; the phrase is vulgar.

44.—ἔστῃκε δ' ἔς μ' ὀρεῦσα καρκίνου μέζον, the comparison is with the outspread, squat, inert position of a crab, and his fixed unmeaning stare. So the maid, fat, lounging, with arms a-kimbo, and a fatuous stare. Compare vii. 123.

46-51.—The fault of l. 47 is not easy to emend. I can suggest nothing better than with W.G.R. to read οὔτε | βέβαιον εἶναι, though I should prefer something nearer the MS. At the end of l. 47 perhaps we might restore πανταχῇ δ[ε] ναρ|κ[η]σαι or possibly:

λαίμυστρον οὐτ' ὀργῇσι κρηγῇν οὔτε
βέβαιον αἰνεῖ πανταχῇ δ[ι]οικ[η]σαι!

Kynno's temper is sorely stirred; she feels herself 'to be swelling, as it were, with anger against her will.' She would like to give the hussy a good beating on the spot, but they are in the temple, and religion forbids.

53.—The beating is, however, only postponed for a more fitting opportunity; the girl, if so she goes on, will get her head broken one of these days. Restore:—

μαρτύρομαι, Κύδιλλα, τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον,
ὡς ἐκ με καίπερ οὐ θέλουσαν οἰδεῖσαι,
μαρτύρομαι, φήμ', ἐς σε τῇμέρῃ κείνῃ
ἐν ᾗ τὸ βρέγμα τοῦτο τῶιζυρὸν κνήσῃ.

52 foll.—The friend replies, in order to soothe her wrath:—

μὴ πάνθ' ἐτοίμως καρδίῃ βάλοι, Κυννοί,
δούλῃ 'στί, δούλῃς δ' ὥτα νοθρήν θλίβει·
ἀλλ' ἡμέρῃ γε κῆπι μέζον ὠθεῖται,

i.e. she is dull, but gentle, and is progressing somewhat with a little pushing.

56.—καὶ ἀνέται ὁ παστός, 'the shrine is thrown open,' from ἀνέημι.

57.—κοινὴν is not impossible, they see the hand of an Athena everywhere. Read:—

οὐχ ὀρής, φίλῃ Κυννοί
οἶ' ἔργα; κοινὴν ταῦτ' ἐρεῖς Ἀθηναίην
γλύψαι τὰ καλὰ· χαίρω δὲ Δέσποινά.

For the latter invocation, to excuse a too irreverent use of the goddess' name, see note on i. 34.

59.—There seems no reason why the MS. κίνω should not stand; it would be an unknown 2nd aor. of κινῶ. But perhaps better κνίσω.

65.—W.G.R.'s text of the preceding lines is obviously right, but I retain ἀργυρεῦν πεποιθισθαί.

68.—ζόνῃ ἡμέρῃ cannot be 'still life.' Read ζόνῃ βλέπονσι χῆμέρῃ.

72-78.—All one unbroken speech by Kynno. It is important to make it out, for it contains a very remarkable and very ancient tribute to the skill of Apelles. If ψαίνει may govern a dative, we may take the MS. as it stands:—

ἀληθινὰ φίλῃ γάρ αἱ Ἐφεσίου χεῖρες
ἐς πάντ' Ἀπέλλῳ γράμματ', οὐδ' ἐρεῖς 'κεῖνος
ὠνθρωπος ἐν μὲν εἶδεν ἐν δ' ἀπηνήθη,
ἀλλ' ὧ ἐπὶ νοῦν γένοιτο καὶ θεῶν ψαίνει
ἡπέεγεθ'· ὅς δ' ἐκείνον ἢ ἔργα τὰκείνου
μὴ παμφαλήσας ἐκ δίκης ὀρώρηκεν,
ποδὸς κρέματ' ἐκείνος ἐν γραφέως οἴκῳ.

"Aye, for the genuine hand of Ephesian Apelles, dear, is seen in all (these) paintings, nor will you say of him 'He was a man who could see one thing, but could not see another'; nay, whatever god it crossed his mind to handle, that god he hastened to handle." Apelles was, of course, as famous for his ideal creations, as for his portraits. μὴ παμφαλήσας, 'without due respect'; ἐκ δίκης, 'robbing him of his due.'

79 foll.—The sacristan comes to announce that the offerings of the women have proved favourable, and promise greater blessings for the future; never was Asklepios better pleased. In 80 I retain ἐμζώνως, putting a colon or full stop after ἐμβλέποντα. I gratefully accept W.G.R.'s attribution of αὐτῇ τῆς ὑγίης λῶ to Kottale. For the rest my restoration is as follows:

Sacristan.

ἰή, ἰή Παῖιον, εὐμενὴς εἰς
καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε καὶ τινες τῶνδε
ἔασι ὀπυῖται τε καὶ γεινῆς ἄσσον.

85 ἰή, ἰή Παῖιον, ὦδε ταῦτ' εἴη.

Woman.

εἴη γάρ, ὦ μέγιστε, χυγῇ πολλῇ
ἔλθοιμεν αἰτις, μέζον' ἱρ' ἀγινεῖσαι
σὺν ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισὶ. Κοττάλη, καλῶς
τεμεύσα μέμνεο τὸ σκελῦδιον δοῦναι

90 τῷ νεακῶρῳ τοῦρνιθος, ἐς τε τὴν τρώγλην
τὸν πέλανον ἔνθες τοῦ δράκοντος εὐφίμῳς,
καὶ ψαιστὰ δεῦσον· τᾶλλα δ' οἰκίης ἔδρη
δαισόμεθα· κῆπι μὴ λάθῃ φέρειν.

Kottale.

αὐτή

τῆς ὑγίης λῶ.

Woman.

πρόσδος· ἢ γὰρ ἱροῖσιν

95 μέζον ἁμαρτίας ἢ ὑγίη 'στι τῆς μοίρης.

I read ἔασι in l. 84, and ψαιστὰ in l. 92. The suggestion of sweethearts and kinsfolk in l. 84 leads up to the prayer about husbands and children in l. 88. In l. 93 foll. Kottale is advised to make an offering for herself afterwards out of the share of

good things she gets at home. She at once assents, for she too desires to enjoy the blessing of health. 'Make then the additional gift,' says the lady, 'for by means of sacrifice does Hygieia overcome whether transgression or fate,' *i.e.* the goddess here worshipped with her father, in return for sacrifice, heals us of sickness or prevents it seizing us, whether as the result of sin or of evil-fate. Here, as elsewhere in these poems, we are introduced to the actual thoughts and superstitions of the Greeks of the Hellenistic period.

V.

1.—For $\eta\delta$ of MS. read $\eta\varsigma$ or $\eta\sigma\theta'$.

11.— $\lambdaύσας$ may stand, if we take $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ $\xi\theta'$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\alpha\varsigma$; as merely parenthetical.

18.— $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho'$, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$; $\delta\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$ κ.τ.λ.

30.—Possibly $\mu\epsilon\theta'$ $\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ $\delta\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\nu$ $\omicron\nu\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\omicron}\psi\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$, *i.e.* 'you and she deserve to grind together in the same slavery, you, my cast-off leavings.'

41.—MS. $\omicron\delta\eta$. W.G.R. $\sigma\mu\eta$. Possibly $\theta\lambda\eta$, 'hit him,' which suits the violence of Bitinna and follows the *ductus literarum*.

52.— $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ Μικκάλης , 'the house of Mikkale', see Dr. Field's note on St. Luke ii. 49. Bitinna begins to feel the unwisdom of 'washing one's dirty linen in public.'

56.—She is now angry with Pyrrhies for having obeyed her orders and led off the culprit: he has (she declares) used quite unnecessary violence.

59.—Both Pyrrhies and Gastron shall be thrown into chains together. I feel sure that $\acute{\alpha}\chi\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ refers to some kind of fetters or stocks.

66.—She will have both of them branded. $\delta\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}$, *i.e.* Pyrrhies. $\mu\eta\eta$ $\delta\delta\omega$, 'all under one,' at the same time as his fellow-slave.

67, 68.—κατηργήσθω

$\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\mu\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ $\omicron\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$ η $\Delta\acute{\alpha}\omicron\nu$ $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$, *i.e.* while we are punishing Davus for his pilferings let us punish the mouse as well. In other words, Gastron and Pyrrhies are both guilty, they differ only in degree.

69.— $\mu\eta$ $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\iota$ $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, *i.e.* 'spare him even now, at the eleventh hour.'

70.—Batyllis seems to be a daughter of Bitinna by this self-same favourite.

77.— $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\nu$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\nu\omicron\nu$, 'seeing I am mistress in my own house.'

81.— $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ σ' $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\nu$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$

$\tau\eta\nu$ $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\nu$ $\eta\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$ η Βατυλλίδα $\sigma\acute{\tau}\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega$, κ.τ.λ.

'Thank Bitylla for your release; I love her like my own daughter, for I have brought her up from a child.'

84, 85.—

$\epsilon\pi\eta\nu$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ $\epsilon\gamma\chi\upsilon\tau\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\delta'$, $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$ $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$.

'And when we have paid our libations to the dead, why you shall of course marry her, and make festival upon festival,' the marriage festivity shall come on the top of the other solemnity.

What this festival was we do not know, except that it was in honour of the dead. There were $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ at Athens, and the Epicureans were called Εικαδισταί because they kept the twentieth of each month in honour of their founder's memory (Schömann, *Griechische Alterthümer* ii. 549). Is this referred to here? Of the 'Gerania' (l. 80), held $\epsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\tau\eta\nu$ ($\mu\epsilon\tau'$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$) *i.e.* the twenty-fifth, I know nothing. W.G.R.'s suggestion is worth noting.

VI.

1.— Κάθησο , Μητροί , $\tau\eta$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ $\epsilon\varsigma$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\omicron\nu$. This is nearer the MS. $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ = $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$.

9.—If $\delta\acute{\iota}\phi\rho\omicron\varsigma$ may be used in the masculine by Herodas, then $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ refers back to l. 1. The servant, alarmed by her mistress' voice rating her for her idleness, bustles up to dust and polish the chair. Or perhaps for $\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ rather read $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$.

10.— $\omicron\tau'$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\chi\rho[\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota]$; $\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\iota}$, $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon$ $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$.

Coritto wants the girl to be off about her business, that she may talk secrets with Metro. 'Why does the wench begin tidying and polishing up the room, when they want to use it? You pirate! be off along this way! or else—' $\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, because impudent and unwelcome.

15.—Restore :

$\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ $\omicron\upsilon\nu\kappa\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ σ' $\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$, $\epsilon\kappa\pi\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$ $\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\phi\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\omicron\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}$ $\omicron\tau\alpha$ $\mu\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ δ' $\alpha\lambda\lambda'$ $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$.

'Now I have come to see you, all my worries are vanished and fled. When bosom-friends meet ears and tongues alone are busy, all else keeps holiday.' Perhaps better $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}$. This is spoken also by Metro, by way of soothing Coritto. I assign lines 12—21 continuously to Metro.

23.— $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma$ $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ *sc.* $\delta\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, for perhaps in so saying she kisses her friend's forehead or eyes.

26, 27.—Perhaps we may read :

$\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\grave{\alpha}\nu$ $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$

$\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ η $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}$ $\mu\eta$ $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$ $\kappa\omicron\tau'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\psi\epsilon\iota$.

'Saying, as she gave it away, women would not so much as notice whether the same woman wore it out'; *i.e.* nobody would notice the change of owners.

28.—What is $\beta\alpha\nu\beta\acute{\omega}\nu$? Pretty certainly a head-gear, a band for holding the hair. It

was stitched (l. 27, 47), and was laced up (l. 72). I incline to think it a sort of night-cap, from βαμβάω.

33 foll.— τὰλλα Νοσσίδι χρήσθω,
τῇ—μὴ δοκέω μέζον μὲν ἢ γυνὴ λέξαι,
λάβοιμι δ', Ἀδρήστεια!—χιλίων εὐντων,
ἐν' οὐκ ἂν ὅστις σαπρὸς ἐστί προσδοίην.

44, 45.—

τί μοι ἐνβλέπεις γελῶσα; νῦν ὀρώρηκας
Μητροῦν τὸ πρῶτον; ἢ τί τὰβρά (τὰ ἀβρά) σοι
ταῦτα;

Coritto has looked her in the face with a smile of coy and coquettish deprecation.

47. The whole line is Metro's: ἀλλ' εἶπε τὸν ῥάψαντα. μὰ ἦν τί μοι ἐν εὐχῇ, i.e. 'I vowed I would find it out.'

56.—This pious wish, 'May her friends never forget her!' is in keeping with the other indications of religious awe in these poems; see note on i. 34 and iv. 95.

59–61.—

... ἦκει, φαλακρός, μικρός· αὐτὸ ἐρεῖς εἶναι
Πηργείον, οὐδ' ἂν σῦκον εἰκάσαι σῦκφ
ἔχουσις ἂν οὕτω, πλήν κ.τ.λ.

I fancy αὐτὸ may stand, either as a kind of adverb, or else *per tmesin* for αὐτοπηργέινος, like αὐτοάνθρωπος, αὐθόμηρος and the like (see Viger, *De idiotismis*, note on p. 134).

64.—τελώνας. One would like to know whether these taxes were merely local, to support the government of Cos, or to supply tribute to Ptolemy. Whether or no Cos was exempt from such tribute, it was certainly αὐτονόμος, and in high favour with the Egyptian kings (see *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Introduction).

67.—ῥωθεν δύο γὰρ ἦλθ', or ἐκέιθεν i.e. from his shop just described.

68.—ἰδοῖσα μ[έντοι] τῶμματ' ἐξέκύμνη. 'The sight of them however set my eyes in a flutter': for the verb, compare i. 56.

69.—What τὰ βάλλια are (assuming the MS. to be correct) I do not know. They must be some portion, or some ornamentation, of the βαυβών; possibly some kind of border, or ornamental stitches, or eyelet-holes.

70.—αὐταὶ γάρ, if correct, must be connected with a verb in the first person plural, e.g. ἴσμεν, which would complete the metre.

71, 72.—

ἀλλ' ἢ μαλακότης ὕπνος, οἱ δ' ἱμαντίσκοι
ῥια, οὐχ ἱμάντες.

'Its softness is sleep itself' (a delightful bit of rhetoric), 'and the laces are wool not thongs,' i.e. though of leather they are more like wool.

77.—K. finds ταταλίζονσα, which I had conjectured, to be perfectly in accord with

the remains of letters in the MS. The meaning is plain, 'calling him deary.'

80.—ἔδει γὰρ ἀλλὰ καιρὸν οὐ πρέποντ' εἶναι. ['But that was out of the question,] for, you must know, the moment was doomed to be inopportune, for Bitas' slave came in upon us—'

82.—αὕτη γὰρ ἡμέων ἡμέρην τε καὶ νύκτα
τρίβονσα τὸν ὄνον σκωρίην πεποίηκεν,
ὅκως τὸν ἐωυτῆς μὴ τετρωβόλον κόψῃ.

'For she by coming to grind night and day has reduced my mill-stone to powder, for fear of shattering her own at a cost of four obols'; i.e. Bitas' quern was out of repair and cracked, and worth but a few pence, therefore to save it, his slave is perpetually coming in to borrow Coritto's.

89, 90.—

δεῖ [δ], εἰ μὲν Ἀρτεμῖς τι καινὸν εὐρήσει,
πρόσω πιεῖσα[ν] τὴν προκυκλὴν θάλ[πει]ν,
i.e. 'It is but right, if Artemis makes any fresh discovery, for her to taste herself and then hand on the cup to others.' The peculiar meaning of προκυκλέω, προκυκλῖς, προκυκλία we now know from the title of i.; they are synonymous with προαγωγέω. The verb προκυκλέω is (I believe) only in the Rhodian Swallow-song (Athen. 360), παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει | ἐκ πίονος οἴκου: clearly its use there is humorous and figurative, 'procure, betray us a fig-cake.' And precisely so προκυκλῖν in the line before us.

96.—ὑγίαινε, 'Good-bye.' At the end of the line perhaps [πά]λαι μάτ[ην] χωρεῖ.

VII.

74 foll.—Cerdo loquitor:—

Ἐρμῇ τε Κέρδων, καὶ σὺ κερδεία Πειθοῖ!

75. ὥς ἦν τι μὴ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐς βόλον κύρση,
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅκως ἄμεινον ἢ χύτρη πρήξει.

'Unless some fish comes now to my net, my fish-pot is likely to be badly off.' This is an aside; hence the next speech.

Μητρώ.

τί τονθορύξεις κοῦκ ἐλευθέρῃ γλάσση
τὸν τίμον ὅστις ἐστὶν ἐξειδίφησας;

Κέρδων.

γύναι, μὴς μὴς ἐστὶν ἄξιον τοῦτο

80. τὸ ζεῖγος, ἢ ἄνω σ' ἢ κάτω βλέπειν· χαλκοῦ
ρίνημ' ὃ δὴ κοτ' ἐστὶ, τῆς Ἀθηναίης
ὠνευμένης αὐτῆς, ἂν οὐκ ἀποστάξαι.

'If Athena herself were my customer, not a fraction would I abate of the price, ever so small.'

Μητρώ.

μάλ' εἰκότως σευ τὸ στεγύλλιον, Κέρδων,
ἐπέπληθε δαψιλέων τε καὶ καλὸν ἔργων,
(i.e. if you sell them so dear,)

85. φύλασσε καλῶς αὐτὰ· τῇ γὰρ εἰκοστῇ
τοῦ Ταυρεῶνος ἢ Ἐκάτης γάμον ποιεῖ
τῆς Ἀρτακηνῆς, χυποδημάτων χρεῖη

τάχ' οὖν τὰ λῆς πρόσεισι σὺν τύχῃ πρὸς σε.
μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων ἀλλὰ θύλακον ῥάβναι,

90. τὰς μνείας ὅκως σοι μὴ αἱ γαλαῖ διοίσουσιν. Metro declines to pay his price, and so to beat him down she has recourse to banter. 'There's the festival coming on the 20th of Taureon, when Hecate makes a ἱερός γάμος, (a mystery festival in honour of our Lady of Artace and her marriage with Pluto). There will be a demand for shoes (among the ladies). No doubt you will get your prices, and have good luck. But be sure, above all else, to stitch you a wallet to hold your coins, for fear the "cat" spirits them away.' He replies, 'Though Hecate came to my shop, or our Lady of Artace herself, she shall not be asked less than a mina.' Cyzicus was famous for the worship of Demeter and Proserpine: see Greenwall's *Electrum Coinage of Cyzicus*, pp. 11, 12; Propertius iv. 22, 4; Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 10; Appian, *Mithr.* 75. Of course these passages say nothing of Artace, the suburb of Cyzicus, nor of any temple of Proserpine thereat; but they make my suggestion the more probable.

91 foll. may provisionally be restored as follows. So much of the papyrus is mutilated here that even the drift of some lines is obscure; but where the MS. is entire, I feel pretty confident of my readings.

ΚΕΡΔΩΝ.

"Ὦν τ' ἡ Ἑκάτῃ ἔλθῃ μῆτις ἔλασσον οὐκ οὔσει,
ἦν τε ἡ Ἀρτακηνή.

ΓΥΝΗ.

Πρὸς τὰδ' εἰ θέλεις σκέπτειν
οὐ σοὶ δίδωσι καὶ ἡ ἀγαθὴ τύχη, Κέρδων,
ψαῦσαι ποδισκῶν ὦν πόθοι τε κήρωτες
ψαῦουσιν ἀλλ' οἷς κνῖσα καὶ κακὴ λώβη. 95
ὥστ' ἐκ μὲν ἡμέων διαφόρως σεωντοῦ πρήξεις,
ταῦτῃ δὲ δώσεις κείνο τὸ ἕτερον ζεύγος.
κόσπον πάλιν; πρήμνηνον ἀξίαν φωνήν
σεωντοῦ.

K. Στατήρας πέντε· ναὶ μὰ θεοὺς φοιτᾷ
ἡ ψάλτρι' [Εὐ]ετηρίς ἡμέραν πᾶσαν 100
λαβεῖν ἀνώγουσ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μιν ἐχθαίρω
κῆν τέσσαράς μοι δαρικοὺς ὑπόσχεται,
δοῦνέκεν μιν τὴν γυναῖκα τωβάξει
κακοῖσι δεινοῖς.

Γ. Εἰ [δὲ χρημάτων] χρεῖη,
φέρ', εὐλαβοῦ [δῆ'] τῶν τριῶ[ν θέλεις]
δοῦναι 105
καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ταῦτ' [— — —] δαρ[ικῶν]
ἐκτι Μητροῦς τῆσδε;

K. Δ[εῖνον οὐ φήσ]ει[ς]
εἶ[ναι] τό μ' ἐλάσαι σαν[ιδάλων γε τεχνίτην?]
εἶοντ' ἀληθινὸν ἐς θεοὺς ἀνα[π]τῆ[ναι];

Γ. Ἐχεις γὰρ οὐχὶ γλᾶσαν ἢ δ[ύ]νῃ δὴ
ἐλθεῖν. 110

K. Μ]ὰ, θεῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐ μακρὴν ἄ[πο ζώει]
δῶξ σὺ χεῖλα νύκτα χῆμέρην οὐ[γγυς].
φέρ', ὥδε τὸν ποδίσκον εἰς ἱ[χ]νος θῶ[μεν].

(He proceeds to measure the lady's foot, or to try on a sandal.)

Γ. Πιάξ' μήτε προσθῆς μήτ' ἀπ' οὖν ἔλῃ μηδέν.
K. Τὰ καλὰ πάντα τῆς καλῆσιν ἀρμόζει. 115
αὐτὴν ἐρεῖς τὸ πέλμα τὴν Ἀθηναίην
τεμῖν. δὸς αὐτῇ καὶ σὺ τὸν πόδα.—

(He proceeds to do the same for the other lady.)

ψωρῇ
ἄρρηεν ὅπλῃ βοῦς ὁ λακτίσας ὑμᾶς.
εἴ τις πρὸς ἱχνος ἠκόνησε τὴν σμίλιν,
οὐκ ἂν (μὰ τὴν Κέρδωνος Ἑστῆν) οὕτω 120
τοῦργον σαφέως ἔκειτ' ἂν ὡς σαφέως κείται.—

(An inquisitive lady stares in at the door in passing, and seems amused at the group.)

αὕτη σὺ, δώσεις ἔπτα δαρικοὺς τοῦδε,
ἡ μέζον ἵππου πρὸς θύρῃ κιχλίζουσα.—

(To the customers.)

γυναῖκες, ἣν ἔχῃτε χητέρων χρεῖαν
ἢ σαμβάλισκον ἢ ἂ κατ' οἰκὴν ἔλκειν 125
εἴθισθε, τὴν δούλῃν [μὲν] ὥδε [δεῖ] πέμπειν·
σὺ δ' ἦκε, Μητροῖ, πρὸς με τῇ ἐνάτῃ πάντως
ὅκως λαβῆς καρκίνια· τὴν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην
θάλλουσιν εἰ δέ [τ]ὸν φρονοῦντα καὶ ῥάπ-
τειν.

94.—See the Cupids in attendance at the toilet-scenes so common upon Greek *myxides*.

95.—I gladly adopt W.G.R.'s reading.

96.—διαφόρως is not far from the letters of the MS.

98.—W.G.R. is probably right in his punctuation.

104–107.—Merely a suggestion of the probable drift.

107–109.—My suggestion is very doubtful, but still possible. The shoemaker is a testy fellow with a sharp tongue. But he is beginning to relent; for Metro is a very valuable customer, and the other lady has talked him down. Half seriously he complains of their hard treatment of him. They beat him down so much that he will have to leave; he is an honest man, and this unfair world is not fit for him; like Astraea, he will have to flit to the gods.

110.—'If he reaches the gods, it will not be by virtue of his tongue.'

113.—I feel pretty sure of ἱ[χ]νος. It may mean either the sole of a sandal (so line 119), or perhaps a pattern sole for measuring the size of the foot.

114.—Clearly the lady's exclamation. He has fitted her perfectly; he cannot better it.

117, 118.—The proverb must mean: ‘Anybody who flouts such charming ladies must be an ill-conditioned fellow indeed.’

119–121.—‘To sharpen one’s knife on the sole of one’s shoe’ seems proverbial for a careless, untidy, inaccurate workman. This perfect fit could never have been turned out by rule of thumb.

123.—She grins like a horse: the comparison is confined to the mouth. See on iv. 44.

128–129.—The jerkin that keeps one warm a wise man will take care to keep mended’: *i.e.* Metro is a good customer, and therefore shall be well attended to.

The metaphor in *βαλτη* is appropriate to a *σκυτεὺς*. The saying is an aside, and Metro is not supposed to hear it.

I have not been at pains to restore the correct dialectical forms: this would require further study, for which I have had no time. The way in which staters and darics are spoken of in the last 25 lines of No. vii. is worth the attention of numismatists. The stater is the silver stater, I suppose, or tetradrachm, which was current coin. The (gold) daric was no longer current, but seems used like our guinea to express a large sum. It is as if we talked of crowns and guineas.

E. L. HICKS.

i. 1, 2. *θ.....α αρασσι την θυρην τις ουκ οψι
.....παρ ημεων εξ αγροικης ηκει*

Dr. Rutherford writes

*Θρείσσ', ἀράσσει τὴν θύρην τις· οὐκ ὄψει
εἰ τις παρ' ἡμέας ἐξ ἀγροικίης ἦκει;*

Θρείσσ' is plainly right. But may we not keep the *παρ' ἡμέων* of the MS. and read *τίς τῶν παρ ἡμέων ἐξ ἀγροικίης ἦκει*?

40, 41. *χιλαρη καταστηθι
.....ς αλλον*

Dr. Rutherford conjectures *ἀνδρῶν πρὸς ἄλλον*. As Herondas lengthens a short vowel before *πρ* at iii. 62 and v. 76, why not *ἄνδρα πρὸς ἄλλον*?

47, 48. *αλλα μη τις εσθηκες
συνε[σ]τ' υ[φ] ημων*

The editor tells us that ‘a dot is placed over the last letter’ of *εσθηκες*, ‘presumably to cancel it,’ and that *ημεων* is ‘apparently corrected to *ημιν*.’ Is it certain that the sixth letter of 48 is *τ*, and not *γ*? I think that the scribe meant

*ἀλλὰ μή τις ἔσθηκε
σύνεγγυς ἡμῖν;*

(As *σύνεγγυς* takes both genitive and dative, the variant *ἡμέων* is quite intelligible.) Gullis, now that she is coming to the point of her discourse, is anxious to assure herself that there is no one within hearing.

69–72.

*και την φιλην Δημητρα ταυτ εγω[γ]ε αλλης
γυναικος ουκ αν ηδεως ε[π]ηκου[σ]α
χωλην δ αιει δειν χωλον εξεπαιδευσα
και της θυρης τον ουδον εχθρον ηγεισθαι*

Dr. Rutherford writes in 71 *χωλὴν δ' αἰε*

δεῖν πῶλον ἐξεπαιδεύθην. I think that the reading of the MS., differently divided, should be retained:

χωλὴν δ' αἰεῖν χωλὸν ἐξεπαίδευσα.
‘I would have taught her to keep to birds of her own feather, and to hate the sight of my doorstep.’

ii. 71, 72.

*ω γηρας
σοι θυετω επ...τον μαν εξεφυσησεν.*

Dr. Rutherford reads *ἐπεὶ τόλμαν*. I think that the text of the MS. is substantially sound, and that we should read

*ὦ γῆρας,
σοὶ θυέτω· ἐπεὶ τὸν ἔμ' ἂν ἐξεφύσησεν.*

‘Old age, he should render a grateful sacrifice to thee; for such exertions would have made *me* a proud man.’ For *τὸν ἐμέ*, compare Plato *Philebus*, 20 b. That a dactyl is admissible in the third foot, appears from iv. 19.

iii. 8–13.

*κου μεν η θυρη κειται
του γραμματιστω και τριηκας η πικρη
τον μισθον αιτι κην τα Ναννακου κλανσω
ουκ αν ταχως ληξει την γε μην παιστηρην
οκου περ οικιζουσιν οι τε προνυκιοι
κοι δραπεται σαφ οιδε κητεροι διει*

Apparently the mother complains that her boy, though ready enough to guide any one to the Casino, will be in no hurry to tell or show the way to the school-house. Hence for *ληξει*, I desiderate *λέξει* or *δείξει*. Is it certain that the initial letter is *λ*? (I suppose that *καὶ τριηκὰς ἢ πικρὴ τὸν μισθὸν αἰτεῖ*,

κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω is a mere by-the-by.)

19-21.

αι δορκαλιδες δε ναι παρωτεραι πολλων
εν τησι φυσις τοις τε δικτοις κεινται
της ληκυθου ημεων τη επι παντι χρωμεσθα

The editor adds: 'δε ναι: at first written, δαι, but ἐν is written above, apparently for insertion.' Is it possible that what was 'at first written' was, not δαι, but δλι, and that the supposed ν is in reality the mark of a short syllable as in iv. 62? I suspect that the scribe found αἱ δορκαλιδες δὲ λιπαρώτεραι πολλόν, and added the mark over the ι to show his appreciation of the false quantity. I understand Metrotime to say—'his knuckle-bones—which from much use in the past are brighter than the family λήκυθος—are now neglected.' But was Herondas guilty of the false quantity which the conscientious scribe has preserved? Is it possible that the letters λι, which have intruded themselves into δορκάδες, are a survival from an earlier reading?

58. Μητροιτιμη επευχεο

Both metre and sense suggest Μητροτίμη, μὴ ἐπεύχεο. Lampriscus, interrupting, assures the anxious mother that prayers are unnecessary: her boy shall have all she asks.

63, 64.

ου σοι ετ απαρκει ταισι δορκασιν παιζειν
ἀστράβδ οκωσπερ οιδε

The sense is plain: 'you are no longer content to play at dibs with knuckle-bones, like your school-fellows.' But is it not likely that the name of the game was ἀστράδα, rather than ἀστράβδα?

68. κου μοι το δριμυ σκυλος η βοος κερκος
ωι

Dr. Rutherford points out that the ν in σκυλος is short. Should we read

κοῦ μοι τὸ δριμὺ σκύτος—ἡ βόος κέρκος—
ὦ κ.τ.λ.?

77, 78.

κοσας κοσας Λαμπρισκε λισσομαι μελλις
ες μεν φορησαι μη με τηνδε διρωτα

Dr. Rutherford reads ἔς μ' ἐνφορήσαι. I imagine that Lampriscus' interruption deprives us of an obvious accusative. For the order of the words, compare v. 76 ἔς μεν οἰκαίως τὸ πρόσωπον.

iv. 42. ου σοι λεγω αὔτη τη

Dr. Rutherford writes αὐτῇ. Rather, as the accent indicates, αὔτη.

v. 4-11. Adopting from Dr. Rutherford χρέω μοι ὄκη and ἰμονήθρην, and writing, for Ἀμφυταιην, Ἀμφυταίη, I would distribute and punctuate these lines as follows:

Γ. ἐγὼ Ἀμφυταίη; τὴν λέγεις ὀρώρηκα
γυναῖκα;

B. προφάσεις πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἔλκεις·
'Βίτιννα, δοῦλός εἰμι· χρέω μοι ὄκη βούλει,'
καὶ 'μὴ τό μεν αἶμα νύκτα χημέρην πίνε.'
ὅσῃν δὲ καὶ τὴν γλᾶσσαν οὗτος ἔσχηκας—
Κυδίλλα, κοῦ στί Πυρρίης; κάλει μοι αὐτόν.

Π. τί ἐστι;

B. τοῦτον δῆσον—ἀλλ' ἔθ' ἔστηκας;—
τὴν ἰμονήθρην τοῦ κάδου ταχέως λύσας.
vi. 1, 2.

καθῆσο Μητροι τη γυναικias ες δίφρον
ἀνασταθείσ[α]

So B. M. But in the note we read: 'Apparently the scribe began to write γυναικιδος, but altered the word before reaching the last letter, as the last two letters of γυναικias are written over δο. The α however is not certain, and as there is a dot above it, it may be intended to be cancelled.' I suspect that the letter which follows the dotted α is not σ but θ: in other words, that the scribe began to write γυναικὶ δός, and then substituted γυναικὶ θές. The words τῇ γυναικὶ θές δίφρον ἀνασταθείσα, as well as the sentences which follow, are of course addressed to the servant.

9-11.

νυν αυτον [ε]κμασσις τε και ποις λαμπρον
οτ ες τι χρ . . ληστρι θυε μοι ταυτη
επει σε γε . . αν των εμων εγω χειρεων

Dr. Rutherford's excellent σ' ἔγενσ' ἂν is plainly to be accepted. To complete the sense of the passage, it only remains to write

νῦν αὐτὸν ἐκμάσσεις τε καὶ ποιεῖς λαμπρὸν
ὅτ' ἐστὶ χρεῖη. ληστρί, θυέ μοι.—ταύτη·
ἐπεὶ σ' ἔγενσ' ἂν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ χειρῶν.

'There? just when the chair is wanted, it has to be dusted and cleaned. Make haste, thief!—That will do: else,' etc.

70. αυται γαρ.... It seems obvious to write αὐταὶ γάρ ἐσμεν, and to treat these words as a parenthesis.

96, 97.

υγιαιν εμ λαιματ . . χωρει
ημι . . φ.....στι

The last words of 96 would appear to be μάτην χώρει: 'you may have your journey for nothing!' The moment that Metro has gone, Coritto, talking to herself, reveals the secret: she has bought both the 'articles of apparel,' if that is the right phrase, and Metro will take nothing by her visit to Artemis.

101.

ωρι[v]θ αι κην τρεφηι τις εν κολπωι

Read:

ὠρνυσθ' ἄρ' ἔχιδναί κῆν τρέφῃ τις ἐν κόλπῳ.

vii. 50, 51.

τ[α]υτην . . υμιν . . ανη Μητρ[οι]

το ζευγος ετερον χατε[ρ]ον μαλ εξοισει

Read :

τοῦτ' ἦν κον μιν ἀलगύνη, Μητροῖ,

τὸ ζεύγος, κ.τ.λ.

‘If this pair hurts the foot, he shall bring out another and then another.’

vii. 124–126.

γυναikes ην εχhte κητερων χρευην

η σαμβαλισκων η ακατοικιην ελκιν

ειθ ισθε την μοι δουλ[ην] ωδε πεμπιν

So B. M. In 126 Dr. Rutherford writes :

εἴθισθε, τήν μοι— ὧδε δὲ πέμπειν.

To complete the line, I propose

εἴθισθ', ἔτην μοι ἡ δοῦλον ὧδε δὲ πέμπειν.

128, 129.

την γαρ ουν βαιτην

θαλπουσαν ευδειν δολιφρονουντα και ραπτιν

So B. M. But the editor adds the note : ‘δολιφρονουντα : or δονφρονουντα, which certainly seems to be what the scribe actually wrote.’ Read :

την γὰρ οὖν βαίτην

θάλπους ἀνευ δεῖ ὕδον φρονοῦντ' ἀκᾶ ράπτειν.

Cerdon pompously excuses himself for fixing a distant day : the sewing will require cool reflection in the privacy of his studio. It will be seen that this distribution of the words does not entail any deviation from the text of the MS. With ἀκᾶ ράπτειν, compare perhaps iv. 57 οἱ ἐργα κῶινην which I suppose to represent οἱ ἔργ' ἀκᾶ νείν : ‘what triumphs of needle-work !’

HENRY JACKSON.

CANNES.

9 September, 1891.

I.

3. εσωδε is clearly ἔσωθε, and should not be altered.

9. Perhaps τί σὺ θέλεις πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ; ‘what do you want with civilized men ?’—what errand makes you force your way into respectable society ?

19, 20. The punctuation is perhaps thus :

σῖλλαينه ταῦτα· τῆς νεωτέρης ὑμῖν

πρόσεστιν· ἄλλ' οὐ τοῦτο μὴ σε θερμῆνῃ.

‘Jibe on as you will : it is natural to young women like you : but it will never give you any real warmth’—such as you may get from me.

37. Read κᾶτ' οὖν λήσεις.

39-41. Read

χῆμέρας μετάλλαξον
[τὸν ν]οῦν δὴ ἢ τρεῖς, χίλαρῃ κατάστηθι
κλίνας' (or νεῖουσ') ἐς ἄλλον.

55. Perhaps ἄθικτ[ος ἐς] Κυθηρείην σφρηγίς, ‘a pure gem for Aphrodite's service.’

56. Obviously ἰδὼν σε καθ' ὁδοῦ τῆς μέσης.

60. ἀγκαλίζει, ‘fondles.’

62. κατάρτησον. I think in a less distinct sense than that suggested by Rutherford : ‘turn all your thoughts to Aphrodite,’ ‘have no thought except for love’ : tota pende ex Venere, h.e. toto animo, tota mente.

64. καὶ λῶα πρήξεις ἢ ὅκεῖς ποτ' ἂν πρήξαι.

74 sqq. μετρημαῖς seems to be μὴ ταιρείαῖς (μὴ ἐταιρείαῖς) ‘keep for younger women such

a tale as would be indecent to prostitutes.’ μὴ would thus = μηδέ.

II.

28-30.

ὃν χρῆν' εαυτὸν ὅστις ἐστὶ κακ ποίου

πηλοῦ πεφύργητ' εἰδοτ', ὡς ἐγὼ ζῶειν

τῶν δημοτέων φρίσσοντα καὶ τὸν ἥκιστον.

Rutherford is strangely wrong here.

44. κυσος seems to be a neuter form of κύσθος sens. obsc. τάτης perhaps for ἀπάτης, = ἀπατεῶν.

72. Perhaps σοὶ θνέτω, ἐπεὶ ὦν τόλμαν ἐξέφύσησεν : ἐπεὶ by itself is metrically too weak, I think.

78. θαρσέων λεηλατοῦμ' ἂν εἰ Θαλῆς εἴη.

So I conjectured before seeing Mr. Headlam's paper in *Athenaeum* of Sept. 12. He however reads εἴην, as Rutherford. I retain εἴη, ‘virtutem uero quod attinet, fidenter ipse praedae abigam si ex Thaletis domo abigendae sint.’

79. οὐδὲν δεινὸν looks right, in spite of the dots over δ and ε of οὐδέν. It is difficult to imagine anything more Greek or more completely in character.

III.

32, 33 may be right as printed by Kenyon : ‘assuming the part of an old man stricken both in ears and eyes, he proceeds to strain him out as it were from a jar with

holes, drop by drop.' I would explain this of some gesture the boy makes, in ridicule of the slow and painful way in which an old man discharges his water or dribbles out his words.

50. *ρακιν* is, I think, 'his spine' not 'the bridge of his nose,' as R.

55. *οτ ημος* looks right, at any rate ought not to be altered summarily.

58—60 may perhaps be written thus

μη λασσον αυτω —

Λαμπ. *Μητροτίμη [μη] πείχεο.*

ἔξει γὰρ οὐδὲν μέιον.

'as you would be happy and fortunate, Lampriskus, give him no less'—*Lampr.* 'Metrotima, no imprecations: he shall get what you wish all the same.'

62. *δείξοντες* with *οὐκ ἀρέϊτε*. The school-master orders the offending Cottalus to be lifted on the back of one of the slaves and whipt, thus *exposing*, or perhaps, *making him an example*. The attitude is familiarly known by the Pompeian picture.

64. *αστραβδα* looks genuine. It probably describes the posture of boys playing with each other [Mr. Headlam compares *κύβδα*] at some game of dice. *οἶδε* like the lads we see; not any that he sees at the moment, but like Latin *hi*.

παίστρη like *πίστρη* must be a *place*, cp. *ποτίστρη*. Cottalus knows the way to the recognised playground of the looser characters—the common porters and runaway slaves.

66. *κινευντα μηδε καρφοσι το γ ηδιστον*. The meaning seems to be: 'I will make you as well-behaved as a girl, you shall be so still as not to set the least bit of chaff astir.' Then *κάρφος* must be separated from *ι*, and *τό γ' ἡκιστον* written with R. But what then is *ι*? *ἐν* is the only suitable word that occurs: *εἰ* seems barely admissible.

71. Rutherford thinks that Cottalus abridges *Lampriskus* to *Priskus*. Would not this be dangerous while the whipping goes on? I should prefer to drop the *Λ*. The boy's fright might make him drop *one* letter, hardly *three*.

75. *χωρεῖν* seems here to mean 'go off well,' i.e. sell at a good price.

79. Possibly *εἰ ἔτι* (so R.) *συζῶην*, 'if I consent to live with you,' instead of running off to my grandmother's.

82. Perhaps *οὐκέτ' οὐχί τοι πρήξω*: or even *οὐχί τι πρ*.

87. *οὐδεκλήξαι*. R. *οὐδ' ἂν ἐκλήξαις*. But the *κ* is a genuine relique: read therefore *οὐδέκω λήξεις* or *οὐδέκω ἂν λήξαις*.

90, 91. *δήκου* may be rightly given by the papyrus. The following words *τὸ μὴθὲν ἀλλ'*

ἐς εἰκοσὶν γε appear to mean 'nothing short of as many as twenty lashes at the least.'

IV.

16. *ιητρα* like *θρέπτρα* is unexceptionable: 'we should have offered something better than a cock as our fee for Asklepios' healing our complaints.'

20. Perhaps *τῆς ὑγίης μοι μᾶ καλῶν*.

26. Papyr. *ευθιης*, which may be right; she plays on the name. 'May Paeon be gracious to these as to us, and may he be a veritable forwarder (Euthies) of fine workmanship.'

36. Possibly *ὅκως βιβᾶ, τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῆς Μύττω* (? *Μύσττω*).

42. *αυτη* is difficult; we should expect *αὐτως*. I suggest that *αὐτῇ* was used for *αὐτως*: the rest of the v. was perhaps *τῇδε χῶδε χασκούσῃ*.

44. *καρκίνου μέζον* is not to be altered. The slave stares, making great eyes like a crab.

46. Read *οὐτ' ὀργῆς σε κρηγύην οὔτε βέβηλος αἰνεῖ, πανταχῇ δ' ἀργὸς κείσαι*: 'neither priest nor layman has a word of praise of your goodness: everywhere you lie idle.'

49, 50. She takes Asklepios to witness her vexation at the idleness of the slave, *ὡς ἔκ μ' ἐκναίσας οὐ θέλουσαν οἰδῆσαι*. Theocr. xv. 88 *ἐκκναισέντι πλατειάσδοισαι ἅπαντα οἰδῆσαι, ἱρασεί*.

54. Surely the meaning is: 'But day has come and is moving on.' The door is opened accordingly. *κανεῖθ'* for *καὶ ἀνεῖται* should not be altered: the shrine may now be entered.

57. *κοινην*, the papyrus: *καυνήν* would be easier—a new Athene, i.e. Athene in her latest development as patroness of art and the last inventions in art.

67. It is difficult not to believe that *ἀνάσιμος* should be read for *ἀνάσιλλος*. For (1) this is suggested by the immediately preceding *χῶ γυντὸς οἶτος*, (2) it is not certain that *ἀνάσιλλος* can be used adjectively.

68. *ζοην βλεπωσιν ημερην* has a strangely modern look. I do not remember to have seen the combination elsewhere.

72 *sqq.* Here Rutherford has quite missed the meaning. Without changing a word of the papyrus as printed by Kenyon, translate: 'they are the absolute lines of Apelles; you will never say "That man saw one thing, was denied the sight of another." Not so: but whatever came into his mind, he pressed on to attain that even at a run. If there be any who has looked upon Apel-

les or his works without the due awe they claim, I wish he may hang by the foot in a fuller's shop.' One change alone is needed; ἄλλ' οἱ ἐπι can hardly be anything but either ὁ ἐπὶ or οὗ ἐπὶ, by attraction, *i.e.* ὁ 'πὶ.

82-85. I read thus:

ἰὴ ἰὴ Παῖον, εὐμενὴς εἴης
καλοῖς ἐπ' ἱροῖς ταῖσδε, κεί τις ἐκ τῶνδε,
ἐταῖς ὀπυῖται τε καὶ γενὴς ἄσπον.

'et si quia ex his prognata fuerit, nubat propinquorum alicui nec longe a familia sua.'

γενὴς not γονὴς is also given by the papyrus in II. 1.

90. Cf. Prop. iv. 8, 7-14.

92. καὶ ψαιστὰ δεῖσον.

V.

6. χρῶ ὃ τι καὶ βούλει.

18. φέρ' εἰς σύ.

41. οδῶ the papyrus: σμῆ Rutherford: possibly θλῆ 'smash his nose'; so vii. 7. κόπτε τὸ ῥύγχος.

68. Perhaps ἡ Δάω 'ντίμη (Entima).

69. Read μὴ πατιῶ ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν &c.

73. For μη λυπεῖτε με read μὴ λυπεῖτ' ἡμί.

85. This v. must have ended, I think,
...ἵτιν ὀρτὴν ἐξ ὀρτῆς,

But what the last adjective is I cannot see. The metre will not bear ἀλκνονίτιν.

VI.

1. Κάθησο, Μητροῖ, τῇ γυναικας ἐς δίφρον.
ἀνασταλείσαν πάντα δεῖ με προστάσσειν αὐτήν.

ἀναστα- is all that Kenyon vouches for: but ἀνασταθείσαν seems to me hardly suitable. I suggest ἀνασταλείσαν. Koritto is impatient, and declares she must tuck up her dress and see to her orders in person.

5. ἐν τῇ οἰκίῃ εἰς[σύ].

Slave. μὴ] ἀλλὰ τὰλφει' ἦν μετρήs.

10. The name was, I believe, *Thalestris*. Read therefore ὅτ' ἐς τι χρή. Θάληστρι, θυέ μοι ταύτῃ.

The slave only begins polishing up when the moment calls for it to be done. If therefore she escapes a beating from her mistress, she may thank the visitor for it (θυέ ταύτῃ, *sc.* to the visitor, Metro). Metro having thus saved the slave, deserves her σώστρα. It was customary σώστρα θύνειν.

16. νωβυστρα looks like a formation of the same kind as νουβυστικός.

26-29. αὐτη—αὐτη—αὐτην—αὐτη, an unexampled recurrence in these poems. In 27,

where the papyrus gives γυναικες αὐτη μη γυνη ποτ' εκτριψι, Rutherford edits γυναικας αὐτῇ μὴ γυνή κοτ' ἐκτρίψῃ; assigning the v. to Koritto. It might, I think, be equally well a continuation of Metro's, with αὐτῇ for αὐτή, in the sense of αὐτως: 'she gave orders that no one should see it, for fear a woman some day ruin her kind unthinkingly.'

32 sqq. with διξαι or ενδιξαι for ...ξω might be explained as printed by Kenyon: 'aliam pro nobis amicam indaget quae posthac Nossidi (= sibi) familiaris sit, quoniam ei non uideor maiora quam ex mulieris modulo ostendisse: nam, quod pace dixerim Nemesis, mille mihi si praesto sint, ne unum quidem uelim adseiscere, qui modo insincerus sit'. She seems to mean (at least primarily) friends: but there may be an under-allusion.

45. Aut quid sibi uolunt hae deliciae? 'these affected airs.'

59. αὐτὸ ἐρεῖς εἶναι Πρηξῖνον is simply 'you will say it is the very ideal Praxinus,' id ipsum quod est Praxinus: cp. αὐτοίπιπος, αὐτοάνθρωπος &c.

66, 67. I would suggest αὐτῆς ὀρᾶν τὰς χεῖρας, οὐχὶ Κέρδωνος, δόξεις. [ἐγὼ δ'] ἐν, δύο γὰρ ἦλθ' ἔχων, Μητροῖ, ἰδοῦσα μ[οῖνον].

69. τα βαλλι recalls ταβαλί, a Persian word for *tympalum*, 'atabal.' But it is difficult to see how these could resemble the article described in the poem. Or can it be an abridgment of *σαραβάλλια* a diminutive of *σαραβάλλα*, loose trousers, like those worn by the Persians?

80. Possibly ἔδει γαρ' ἀλλ' ἄκαιρον. οὐ πρέπον τεῖναι.

'Debebam sane, sed occasio non erat: non est res ducenda'; or, ἀλλὰ καιρὸν οὐ π. τεῖναι, 'sed non decebat occasionem plus aequo tendere,' *i.e.* to abuse the opportunity.

98. The words ἐξαμβροῦσαι and τεῖρειων (so I read) point to the meaning: cp. i. 33, Catull. lxi. 200.

VII.

1. The v. perhaps ended with εἰ τι.

38. ταθρα may be *τερθρα*.

50. Περιῶ ταῖτ' ἦν [δῶ] ἰμῖν, ἂν δ' ἀνῇ Μητρώ, 'see let me give you these, and if Metro lowers her terms.'

52. ἔστ' ἂν [τέλος] πεισθῇτε [μῆδ'] ἔτει ψενδέα.

65. ἀπεμπολῇ[σαι].

80. ἡ ἄνω σ' ἡ κάτω βλέπειν is unexceptionable: 'it is worth a mina from what-

ever point you look at it'—examined either side, top or bottom.

95. *ισκνυσα* seems to be a word connected with *ισχνός*. Perhaps there was a noun *ισχνός* 'withering' 'shrivelling': the *α* would then be *αι*, a change from the particularizing *ποδίσκων* to a more general object. This however would involve constructing *ψαύειν* with an accusative. It may equally well be a participle: 'non tibi contingit pedes tractare quos tractant Veneres Cupidinesque sed quos macies et mala deformitas.' Notice the Catullian cast of the language *ὦν πόθοι τε κῆρωτες ψαύουσιν*.

96. The indications of the papyrus as stated by Kenyon suggest either *ὥστ' ἐκ μὲν ἡμέων δις λόω σέο πρήξεις* or *ὦ. ἐ. μ. ἡ. λῶα δις σέο πρήξεις*, duplo fortunatior eris quam ante fuisti.

110. Perhaps

*ἔχεις γὰρ οὔτι γλαῖσσαν, ἡθίνην δ' ἡθεῖ
ἀθέων ἐκείνος οὐ μακρὴν ἀφειστηκὼς
ᾧ τω σὺ χεῖλεα νύκτα χημέρην οἶγνυς.
ἀφείστηκεν, οἶγνυς* Rutherford: 'non tu linguam habes, sed tanquam colum in os ingeris isti impio cuius labra semper irru-

mando aperis.' On this view, the words are said by one of the women to Kerdon, who thereupon lowers his tone (113).

In the difficult passage ii. 17—21 it seems clear that *παρώτεραι* is the comparative *παροίτεραι*—the meaning being *either* that the dice (*δορκάδες*) are of much more account in Cottalus' estimation than his slate; or that, when the distressed mother looks into the *λήκυθος* which serves as a general family repository for things stowed away, the dice are found with the fire-bellows and nets at the *top*, and the slate beneath them; showing that the former have been used recently, while the slate has been thrust away with other lumber out of sight. On this latter hypothesis, which I conceive to be the more probable, I would write the vv. thus

*κῆν δήκοτ' αὐτὴν ὥσπερ Ἀίδην βλέψας
γράψῃ μὲν οὐδὲν καλόν, ἐκ δ' ὅλην ξύσῃ,
αἱ δορκάδες νῆ Δι παρώτεραι πολλὸν
ἐν τῇσι φύσῃς τοῖς τε δικτύοις κείνται
τῆς ληκύθου ἡμέων ἢ ἐπὶ παντὶ χρώμεσθα.*

ROBINSON ELLIS.

ON THE TEXT OF THE PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF THE *PHAEDO*.

§ 1.—The fragments of the *Phaedo* of Plato represented on Plates v. vi. vii. viii. of Professor Mahaffy's facsimiles belong to two of the most impressive passages of the great dialogue, viz. pp. 67-69 (of Stephanus) *οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ, ... δικάσταίς, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι*, and pp. 79-84 *θῶμεν οὖν βούλει, ἔφη, δύο εἶδη τῶν ὄντων... καὶ διαπτομένη οἴχηται καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἦ*. The former is immediately followed by the interposition of Cebes, the latter by the silence preceding the reluctant statement of his difficulties by Simmias. This fact is in so far favourable to the supposition that the MS. was an excerpt of favourite places (carried with him perhaps by some soldier to fortify him against the fear of death, as others have carried the Bible or the *Imitatio Christi*) rather than a complete and authenticated copy of the whole dialogue. The same hypothesis would serve to excuse what the editor-in-chief has justly characterized as 'patent blunders,' which, although less gross than those in later papyrus, would yet be surprising in a copy prepared for sale to educated readers within a century of Plato's death. How in any case such a precious roll

could find its way to the waste-paper basket is a bewildering puzzle.

§ 2.—The following is a list of such manifest errors:—

Plate v. (3) l. 13 (68 D).—*ναὶ μάλα* for *καὶ μάλα*. The eye of the scribe has glanced aside to the preceding *εἶναι*, with a vague sense that the expression gives assent. (Has *ν* been retouched at the upper right-hand point so to make a rough *κ*?)

Ib. l. 10.—*τομ[θ]αν[ατον]* for *τὸν θάνατον*. This is treated by the editors as a normal case of assimilation! Did the scribe pronounce *τὸμ φάνατον*?

Ib. l. 15.—*ὑπομειμω[σιν]* for *ὑπομένωσιν*.

(4) l. 1 (68 E).—*τουτο* for *τούτω*.

Ib. l. 2 (68 E).—*τοι επ* for *το περι*.

vi. (3) l. 13.—*ἀπηλλαγμεν]ηει* for *ἀπηλλαγμένη*.

Ib. l. 18.—*οι μεμιασμενη* for *οιμαι μεμιασμένη*.

vii. (4) l. 7 (84 B).—*ζων* for *ζῆν*.

Ib. (2) l. 5 (82 A).—*παρακελενεσθαι* for *παρακελενομένη*.

* viii (4) l. 19.—*δοκεινης* for *δ' ἐκείνης*—(but is the *ο* certain?)

(On grounds to be stated presently, I do

not count v. (2) l. 7 *ιδι* nor vi. (4) l. 9 *ειθισ-
μένην*.)

The presence of these 'patent blunders' (about one for each page of Stephanus) supplies a reason for dealing cautiously with points affecting the order, and the omission or addition of single words, as well as the still more striking variants in which a whole phrase is differently expressed. And it should be premised that the effects of careless writing are not the same where the language is one with which the copyist is familiar as where a work of an earlier epoch is being mechanically transcribed.

§ 3.—Before proceeding to doubtful points, however, let me mention places where the papyrus furnishes new and all but *certain* readings.

v. (16.) l. 10 (68 A).—*ἡ παιδων ἐνεκα* for *καὶ
νιῶων*.

v. (3) l. 22 (68 E).—*σωφρονοῦσιν* for *σώ-
φρονές εἰσιν*.

v. (4) l. 10 (69 A).—*συμβαίνει δ' οὖν* for
ἀλλ ὁμως αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει.

vi. (3) l. 1.—*τὸ δὲ* for *τοῦτο δέ*.

vi. (4) l. 4.—*οὐ ἂν τις* for *οὐ τις ἄν*.

vii. (3) l. 7.—*ἐπόμενοι* for *ἐκείνη ἐπόμενοι*.

vii. (3) ll. 8, 9.—*πὺς λέγεις, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες;*
ἐγὼ ἔρω. for *πὺς, ὦ Σώκρατες; ἐγὼ ἔρω, ἔφη*.

viii. (2) l. 18.—*τίς τι* for *τις*.

Pap. E.

v. (3) l. 7 (68 D).—*γε*

Ib. l. 12.—*κακῶν εἶναι* (so d Stobaeus b
mg.)

vi. (3) l. 12 (81 A).—*ἀνθρωπίνων* (CD).

Ib. l. 16.—*μετὰ θεῶν*.

(4) l. 14 (81 C).—*ἀλλὰ* (with Stobaeus and
a corrector of B).

vii. (2) l. 14.—*φιλόσοφοι*

viii. (4) l. 3(83 D).—*ἀναπλία τοῦ σώμα-*

τος

vii. (4) l. 8 (84 B).—*δεῖν οὕτω*

Probably also, though not so transcribed, the papyrus in vii. (2) l. 11 read *ἄλλωι* with Edb.

In v. (3) 15 E's *εἶναι μάλα* is nearer to the papyrus' *εἶναι—ναὶ μάλα* than to the *εἶναι—καὶ μάλα* of B and most MSS.

In two of these places E is in agreement with some earlier authority, viz. with D (Bekker's Π) or Stobaeus, and in two with a corrector of B. There remain four at least in which this late MS. was hitherto the only witness for the readings in question.

§ 5.—Not less significant is the fact to which Mr. Starkie (?) has called attention in the note on viii. (1) l. 11 (not quite in

viii. (4) l. 13.—*οἱ πολλοί* for *οἱ πολλοὶ ἐνεκα
φασίν*.

§ 4.—The places are about as numerous, and in this the papyrus reads an instructive lesson, in which what has hitherto been a later MS. reading is supported against an earlier. In particular, the Venetian MS. 184, once the property of Cardinal Bessarion (Bekker's Ξ, Schanz's E) a 'learned' MS. of the 15th century, agrees repeatedly with the papyrus while differing from the Bodleian (a dated MS. of 896 A.D.). And here our editors, elsewhere so careful, cannot be acquitted of a somewhat strange inaccuracy. It happens that the corrector of another Venetian MS. (185, Bekker's Π, Schanz's D, a 12th century *codex* corrected in the 15th century) sometimes agrees with the copyist of Ξ (Schanz's E—as aforesaid). Hence in Schanz's critical notes such readings are attributed to Ed (the small letter as usual indicating the corrector). Whereupon, without looking at the text of Bekker or even of Hermann, Messrs Starkie and Mahaffy boldly observe 'All editors read' so and so! See notes on v. (3) l. 6 (68 D), *ib.* l. 12.

The following are the passages in which E agrees with the papyrus while B differs from both.

Bodl.

τε

κακῶν

ἀνθρωπείων

μετὰ τῶν θεῶν (punctis notavit b).

ἀλλὰ καὶ

φιλοσοφοῦντες

τοῦ σώματος ἀναπλία

οὕτω δεῖν

harmony with some of Prof. Mahaffy's remarks in the introduction), that the conjectural emendations of modern scholars receive hardly any support from the papyrus. In the place referred to (82 E) Heindorf with characteristic acuteness had conjectured *τοῦ* for *τῶι* and this reading has been accepted by Schanz. The alteration is a slight one and improves the sense. Our editors declare that this emendation (and this alone) is supported by the papyrus and have transcribed accordingly. But their view is not borne out by the facsimile. Let any one compare the last three letters of the line in question with *τον* at the end of l. 7 for example,

and the difference is manifest. On the other hand the letters, blurred as they seem and injured by a flaw in the papyrus, have a sufficiently near resemblance to the $\tau\omega$ of v. (2) l. 2, vi. (3) l. 3, vii. (4) l. 4.

See also the ω of $\phi\acute{o}\beta\omega$ in vi. (5) l. 3.

There is however one place in which a former conjecture of C. F. Hermann's is

67 E $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ του] του

Ib. οὐ γελοῖον (required to fill the line)

68 D καὶ δέει

69 A ἄλλων before ἡδονῶν

Ib. Σμμία (required to fill the line)

Ib. πρὸς ἀρετῇν

80 E ῥαϊδίως

81 A διάγουσα

81 B ὑπὸ [τε] τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν

81 C ψυχὴν before αὐτῇν

82 C ἄλλῃ ἢ (ἀλλ' ἢ B) τῷ φιλομαθεῖ

83 A οὕτω παραλαβοῦσα ἡ φιλοσοφία
ἔχουσιν

83 B ἡ λυπηθῇ ἡ φοβηθῇ

Ib. ἀπ' αὐτῶν

83 C μάλιστα ὁρατὰ

(not quite certain)

84 A παραδιδόναι

Ib. μεταχειριζομένης

confirmed, viz. the rejection of $\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}$ φασιν in viii. (4) 13 (83 E). This may be placed to his credit though he afterwards departed from it. But the papyrus fails to support the following conjectures which Schanz, the best of recent editors, thinks worthy of notice, and some of which he adopts, perhaps rightly.

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega$ cj. Hirschig.

bracketed by Schanz.

καὶ δειλία cj. Wagner.

om. Cobet (with Iamblichus).

deleted by Naber.

bracketed by Ast: other readings suggested by Geddes, Hartog, and Wyttenbach.

bracketed by Hirschig.

διαγούση cj. Heindorf.

deleted by Vermehren.

bracketed by Hirschig.

suspected as a gloss by Beck and Rückert, variously emended by Heindorf, Wyttenbach, Wagner and the Zurich editors.

οὕτως ἔχουσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἡ φιλοσοφία
Hirschig.

ἡ φοβηθῇ Schanz.

ὑπ' αὐτῶν cj. Heindorf and so Schanz prints.

μάλιστα τὰ ὁρατὰ cj. Heindorf (adopted by Schanz).

deleted by Madvig.

Vermehren cj. μεταχειριζομένας, while Schanz prefers μεταχειριζομένην, the reading of E.

Thus in one instance only out of the nineteen selected by Schanz, or in two at most, has any scholar anticipated the readings here discovered, and in the only certain instance, the excision of words supplement-

ing an ellipsis, the conjecture was withdrawn by the conjecturer in favour of another! Surely it is needless to point the moral.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

(To be continued.)

THE LIBRARY OF J. G. GRAEVIUS.

UPON the death of J. G. Graevius in 1703 a catalogue of his famous library was drawn up by his heirs, preparatory to its being offered for sale by auction—*‘tempus...quo publice distrahentur libri, cum nondum convenerit, ab Haeredibus per Ephemerides publicas significabitur.’* No public sale however took place since the whole collection was disposed of by private contract to the Elector Johann

Wilhelm who gave for it 6000 Reichsthalers.¹ He presented the printed books to the University of Heidelberg, of which he was a munificent patron, and which, after the spoliation of the Palatine library by Tilly, was sadly in need of such a bequest. 'He

¹ Wundt, *Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg* 1, p. 370. I owe this and several other references to Professor Zangemeister.

retained however the MSS., 119 in number, together with the presentation copies of the editions in *usum Delphini* sent to Graevius by the King of France. These were placed in his own library at Düsseldorf under the same roof with his picture gallery and cabinet of coins. A traveller in the year 1711 has left his description of a visit to the Düsseldorf collections which is of great interest.¹ He says 'Die Bibliothek von Grävius macht das beste aus, welche ganz all hier geblieben, bis auf die *Litteratores*, so der Churfürst der Universität Heidelberg gegeben. Unter den wenigen MSS. so mir gezeigt werden war das vornehmste ein schöner alter *Codex* in 4° von *Horatio*, welchen Grävius Herrn Bentley gelehnt, der ihn auch lange nicht restituiren wollen, bis man ihn gedrohet der Churfürst wurde desfalls an die Königin schreiben. Verschiedene Bände von *Epistolis authographis eruditissimorum virorum* so Grävius gesammelt. Etliche sehr zierliche *Breviaria*, darunter war eines in duodez. mit Silber beschlagen in welchen so viele und schöne Mignatur Figuren als ich jemalen in dergleichen gesehen. Herr le Roy zeigte mir auch die *Officia Ciceronis* durch Scheffer 1466 gedruckt: es waren die Bücher *de Amicitia et Senectute* manu recentissima dazu geschrieben. Als ich mich in der Bibliothek umgesehen, führte mich Herr le Roy nochmalen zu den Münz-Cabinet, und zeigte mir noch ein und anders,' etc.

It has for some time been known that several MSS. of Graevius, including the Horace here mentioned, were in the Harleian collection, and that they were bought from John James Zamboni, the Resident for the Landgraf of Hesse-Darmstadt at the British Court. Nothing however further was known as to the source from which Zamboni procured his MSS. until Mr. Peterson recently drew attention to his correspondence preserved in the Bodleian Library and showed that several of them, and notably the Quintilian [Harl. 2664], were bought from Büchels, the librarian to the Elector at Düsseldorf. He does not however inquire into the sources from which Büchels drew, nor does he apparently use the volume containing the letters of Büchels,² in which fuller information is given than in those written to him by Zamboni. Upon examining the correspondence, in which I was greatly interested, it soon became obvious to me that Büchels was engaged in selling to his client the whole of the *codices Graeviani*,

the majority of which I have now identified as being in the British Museum. In view of the great importance of many of these MSS., which comprise some of the most valuable in the Harleian collection, I make this further contribution towards their past history.

Büchels was brought to the notice of Zamboni by a person named Berenstadt, who had bought a number of books from him—'ledit sieur B. a eu ses plus beaux livres de ma Bibliothèque'—and also was accustomed to visit Düsseldorf, since he gave Zamboni a particular description of certain books afterwards bought from Büchels, e.g. the Acts of the Council of Bâle [Harl. 3972]. The first letter of Büchels is dated Aug. 31, 1717. In it he speaks of his 'Bibliothèque naissante' which he has no intention of spoiling. On the contrary he wishes to add to it. For some time he supplied Zamboni with rare printed books, which he professes to get from various monasteries, and describes the difficulties he has to meet in consequence of the unwillingness of the monks to part with their treasures—'il y a des moines si entêtés qui ne les laisseront pas suivre, quoy qu'on leur en donnerat deux fois autant qu'ils ne vaillent.' Also there are English dealers going about who raise the price of everything. The letters of Zamboni to him are not preserved before November¹¹, 1721. Although it was not until two years later that any considerable list of MSS. is given, they now begin to be mentioned. The first reference is to a Horace of which he says 'l'Horace MS. est selon Mabillon du IX^e siècle,' and which must be the '*Graevii primus*' afterwards sold, which was as we know one of the show-books belonging to the Elector. Soon after he says 'il y a un de mes amis qui m'écrir d'avoir un beau Salluste in 8° du siècle XII et un Terence admirable in 4° du siècle IX.' The latter is probably the MS. of Graevius [G. 4]. He then mentions the Quintilian [Harl. 2664], and the particular edition of the *De Officiis* described by Uffenbach as existing in the Elector's library—'il y a au voisinage un autre Cicéron imprimé avec cette inscription ...ann. 1466, il y a un MS. du même Cicéron y joint *de vera amicitia sive Laelius et de Senectute*.' This with an edition of the previous year were bought by Zamboni but I have not been able to trace then further. In Dec. 1723 a considerable list of MSS. is given. His expressions are guarded but imply that the MSS. were not then at Düsseldorf, and that he was not thoroughly acquainted with their contents until after

¹ Uffenbach, *Gelehrte Reisen*, iii. p. 740.

² Rawl. Lett. 126.

further examination. He says, 'vous trouverez icy une liste de MSS. à vendre...celui qui possède ces MSS...j'ay veu chez le mesme amy...il y a encore plusieurs MSS. et n'ayant pas eu du loisir assez pour les examiner vous en serez informé par ma première.' After this catalogues succeed each other with rapidity, many of the books figuring in more than one since Zamboni pretended to have lost the previous list. Büchels wished to sell them altogether—'les ayant acheté en corps je ne les puis separer,' while Zamboni preferred to pick and choose. The Horace was originally sent to him for inspection, and he affected to think very little of it; then a fragment of Horace [Harl. 2688]. Finally however he bought everything by a series of purchases. The first consisted of 11 MSS. [March 20, 1723], comprising the famous Vitruvius, the second of 13 others among which is the *Graevii primus* for the *De Officiis* [Harl. 2716], the third was the largest, including all that was left. He says, 'j'ay pris la resolution de vous acheter le tout pour 1600 florins courans d'Hollande.' This was to include the collection of autograph letters which Uffenbach mentions as belonging to the Elector, and which are now in the possession of the 'friend' of Büchels—'il a aussi un beau recueil des lettres autographes...il les veut abandonner à vostre service à condition que vous luy en donnez 60 louis d'or.' Several other minor purchases took place, one comprising three MSS. of which Zamboni had been informed by Berenstadt, *sc.* the Acts of the Council of Bâle [Harl. 3972], and two beautiful Gospels [Harl. 2795, 2820]. Of these books Büchels speaks with enthusiasm. 'Ce sont trois pièces dont je ne me voulois defaire...l'un est écrit avec de lettres d'or et de vermillon partout, lequel est plus ancien, l'autre temoigne son antiquité par la relieure et couverture sur laquelle il y a une pièce d'yvoire enchassée avec les quatre animaux ou figures representantes les quatre evangelistes....Ces livres sont l'ornement de ma Bibliothèque.' This last is possibly the book which excited the admiration of Uffenbach, though it must be mentioned that he says it was in 12°, whereas this is in 4°. Here Büchels speaks of them as being part of 'his' library; elsewhere they belong to his friend—'ayant persuadé mon amy de vous laisser les trois MSS. specifiez pour la deuxième negotiation.' Other books of peculiar value were a *Speculum Saxonicum*, or collection of the old laws of Saxony, and the 'Prayers of King Suleiman,' a Turkish book which fell into the possession of the

Electoral of the day when the siege of Vienna was raised and afterwards belonged to Gustavus Adolphus. Of this he says, 'celui qui l'a le veut envoyer à sa majesté Imperiale ou au prince Eugène s'il ne trouve personne qui le paye à poid d'or,' words which would suggest that the Elector was the seller.

Zamboni meanwhile lost no time in selling the books, which were with a few exceptions bought by Lord Oxford. From Wanley's diary we know that three purchases took place, one on August 6, 1724, the second—comprising three MSS. only, *sc.* the Acts of the Council of Bâle and the two Gospels—on August 28 of the same year; and the third which was the most extensive one upon October 20, 1725. There is a letter of Zamboni dated April 10, 1725, to a friend at Vienna, Baron Palm, in which he speaks of the beauty and value of the 32 MSS. he had then received, and offers to sell them all for 500 guineas. At present they had only been seen by Mr. Maittaire, but if Palm will not buy them he will show them to Lord Oxford or the Duke of Devonshire. Palm promised that the Emperor should see the list, but no purchase seems to have resulted. As chests from Büchels continued to arrive the number of MSS. bought by Harley was considerably greater.

The trade was now broken off in consequence of the rascality of Zamboni. He had contracted to pay 1600 florins by four instalments, but the bills he gave were never met. One of them was cancelled by Büchels in consideration of monies disbursed by Zamboni for a connection of his who was concerned in a law-suit at London. Zamboni, who was a speculator and a man of pleasure, was chronically impecunious, and neither the entreaties nor threats of Büchels to the end of his days ever extracted anything from him except promises to pay.

This perfidy prevented a new purchase from a person who is now mentioned for the first time, *sc.* 'la fille de feu M. Graevius,' who is willing to sell letters belonging to her father for a fine watch (une belle montre Anglaise). Afterwards she wishes to part with all the relics of the scholar for 700 florins, *sc.* a vast collection of letters, a few MSS. still left, and a quantity of MSS. notes by him and other famous persons. These were all sent to Büchels and he claims to have spent the whole winter of 1724—5 in arranging them. A final catalogue was produced on May 25, 1725, in which the letters, 4696 in number, are classified under the nationalities of their respective writers. The

unhappy Büchels, who was well-nigh frantic at his inability to get any money out of Zamboni for the MSS., could not go on with the negotiation. At last however in December 1726 Zamboni condescends to offer £60 for the whole collection to the heirs of 'Mademoiselle Graevius,' she having died in the meantime, and it was sent off to the agents of Büchels in London, where, as the money was not forthcoming, it remained. The correspondence was then broken off until March 1732 when Büchels was surprised by a letter from Zamboni, who proposes to renew the commerce. I quote a portion of his reply.

'Il est bien ridicule d'avancer que nos comptes seraient finies il y a long temps, si j'eusse continué d'être en commerce avec vous. Comment continuer un commerce, quand on ne paye pas? Vostre commerce m'a ruiné, j'employe mon peu de bien sur vostre parole pour vostre avantage, vous en donnez vos obligations et ne les retirez pas après mille promesses, et cela depuis neuf ans, il faudroit être insensé pour continuer un tel commerce.... Vous vous souvenez bien que c'est a vos ordres que j'ay envoyé la caisse avec les lettres et MSS. à Londres... j'en ay contentée la demoiselle Graevius, croyez vous, Monsieur, que cela me fait du plaisir?... que dit on d'un homme qui demeure toujours dans nos dettes et qui nous ne fait pas justice quoy qu'il en ait fait cent fois l'assurance et la promesse? Je me serviray de l'expression qui vous me suggererez... je vous jure qu'en cas que vous me contenterez je vous donneray une attestation écrite en lettre d'or, laquelle vous pourrez mettre *ad valvas Basilicae S. Pauli* que vous êtes le plus honnête homme du monde.'

However he gave Zamboni permission to withdraw the chest of letters from his agents. What became of them I cannot say. Dr. Meade is said to have had 2300 letters of Graevius, which may have come from this source.

Büchels was entrusted by the Elector with the task of moving his library to Heidelberg. His last letter from Düsseldorf is dated June 13 1732, from July 22 1732 to March 10 1733 he writes from Mannheim, from May 29 1733 to April 6 1735 he is at Heidelberg. Writing from Mannheim he says, 'je partiray peut-être lundi prochain pour Heidelberg où je mettray la Bibliothèque Electorale à l'air, dont elle a besoin ayant esté empaquetée depuis un an, et ayant été mouillé dans le bateau, selon le rapport de quelques uns, lors qu'elle fut emmenée icy de Düsseldorf.' The rest of

his life he spent at Heidelberg, where he was employed in arranging the Elector's library. He was broken down by disease and family misfortunes, and his last letter is that of a man on the point of death. The final blow was that he had just been forced to pay another daughter of Graevius 12 louis—'pour la contenter de ce que je lui devais encor à l'égard des MSS. de son père,' so that nothing was now left to pay for his burial.

Büchels was a man of some cultivation. He wrote Latin verses of average merit, and possessed great bibliographical knowledge. His letters are extremely well written, and sound like those of an honest man. There are, it is true, indications that he did not always distinguish between what was his and what belonged to his master. Thus in one of his later letters he says quite simply 'j'ay trouvé un livre dans la Bibliothèque Electorale,' which apparently he offers for sale. There is a suggestive discrepancy as to the source from which *La Clavicule de Salamon* [Harl. 3536] comes. This he originally professed to have recently got from Würzburg, but in another letter he says apparently of the same MS, 'feu S. A. Electorale mon maistre en a donné mille florins à un Anglois qui se nomma icy le Seigneur de Saint Pol.' It is however scarcely credible that he would have ventured upon so bold a theft as that of the chief literary treasures of the Düsseldorf collection, including the show-books exhibited to visitors. He further offered for 400 florins in 1725 a collection of coins, 319 in number, of which he says 'il y a icy un recueil des grands Medaillons.' This is undoubtedly the Electoral collection seen by Uffenbach. I should conjecture that the bulk of the books had been removed from Düsseldorf to some other seat of the Elector, and were sent back by instalments to be secretly sold through Büchels. The latter says of a particular MS. [Harl. 3298] 'j'ay veu il n'y a pas longtemps un MS... si vous souhaitez, je tascheray de l'arracher de la prison où il est.' The mysterious friend is sometimes said to be travelling—'tout y est hormis les lettres originelles que mon amy a encor chez luy et qui est en voyage'—or to live in the country—'je l'iray trouver dans deux ou trois jours puis qu'il demeure a la campagne et je tascheray de l'avoir.' On the other hand it is puzzling that Zamboni should have ventured to take liberties with so powerful a client, and also that Büchels never throws off the veil or declares himself to be merely an agent. The only occasion on which he threatens to call in intervention is in his last letter but one where he says he

will complain to the Secretary of the Landgraf, whom he knows.

That Zamboni knew the previous history of the MSS. he bought is obvious. He was also in correspondence with M. Karsch, the keeper of the Düsseldorf picture gallery, with whom he did a trade in works of art, and who found him an equally unsatisfactory paymaster. Further his friend Berenstadt had visited Düsseldorf and sent him a description of books in the possession of Büchels. Also, although Büchels nowhere says that the MSS. had belonged to Graevius, we know from Wanley's diary that Zamboni informed him Graevius had been the owner of them. Further Zamboni possessed a catalogue of Graevius MSS. which he lent to Wanley after the purchase, to help him in arranging them. Now, if Zamboni knew the MSS. had belonged to Graevius, he must have been aware that they had passed after his death into the library of the Elector.

The first purchase made by Lord Harley took place upon August 6, 1724. Wanley gives a list of the books in his diary, and there is entered upon the first leaf of each the date of purchase. I add a list of them as they occur in the Harleian catalogue. Some of them do not appear to come from Büchels and are probably, as Zamboni said, Italian MSS. These I have asterisked. In the case of MSS. formerly belonging to Graevius I have added the number given to the MS. in his posthumous Catalogue. The dates are the revised ones furnished by Mr. Maunde Thompson.

(1) Harl. 1275. Jac. de Cessulis de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium super Ludum Scaccorum.

(2) Harl. 2470. Tullii Epistolae familiares. xv³/₈ cent. [G. xi], the *Graevii* sec. bought by him at Amsterdam.

(3) Harl. 2559. Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiae, has curious verses in praise of Otho iii. (Emperor of Byzantium 984–1002 A.D.).

(4) Harl. 2664. Quintilian [G. 7] x/xi cent. borrowed by Graevius from Cologne Cathedral. *v. infra*.

(5) Harl. 2688. Fragmentum Prisciani [G. 27]—fragmentum Horatii [G. 30] x cent.—Ventorum Schema—Hymni in Dedicatione Ecclesiae S. Michaelis—fragmentum Onomastici Graeco-Lat. These were bound together by Wanley.

(6) Harl. 2767. Vitruvius [G. 9] ix/x cent. lent by Graevius to Bigotius (Burmman Syll. Ep. iv. pp. 477, 478), and collated throughout by Müller-Strübing for Val. Rose.

(7) Harl. 2770. Virgilio Aeneis cum scholiis [G. 18] cent. xii.

(8) Harl. 3303. Dialogus Aeneae Sylvii.

(9) Harl. 3318. Βαβυλωνικῆς εἰδωλομανίας ἱερογραφία, a poem of Melancthon, bound up by Wanley with a number of other works, also bought from Zamboni.

(10) Harl. 3534. Horatius, cent. xii.

(11) Harl. 3722. Francisci Petrarchae Africa.

*(12) Harl. 3871. Tullii Rhetorica vet. et nova—De Inventionem Synonyma—Gasparini Pergamensis exordia circa Rhetoricam novam Ciceronis—Praecepta Gasparini de Parma.

*(13) Harl. 3872. Valerius Maximus—Sallustius—Arator Subdiaconus—Prudentius—Juvenalis—Tullii Paradoxa—De Amicitia ann. 1377—Incerti poema de Ulfo et Alda—Tullius de Senectute—Sedulii Carmen Paschale.

*(14) Harl. 3975. Obsidio et Interceptio urbis Sylvae Ducensis sub Grobendeckio, ann. 1629.

*(15) Harl. 4481. Histoire de l'Empereur Charles V.—Traicté des Comtes de Flandres et d'Arthois.

(16) Harl. 5637. Variae lectiones in Polyaeum. [G. 110.]

(17) Harl. 7011. Melancthonis Notae in Jeremiam [G. 68 'ipsius manu'], bound up by Wanley with a number of letters.

One book bought on this occasion, *Eusebii Historia Eccles. Latine per Rufinum, is missing from the Harleian Catalogue.

The second purchase was made on August 28, 1724, and consisted of

(1) Harl. 2795. Evangelia IV. etc.

(2) Harl. 2820. Evangelia IV. etc.

(3) Harl. 3972. Concilii Basiliensis Decreta et Gesta ['authentiqué par Michael Gualteri secret. du dit Concile,' Büch.].

The final purchase of October 20, 1725, included the bulk of Zamboni's acquisitions. Wanley made a list of them 'on a loose paper' which is lost: but notes that he entered the date October 20, 1725, in all of them. By a comparison of the lists given by Büchels with the Harleian Catalogue I have been able to identify the following MSS. as bought on this occasion, the identification being in all cases fixed by the dates entered in Wanley's hand upon the first page. In the absence of the 'loose paper' the list cannot claim to include everything.

(1) Harl. 2511. Cic. de Natura Deorum—de Divinatione—Timaeus. [G. 38] cent. xv³/₈. On first page is the name of a former owner, H. Slingsby.

(2) Harl. 2512. Cic. Epp. ad Familiares

[G. 12]. This I find is the 'Mentelianus' of Graevius; sent to him by D. Elzevir from the library of J. Mentel the physician, of Paris, d. 1671. The book has in it the label of another possessor, *Johannis Baptistae Mazziar.*

(3) Harl. 2528. Valerius Probus—Fabius Victor. A beautiful MS. written in gold, ultra-marine and carmine.

(4) Harl. 2568. Asconius Pedianus in Cic. orationes, and various other works [G. 55].

(5) Harl. 2584. Solinus—Aristotelis Problemata *Latine* ex versione Theod. Gazae—ib. de secretis secretorum [G. 49] '*Ex domo St. Albani ordinis Carthusianorum prope Treviros*,' Büch.

(6) Harl. 2610. Ovidii metamorphoses I—III [G. 28], cent. x/xi—Papiae vocabularii fragmentum [G. 34] originally anonymous, '*imo est pars Papiae*' is written on first page in hand of Graevius.—Chalcidii Timaeus [G. 25].

(7) Harl. 2682. Cic. Epp. ad Fam. I—XVI etc. [G. 2] cent. xi. This MS. is the Coloniensis Basilicanus or Hittorplanus, originally belonging to or Cologne Cathedral, and there used by Modius and Gulielmus. It was borrowed by Graevius. A collation of the valuable parts of this MS., together with a discussion of the principal readings by myself, will shortly appear in the Anecdota series of the Clarendon Press.

(8) Harl. 2685. Boetius de Consolatione philosophiae—Fulgentii Mythologiae—id. de continentia Virgiliana—Marc. Capella de nuptiis Philologiae [G. 5]. On the first page is written *Liber Mai. EK.*, probably referring to Cologne Cathedral. *v. infra.*

(9) Harl. 2688. Luitprandi Crem. epi. Rerum per Europam gestarum [G. 24], bound up by Wanley with a number of purchases made from Zamboni on August 6 (except Boetius de Musica, which comes from a different source).

(10) Harl. 2709. Ovidii Heroides [G. 43] cent. xiii.

(11) Harl. 2713. Isidori Hispaliensis Etym. lib. 1, cent. ix/x.—Commentarius in incerti cuiusdam Grammaticam—Boetii in Porphyrii Isagogen, cent. xii. [G. 42?].

(12) Harl. 2716. Cic. in Catilinam [G. 26] cent. x/xi, the *Graevii primus*.—De Officiis [G. 21] cent. xi, the *Graevii primus*. He has written on the first page *est codex optimus et praestantissimus*. It has been recently collated by A. Luchs.—Various fragments of the pro Marcello, pro Ligario and de Senectute, cent. xi.

(13) Harl. 2725. Horatius cent. x, the

Graevii primus, bought by him in a shop at Cologne [Bentlei Epistolae ed. Friedemann p. 115]. It is omitted in his catalogue, being in the possession of Bentley at the time of his death.

(14) Harl. 2772. Virgillii Aeneidos fragmenta [G. 18]—Juvenalis fragm. [G. 19]—Sedulii Operis Paschalis I—III. [G. 40]—Macrobii de somnio Scipionis fragm. [G. 23]—Fragm. Interpretis in Juv. [G. 31]—Fragm. Periphraseos in Juv. [G. 32], all of the twelfth century except the Virgil fragment, which is of the eleventh.

(15) Harl. 2773. Servii Grammat. Vocab. Lat.—Graecum.—Diomedis Grammatica [G. 17]—Cic. Epp. ad Fam. I—VIII. [G. 17], the *Graevii primus*, collated by Mr. Purser—Satira in Johannem Papam, cent. xiii. The Servius has on the first page a partially effaced inscription, *iste liber est Hospitalis S. Nicolai prope Cusam*. It was probably bound up with the other works by Wanley. Graevius bought the Cicero at Cologne.

(16) Harl. 3034. Etymologia ex Isidoro de Ecclesia—S. Augustini Enchiridion—Praedicatio de Natali Domini [G. 3].

(17) Harl. 3060. S. Patrum Sententiae—Juliani Toletani Episcopi de origine mortis etc.—S. Ephraem orationes [G. 15].

(18) Harl. 3082. Boetii de Trinitate—an Pater Filius et spiritus Sanctus substantialiter praedicentur—Quod Substantiae eo quod sunt bonae sunt—Adversus Eutichen et Nestorium [G. 13].

(19) Harl. 3121. Aratoris Subdiaconi Historia Apostolica, *carm. heroico*.

(20) Harl. 3298. Chrysostomi homiliae in Ev. S. Johannis in Lat. linguam versae a Burgundione indice ann. 1178. [G. 6]. Graevius has written a learned note upon the author Burgundius on the first page.

(21) Harl. 3318. Various works including J. Scaligeri Castigationes variae [G. 112], and J. Meursii de Porphyrio Syntagma said to be '*manu Meursii*' in the Catalogue of Graevius [G. 96], all bought on October 20, exc. art. i.

(22) Harl. 3336. Meditata et dictata ad Synopsis Besoldi [G. 107].

(23) Harl. 3339. Notulae in Horatium, Arnobium, Petronium, ascribed to J. M. Dilher of Jena by Wanley. Only the notes on Horace however are in his hand.

(24) Harl. 3342. Petri Scriverii excerpta et carmina [G. 99], in his own hand, according to catalogue of Graevius.

(25) Harl. 3381. De imperio ac subjectione civili [G. 88].

(26) Harl. 3382. ΑΕΟΝΤΟΣ τοῦ βασιλέως

ΟΡΝΕΟΣΟΦΙΟΝ ἡτόι (*sic*) περὶ Ιεράκων [G. 87].

(27) Harl. 3417. Petri Scriverii et aliorum notae in Juvenalem, Senecam, Ovidium, Martialem, A. Gellium, Lucanum, etc.

(28) Harl. 3419. Index in Petronium—Emendationum in Petronium Sylva *alia manu*. On f. 28 b. is written the name Philip Leydensis.

(29) Harl. 3420. Groschedelii Dispositio numerorum Magica—said to have come from Würzburg by Büchels.

(30) Harl. 3470. De re militari populi Romani, possibly in hand of Graevius [G. 71].

(31) Harl. 3520.—2. Ovidii Amorum libri ex ed. Plaut. 1567 cum MS. D. Moreti per J. Rubens collati [G. 66], bound up with other tracts by Wanley.

(32) Harl. 3521. Adversaria et excerpta Scaligeri et aliorum. Art. 5 and 7 seem in the hand of Dilher. The volume deserves examination.

(33) Harl. 3536, 1. La Clavicule de Salomon, oddly bound up with two Italian tracts [*v. supra* for source of this MS.].

(34) Harl. 3556. Columella de re rustica [G. 41].

(35) Harl. 3569, 4, 5. Danielis Eremitae Epitaphium—eiusdem Iter Germanicum. This MS. was sent to Graevius by Magliabecchi [Fabricius, Graevii Praefationes, etc. p. 223] and edited by him. Utrecht 1701. It is omitted in his Catalogue.

(36) Harl. 3574. Raccolta di tutte le Scritture politiche uscite tra Papalini e Francesi per le brighe occorse in Rom, ann. 1662, 1663.

(37) Harl. 3592. J. à Vitriaco Historia Hierosolymitana [G. 14?].

(38) Harl. 3595. Boethi Artis Arithmeticae libr. ii.—de Musica [G. 8]—Geometriae Euclidis libr. ii. [G. 54].

(39) Harl. 3837. Miscellanea and Excerpts from various scholars: attributed to Dilher in catalogue, but there are several hands in the MS. together with notes by Graevius, *e.g.* f. 81.

(40) Harl. 3982. Onosandri Strategica—Aeliani Tactica [G. 50].

(41) Harl. 3993. Collectanea de re militari.

(42) Harl. 4026. In Tullii orationes ed. —1539 Rob. Stephani variae lectiones. Büchels mentions a companion volume with variae lectiones to the Epp. ad Fam. in which Graevius had written 'hae sunt notae M. A. Mureti quas marg. ed. Rom. Stephani adscriperat quae nunc Romae servantur in collegio Societatis Jesu; has notas vero

describi iussit ex illo codice et Roma misit mihi J. G. Graevio Paulus Falconerius. [cp. Burmann Syll. Ep. IV. 494].

(43) Harl. 4086. Notae in Amphitryonem et Asinariam.

(44) Harl. 4346. Macer de uiribus Herbarum—tractatus de ponderibus. On first page is written *sum Francisci Wolfs medici*.

(45) Harl. 4739. J. F. Gronovii dictata ad Petronium.

(46) Harl. 4803. Historia Provinciae Paraquariae.

(47) Harl. 5232. Annotationes in priscorum Apophthegmata [G. 90].

(48) Harl. 5364. Variae lectiones in Martialis Epigrammata. [G. 104?] with note *fuit mihi donatus a Weidnero*.

(49) Harl. 5377. Miscellanea Conringii Graevii et aliorum quorundam. Art. 15 is in hand of Dilher.

(50) Harl. 5379. J. Graevii ad Pomponium Melam dictata.

(51) Harl. 5379. Notae ad Cic. Epp. ad Fam.—ad Petronium—ad Pollucem, with notes of Graevius *in marg.*

(52) Harl. 5380. Notae in Dialogum Simocati—ad Alciphronem—in imagines Philostrati [G. 63].

(53) Harl. 5384. J. Meursii Theophrastus—Lectiones Theophrasteae [G. 82].

(54) Harl. 5385. Notae in Taciti Annales.

(55) Harl. 5590. 'Εὐσέβιος εἰς ἐπιγραφὰς τῶν Ψαλμῶν' [G. 100].

(56) Harl. 5610. 'Διονυσίου Σοφίστου ἐπιστολαί' etc. [G. 59].

(57) Harl. 5645. 'Θεμιστίου φιλοσόφου λόγοι' [G. 58].

(58) Harl. 5659. 'Μουσαίου τὰ καθ' Ἡρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον.' [G. 57].

(59) Harl. 5739. 'Συνεσίου ἐπισκόπου Κυρηναίου κατάστασις' [G. 67]. The catalogue of Graevius and Büchels add 'Διοκλέους ἐπιστολὴ προφυλακτικὴ πρὸς Αντίγονον βασιλέα,' but this is now missing.

(60) Harl. 5795. 'Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου εἰς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Πορφυρίου—Ἀβαμόνος διδασκάλου πρὸς τὴν Πορφύριον πρὸς Ἀνεβῶ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπορημάτων λύσις' [G. 36]. The Latin version of title of latter is in hand of Graevius.

(61) Harl. 6059. Lectiones in Florum [G. 117].

(62) Harl. 6296. 'Πορφυρίου φιλοσόφου περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψυχῶν' [G. 95].

(63) Harl. 6316. 'Ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν Φιλοστοργίου ἐπιτομὴ ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου—Ἐκλογαὶ Θεοδώρου' [G. 35].

(64) Harl. 6309. 'Ἀπολλοδώρου πολιορκητικά'—J. Meursii Apollodorus [G. 60].

The above list comprises nearly all the important MSS. which occur in the catalogue of Graevius. The only valuable Greek MS. missing is the Hesiod [G. 56] of which Wanley notes that it was not among the MSS. bought, though he had seen it at Mr. Maittaire's. The latter was a great collector of Greek MSS. and may have kept the Hesiod. A similar case is that of the Apollonius and Galen [G. 52], which was certainly bought by Zamboni: to which may be added the 'Πληθύνος Θεσσαλίας χωρογραφία' [G. 101]. The chief Latin MS. missing is the Terence [G. 4] mentioned by Büchels together with the Quintilian. One or two books look as if they ought to be the MSS. described by Büchels, but they have no date upon the first page, e.g. Harl. 3421, 'Viglii Fuichemi litterae ad amicos scriptae ab mense Jan. 1576 usque ad XXI Aprilis 1577,' with note 'obiit magnificus dñs praeses VII, Maii 1577' exactly corresponding to the description given by Büchels. Three of Zamboni's books Harley declined to buy as being too dear. These were the Prayers of Suleiman previously mentioned, the Speculum Saxonicum, and the two volumes of Letters from the Düsseldorf library. Wanley speaks of the 'most horrible price' that was demanded for these last by this 'greedy Signor,' and on September 27, 1725 enters his hope that all of these may come to him later for less, if rejected now. It is interesting to know that his forecast was verified, so far as the volumes of Letters were concerned. They are now Harl. 4933, 4934, 4935, 4936, being bound up in four volumes. Büchels gives a full list and description of the letters, which succeed each other in the same order in which they are now placed, except that according to his arrangement the second pair of volumes 4935, 4936 should come first. Also Wanley has bound up with them a few letters which do not come from Büchels, to which he alludes in his diary as being already in the Harleian collection. I cannot say when these volumes were bought as they contain no date.

I have reserved until now a special note upon the identification of the Quintilian [Harl. 2664] proposed by Mr. Peterson

(*Classical Review*, February 1891, p. 33). He calls it the missing *codex Dusseldorpianus* and interprets after Mr. Purser the words *iste liber est maioris ecclesiae* to mean that it originally belonged to Strasburg. That it is the MS. seen by Liebius at Düsseldorf and afterwards sought for in vain by Gesner who found '*mala fraude nescio quorum hominum et hunc et alios rarissimos codices esse subductos*' is indubitable. Its proper title however should be *cod. Coloniensis*. It is closely connected in the letters of Graevius with the Coloniensis Basilicanus [Harl. 2682], e.g. he says '*cathedralis, ut vocant, Ecclesiae bibliothecae inspiciendae potestas nondum mihi facta est, in qua Quintiliani et Ciceronis orationum pervetustum codicem asservari audio*.'¹ The Cicero MS. was borrowed by him apparently in 1688,² and probably the Quintilian was obtained at the same time. Gulielmius, who was the chief collator of the Cicero, also consulted the Quintilian, of which he says '*usus sum per vetusto M. Fabii libro beneficio... Melchioris Hittorpii*' (Verisimil. iii. xiv). He gives there several readings and *proprii errores* of the MS. from the Preface to the sixth book, which are all found in the Harleian volume. Its identity with the MS. shown by Hittorp to Gulielmius is beyond a doubt. Further Cologne Cathedral is itself the *maior ecclesia*, a title which it has *passim* in old documents, e.g. in the *notae S. Petri Coloniensis* (Pertz. Mon. Germ. Hist. xvi. p. 734 etc.) we find '*cum de communi consilio diffinitum esset ut maior ecclesia de novo constitueretur... alii domini plures canonici maioris ecclesiae*' etc. This title would naturally be given to it, being, as Matthew of Paris says, '*omnium ecclesiarum quae sunt in Alemannia quasi mater et matrona*.' It is likely that the Boetius [Harl. 2685] comes from the same source. I must conclude by expressing my thanks to Professor Zangemeister of Heidelberg for valuable help and advice, and to Mr. Bickley of the British Museum, whose courtesy much facilitated the task of referring to the number of MSS. concerned.

¹ Burmann, *Sylloge Epistolarum*, iv. p. 151, cp. pp. 171, 174.

² Fabricius Graevii *Praef. et Ep.* p. 495.

LATIN ACCENTUATION.

THE information given by most School Grammars about Latin Accentuation is very scanty. We seldom find anything more than the three elementary rules: (1) that the accent never falls on the last syllable of a Latin word, unless in the case of monosyllables; (2) that, when the penult is short, the accent falls on the antepenultimate syllable; when long, on the penult itself, *e.g.* *dēcōris*, *dēcōris*; (3) that certain particles *ve*, *que*, *ne* (interrogative) are enclitic.

But if we turn to the Latin Grammarians, we find much more information on this point. We hear of certain classes of words whose accentuation does not quite harmonize with these rules, as well as of a number of isolated words which form decided exceptions to them. For the study of Accentuation, introduced into Rome at the time of Cicero by Tyrannion, the author of the *περὶ προσφθιῶν*, long remained a favourite topic of Latin Grammarians; and one has only to turn over the pages of Keil's edition of their collected writings to see how great a store of materials was amassed by the labour of the five centuries' interval between Varro and Priscian. These materials, which have been extracted and arranged by Schoell in the *Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis*, vol. vi. 1876, it is the object of the present paper to discuss, and with the help of the Early Latin Dramatists, and of the Romance Languages, to test and supplement.

At the outset it is necessary to say a word about the value of the Grammarians' evidence. Prof. Nettleship (*Transactions of Oxford Philological Society*, 1887-8) has shown the unreliable character of their statements about Latin Phonetics. He points out that the account they give of the functions of the vocal organs in pronouncing the several letters of the Latin alphabet is to a great extent borrowed from the writings of Greek phoneticians, and is really applicable to the pronunciation of the corresponding letters of the Greek alphabet. That there was a good deal of similar borrowing from Greek sources in the subject of Latin Accentuation may be regarded as certain. Indeed it is quite possible, and even probable, that one of the cardinal points of the Latin Grammarians' teaching with regard to Accentuation, viz. the distinction of the circumflex accent, *e.g.* *Rōma*, from the acute accent, *e.g.* *Rōmae*, may be a case of false analogy from the Greek

language; for though the distinction undoubtedly existed in Greek, no strong evidence has ever been produced of its existence in Latin. So that the safest plan, a plan which will be followed in the present paper, is to ignore the distinctive terms 'circumflex' and 'acute' altogether, in treating of Latin Accentuation, and to speak merely of the 'accent,' without specifying what kind of accent the Grammarians have declared it to be. On the other hand it would be unwise to regard all the statements of the Grammarians about the Latin Accent as tainted with Hellenizing influence, for we often find a sharp distinction made between the Greek and the Latin accentuation of similar words. Macrobius, for example (*exc. Bob.* p. 637 K.) contrasts the Greek treatment of simple verbs and their compounds with the Latin, the accent in Greek remaining always on the same syllable in both simple and compound, *e.g.* *φέρω*, *περιφέρω*, while in Latin it may be shifted to a different syllable, *fēro*, *ādfero*. So that though the Greek bias of Latin writers on Accent must be taken into consideration in weighing their evidence, it should only make us cautious, not utterly sceptical. Again the value of the Latin Grammarians' testimony differs greatly according to their date. A statement of Varro, Valerius Probus, or Quintilian has much more weight than a statement of one of the later grammarians, who often repeat blindly a wrongly understood dictum of an earlier writer. The treatise 'de Accentibus' by the pseudo-Priscian must be used with special caution, so much does it abound in mistakes and wrong-headed theories. The older and more celebrated Grammarians should therefore be almost exclusively followed in drawing up an account of Latin Accentuation.

It remains to determine what means we have at our disposal of testing the truth of the Grammarians' theories. We may look for help to two quarters, first to the verses of Plautus, Terence, and the Older Dramatists, second to the Romance Languages. But here too a word of caution is necessary in respect of both tests. That regard was taken of the Accentuation of words, as well as of their Quantity, by the Early Dramatists was one of the most strongly established propositions of Ritschl in his famous 'Prolegomena.' The theory has found many opponents, one of the most vigorous of

whom, W. Meyer, recently made a powerful statement of the extreme view that absolutely no regard whatever was taken of Accentuation in Latin Poetry till a late period (*Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie*, 1884). But Meyer's arguments were fully answered by Langen in the *Philologus* 1886, and have been so conclusively disproved by the new standard work on Early Latin Metre (Klotz, *Grundzüge der altrömischen Metrik*), that it may now be safely regarded as matter beyond argument that some regard at least was paid to Accent in Early Latin Dramatic Verse. Klotz has pointed out the curious fact that the Greek usage for the Iambic Trimeter, viz. that a spondee is not allowed in the even feet of the line, takes in the hands of the Latin Dramatists this modification that a spondee in which metrical ictus conflicts with natural accent is not allowed in these feet. The Iambic Trimeter was made up of three Dipodies. The important feet, the feet which gave the iambic rhythm to the line, were the concluding feet of each Dipody, in other words the even feet (second, fourth, sixth) of the line. To keep the line metrically correct the Greek Comedians never allowed these feet to be spondees.

Ὅσα δὲ δέδῃγ | μαι τὴν ἔμην | τοῦ καρδίαν,
Aristoph. *Ach.* i

could not be changed to

Ὅσα δὲ λῦποῦ | μαι κ.τ.λ.

Their Roman imitators were unable, owing to the spondaic character of the Latin language, to follow them entirely in this scrupulous retention of the iambic rhythm of the line; but though they allow spondees in the even feet (second and fourth),

vos istaēc īn | tro auferte, abi | te, Sosia.

Ter. *Andr.* I. i. i,

they almost never allow a spondaic word or word-ending in these feet, evidently because the clash of the natural accent with the metrical ictus would give unpleasant prominence to the un-iambic rhythm. A line like

quod si tu obici | as formicis | papaverem

is very rare in the Latin Drama. Klotz shows that the same rule is observed in Latin Trochaic lines in the metrically important feet of the Trochaic metre, the odd feet of the line.

That the Accent played a part in the Early Latin dramatic poetry which it did not in Greek poetry, may then be accepted as an established fact. It is however open

to question how far the versification of Plautus and Terence may be used as a means of determining the accentuation of a word or a phrase. The safest evidence is undoubtedly that afforded by Prosody. If a syllable, which would ordinarily be scanned long, be found in a line with a short quantity, this argues that the syllable was unaccented. I refer to such scansion as *volūptatem, volūptati*. The evidence of Metre is not so certain. It would be absurd to take the fact that the metrical ictus falls on a certain syllable of a particular word in a particular line of Plautus as a proof that the natural accent fell on the same syllable in the ordinary pronunciation of the word in Plautus' time—as absurd, in fact, as to suppose that metrical ictus and natural accent always coincide in English lines, or rather a good deal more absurd, seeing that English Metre depends on Accent, while Latin Metre depended on Quantity. But if we find the same word, or the same phrase, invariably used in Plautus with the metrical ictus on the same syllable, and that too when there is nothing in the prosodical nature of the word to prevent its occurrence with a different ictus, it is reasonable to suppose that the metrical ictus here reflects the ordinary accentuation. It must of course be remembered that the Accentuation so determined is that of the time of Plautus, and may differ from the Accentuation of the Classical period, just as in our own language many words, e.g. 'balcony,' have changed their accent in course of time.

Lastly, with regard to the Romance Languages, we may indeed, from the form which a Romance word has assumed, infer with some certainty the accentuation of its Vulgar Latin prototype; but we must bear in mind that this Vulgar Latin accentuation may have differed, and in some cases certainly did differ, from the accentuation in vogue in literary Latin.

And now that the ground has been cleared by the discussion of the nature of the evidence afforded by the Latin Grammarians, and of the means at our disposal for testing and supplementing it, we may proceed to examine in detail their statements on the subject of Latin Accentuation, with the exclusion only of such as appear to lack sufficient authority.

I. The rule of Latin Accentuation, that final syllables are always unaccented, is according to the Grammarians violated, or apparently violated, by certain classes of words. They are words which have dropt or contracted their last syllable, so that the

accent, which in the uncurtailed form fell on the paenultima, remains in the curtailed form on the same syllable, which has now become the ultima.¹ Under this category come :

(1) Nouns, or rather Adjectives, in *-as*, Gen. *-atis*, indicating the country of one's birth, e.g. *cujás, nostrás, Arpinás*, with *primás, optimás* (Caper ap. Prisc. IV. 21, 22, p. 128 H.). These words, which in Early Latin (e.g. Plautus) have the full form *cuiátis, nostrátis*, when at a later time they became contracted, retained their old accentuation; and so *nostrás*, 'a countryman of ours,' was distinguished by its accent from *nostras*, Acc. Pl. Fem. of the Possessive Pronoun (Priscian IX. 5, p. 454 K.). Klotz (*Grundzüge* p. 92, p. 326) has suggested that Fem. Abstract Nouns in *-tas*, Gen. *-tatis*, may have been similarly accented on the last syllable in the time of Plautus, though we have the express testimony of the Grammarians that they were not so accented at a later time. He thinks that the metrical accentuation in such lines as Rud. 901 *témpestás*, Rud. 1394 *libertás*, may represent the actual accentuation of these words in the speech of Plautus and his contemporaries. But a closer examination will show that Fem. Nouns in *-tas* have not the metrical ictus on the last syllable more frequently than other nouns in Plautus, and give no indication of having had a peculiar accentuation. It is true that the phrase *volúptás mea*, which shows this form always at the end of a line (Pseud. 52, Truc. 899, etc.), points to the accentuation of the last syllable of *voluptas* in this particular phrase. But the true explanation of this is that in this phrase the two words were regarded as one compound word, or, to state it somewhat differently, the Possessive Pronoun here was enclitic. Similarly we have *fratér mi* Curc. 658, *matér mea* Aul. 690, 692; but no one would think of using this as an argument that *frater* or *mater* were in all circumstances accented on the last syllable. In the middle of a line the order is *méa volúptas*.

(2) Some Verbal Forms: *addíc, addúc*, etc., *fumát* (for *fumávit*), *audít* (for *audívit*), and the like. (Servius ad Aen. III. 3.)

Another remark of Servius (ad Aen. I. 451), and other grammarians, throws some light on the last example. They tell us that *audíit*, and not *audiit*, *leníit*, and not *leniit*,

was the ordinary pronunciation, the forms with the short penult being an artificial usage of poetry, much as in English the word 'wind' is allowed a different pronunciation in poetry from its ordinary one. From *-íit* to *-it* is so short a step that it is difficult to justify a disbelief of the Grammarians' statement about *audít*. The Third Sing. Perf. Act. in the Romance languages (e.g. Ital. *comprò*, Latin *comparávit*, Ital. *dormi*, Latin *dormívit*) points to Vulgar Latin forms in *-aút, -ít*. As regards Plautus, the supposed examples of *-at* for *avit* in his plays have been conclusively disproved by Fleckeisen (*Jahrb. Phil.* lxi. p. 60). Those of *-it* for *-íit* have always the ictus on the last syllable, e.g.

Pseud. 730 *quí á patre advenit Carysto nêcdum exit ex aêdibus* (*exit* A., *exiit* P.).

and Poen. 203 *sed Adêlphasium eccam exit atque Anterástylis*,

where editors make *exit* Pres. and read *éxit eccam*,

except Mil. 251 *nôn domist, abít ámbulatum, dórmit, ornatúr, lavat* (*abit* A., *abiit* P.), where, if *abit* be the true reading, it is probably Pres. like the other verbs in the sentence. The contractions *dínus* for *divínus*, *oblisci* for *oblivisci* in Plautus make *-it* for *-íit* not improbable with him.

(3) Words ending in *-c* (the Enclitic *-ce*), whose last syllable is long by nature or by position, e.g. *adhúc, posthác, antehác, istíc, illíc, istúc, illúc, istínc, illínc, istác, illác, istóc, illóc* (Caper ap. Priscian. IV. 21, 22 p. 128 H.). In Plautus and Terence the metrical accentuation of the first of these words seems to be always *adhúc*, but we find both *posthác* and *pôsthac*, *ant(e)hác* and *ánt(e)hac*. With regard to the forms of *ille* and *iste*, the Romance adverbs, e.g. Ital. *lì, là*, Span. *allí, allá*, show that the Vulgar Latin accentuation was *illíc, illác*. That Plautus used *horúnc, haránc*, but *hórum, hárum* before a word beginning with a consonant has been established beyond a doubt by Studemund (*Jahrb. Phil.* cxiii. p. 57), though this usage is often obscured by the MSS. In Pseud. 69, *harúnc volúptátum*, the Ambrosian Palimpsest alone has preserved the true reading *harunc*, while the Palatine MSS. have altered it into the more familiar *harum*. This habit of the scribes of Plautus MSS. of replacing an archaic by a classical form makes it difficult for us to determine his usage in respect of *illíc, istíc* and the like. For while in the time of Plautus *illí* or *illíc* might be used for the Dat. Sing. as well as for the Adverb (Loc. Sing.), in the classical period *illí* was restricted to the former, *illíc*

¹ Similarly in modern Italian we find the apocopated forms of words like *civitatem, honestatem* pronounced with a strongly marked stress on the last syllable, *città, onestà*.

to the latter signification. In Capt. 261, where we have not the evidence of the Ambrosian Palimpsest to help us, it is quite possible that the Palatine MSS. have changed *illi* (Adverb) to the more familiar *illic*:

ut vos hic itidem illic apud vos meus servatur filius,

for the change to *illi* will not merely avoid conflict with what we conceive to have been the ordinary pronunciation, *illic*, but will also restore the usual accentuation, *apud vos*. The same restoration of *illi* for *illic* of the Palatine MSS. is required by the order of the words in Capt. 278:

quod genus illi est unum pollens atque honoratissimum,

where Schoell reads *illic unumst*.

(5) Words ending in *-n* (the Enclitic *-ne*), whose last syllable is long by nature or by position, e.g. *tantōn*, *Pyrrhōn*. (Servius ad Aen. X. 668 etc.)

Here again the MSS. of Plautus are uncertain guides, for they often add an interrogative *-n*, where the metre requires its absence, and *vice versa*. The lists compiled by Schrader, in his Dissertation on the use of *-ne* in Plautus, show about as many examples of the ictus on the last as on the penultimate syllable. But the shortening of the second syllable of *dedistīn*, Trin. 127 (MSS. *dedisti*), (cf. *dedistīne* 129), *dēdistīn*, Curc. 345 (MSS. *dēdisti*), if the reading could be depended on, would supply the corroboration of the Grammarians' theory, which we should expect to find in the versification of Plautus. Similarly, although it is a rule of Plautus that an Iambic Senarius shall not end with two iambic words, because the repeated conflict between natural accent and metrical ictus was unpleasant to his ear, the ending of Most. 670, *bonan fide*, may have been tolerated on the ground that the ordinary pronunciation of the first word was *bonān*, not *bōnan*. So also in Terence, Eun. 1037, *audīn* occupies the fourth foot of an Iambic Octonarius, although the practice is, as we have seen, to allow a spondaic word only in the odd feet of Iambic lines, that there may not be in the even feet, the metrically important feet of the line, a conflict of natural with metrical accent. This conflict would be avoided if, as we have reason to believe, the ordinary accent was *audīn*. The corresponding law for Trochaic verse required a similar harmony of accent and ictus in the odd feet of the line, the first feet, that is to say, of each Dipody. An apparent violation of this law at the beginning of Trin. 905, *nōvistīn*, may be explained away in the same fashion. On

the other hand, in the case of Iambic words like *vides*, *habes*, which appear in Plautus and Terence with the last syllable short (*vidēs*, *habēs*), as well as long, it would be difficult to explain the shortening of the vowel in *vidēn*, *habēn*, if the words were invariably accented in ordinary talk on the last syllable *vidēn*, *habēn*.¹

II. This leads us to a new doctrine of the Grammarians, the Attraction of the Accent by Enclitics, *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne*, *-ce*. It is a matter in which the Latin Grammarians were undoubtedly liable to be unduly influenced by Greek analogy. And certainly the rule prescribed, probably after Varro, by Martianus Capella (iii. p. 67 Eyss.): 'mutant accentus adiunctis vocibus que, ve, ne,' bears a suspicious resemblance to the rule of Varro's teacher Tyrannion about the accentuation of *τοσσος γε* in Homer: 'Ἀρίσταρχος φυλάσσει τὴν ὀξείαν ἐπὶ τῆς τοσ συλλαβῆς, ὃ δὲ Τυραννίων τοσσόσγε ἀνέγνω τὴν σος συλλαβὴν ὀξύνων (Schol. A. ad Il. Ξ 396). But the usage of Plautus, as has been shown by Langen, in his Dissertation on the Latin Accent, and of other poets, confirms the rule of the Grammarians, that the Enclitic 'attracts' the Accent to the final syllables of words, if we restrict the rule to words whose final syllable is long by nature, or, when the Enclitic is added, by position, e.g. *tantōne*, *sanūmne*, and perhaps also words which end in two or three short syllables, e.g. *limināque* (Servius ad Aen. III. 91); nor do the best Grammarians (Varro ap. Capell. iii. 67: Diomedes, p. 433 K.) seem to say more than this. Thus in Plautus and Terence the law against two iambic words following each other does not forbid *pidēt pigētque*, Ter. Adelph. 302, apparently because there is a conflict between natural and metrical accent in the first word only. On the other hand such scansiones as *vidētqu(e)*, *licētne(e)*, *domī-ne* (from *domus*), show that the Accent was not invariably attracted by the Enclitic in these iambic words with final syllable long by nature, which, as we have already remarked, seem in ordinary pronunciation to have been as much pyrrhic (*dōmī*) as iambic (*dōmī*). *Māgisque* Rud. 1181, *prīusne* Truc. 694, show the same of iambic words ending in *-s*, whose final syl-

¹ Cicero's story about Crassus (Div. II. 40) shows us that the phrase *cave ne eas* was pronounced in ordinary talk *cāvē n(e)cas* with the second syllable of *cāve* very short. He tells us that Crassus, when embarking at Brundisium for his ill-fated expedition to Parthia, heard a fig-seller hawking Caunian figs, and mistook his cry '*Cauneas! Cauneas!*' (sc. *ficus vendo*) for *cave ne eas! cave ne eas!*

lable ought by rule to be long by position ; but we have many indications in the versification of Plautus that in his time -s had hardly the force of a final consonant, so that the actual pronunciation of these words was probably *māqū'que, prīū'ne*.¹ Words ending in two or three short syllables are not, according to Langen, found with an enclitic in Plautus or Terence, unless the enclitic is elided, e.g. *periculāqu(e), Capuāqu(e)*. But disyllabic words ending in a short syllable show little trace of 'attraction' of accent, e.g. *ītaque, ēaque, bōnaque, māleque*; and although in *hocine* etc. in Terence the accentuation -*cine* is found twice as often as '*cine*, in Plautus the two accentuations are equally frequent.

Instead of speaking of the Enclitic 'attracting', the Accent, it would then be truer to say that the Enclitic adds a syllable to the preceding word, and thus may necessitate an alteration in its Accent. The Accent of the first syllable of *aūdis* passes to the second syllable of *audīsne* just as the Accent on the first syllable of *aestas* passes to the second syllable of *aestātis*. In *ītaque, māleque*, etc., the Accent remains on the same syllable as in *īta, māle*, just as the Accent of *gēneris* is the same as that of *gēnus*. In words like *pericula, limina* a secondary accent is added when the long word becomes augmented by another syllable *periculāque*. The term 'Attraction' of Accent is unsuitable to the phenomena of the Latin Language, and, like the word 'Circumflex,' is a Greek term, properly applicable only to Greek phonetics, and wrongly transferred by the early Grammarians to the phonetics of Latin. -*ne, -que, -ve, -ce* merely add a

syllable to the preceding word, as the Imperative particle *dum* in *excūtedum* Aul. 646, *ēvocādum* Most. 669, *āgedum* Bacch. 832, where the accent holds the same position as it would in an ordinary single word.

It is however possible that in later Latin there may have been an accentuation of words with -*que* etc., which more justifies the term 'Attraction.' Priscian (V. 63, p. 181 H.), tells us that *utrāque* (Fem. Nom. Sing.), *plerāque* (Fem. Nom. Sing.) had the same penultimate accent as *utērque, plerūmque*. And late poets, such as Prudentius, lengthen a short final vowel before -*que*, e.g. *ridendāque*. But Priscian's accentuation may be either a late innovation, due to the analogy of *utērque, plerūmque*, or a grammarian's conceit, like Donatus' distinction between *ītaque*, 'and so,' and *ītaque*, 'therefore,' a distinction which does not find the least support in the Dramatists' versification, (e.g. *ītaque*, 'and so,' Truc. 347).² And Prudentius' scansion *ridendāque* may be the result of the late Latin pronunciation of -*qu*-, by which the velar guttural assumed the force of a double consonant. Commodian scans *āqua*, and in Modern Italian we have *acqua*.

On the whole the balance of probability is against the 'Attraction' of the Accent by Enclitics, at least in the classical and earlier period; but if we substitute the word 'alteration' for 'attraction,' the statements of the Grammarians about the influence of the Enclitics on the Accent may be accepted with slight reservations.

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¹ The phrase *scelus viri*, a phrase we may be sure in everyday use on the streets of Rome, has always in the plays of Plautus this accentuation *scēlūs viri*; and this was no doubt the current pronunciation of the time.

² Until the laws of Saturnian metre have been better established, it will be well to refrain from appealing to the accentuation of *ītaque* in the Epitaph on Naevius:

ītaque postquam est Orco traditus thesauro.

(To be continued.)

AMBULARE.

THE following etymologies have been proposed for this word: (1) *ambulus* = **ambibulus* connected with *venio* and the like (Curtius, *Gr. Et.*⁵ 473); (2) *ambulus* is formed directly from the preposition *ambi* (Bersu, *Die Gut-turalen*, 143); (3) Bugge (*Bezzenbergers*

Beiträge xiv. 62) connects the word with ἄγγελος, Pers. ἄγγαπος, *courier*, Skr. *āṅgira*; (4) Stowasser (*Darkle Worte* 25) regards *ambulare* as a denominative from a borrowed word ἀναβολή. Of these etymologies the first and the third are phonetically im-

possible; *-bu-* can have nothing to do with *venio*, nor could *ng₂* become anything but *ng* (cf. *unguentum*, Umbr. *umen*, Skr. *añjis*). Stowasser's suggestion is, to say the least, extremely improbable: there is no reason for believing that the word is a borrowed one, especially as it is also found in Umbrian. Nor does Bersu's etymology seem to me to be at all certain. Notwithstanding Bugge's remarks (*l.c.*) I am still inclined to think that Curtius and others were right in looking upon *ambulo* as a compound of *amb(i)* and a root meaning *to go*. A root *el* or *ol* with the sense of *to go* would meet the requirements of the case. Now a root *el-* (*ela*) with this signification is found in the Keltic languages;—Irish *ad-ellaim*, *go to*, *di-ellaim*=*deviare*, *declinare* etc. (Thurneysen, *Kelto-Romanisches* 34, Ascoli, *Lexicon Palaeo-Hibernicum* lv.), W. *elaf*, *I shall go*, *elwn*, *I went*, Corn. *ellen*, *I went* (*Grammatica Celtica*² 599 sq.). Thurneysen suggests hesitatingly that this verb *ellaim* is a compound of *ess*=*ex* and a stem *lā* seen in *rola*, *rāla*, *dorāla*, *venit*, but **esslaim* would have become *ēlaim*, a compound which is actually found in the sense of *escape*, and is referred to by Prof. Thurneysen himself. It is easier then to regard *ella* as a simple verb. At the same time it is not necessary to separate it from the stem *lā*; we may suppose a root *el-* or *ela*, *lā* like *τελα- τλᾶ*,

κέρα-ς κρᾶ- δειμον, etc. (cf. *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* xxxi. 396 sq.), cf. also Ir. *rām*, *oar*, *rāim*, *I row*, by the side of *ἐρεμὸν* etc. If Thurneysen is right in identifying this intransitive *lā* with the transitive *lā* in the sense of 'bring, place, throw,' we might also perhaps compare *ἐλαίνω*, *ἐλάσαι* stem *ela-*, though the meaning is somewhat different. In *ellaim* the second *l* will belong to some suffix; *ell* in Keltic is ambiguous, it seems to me most probable that we have a formation with an *n* suffix: *ellaim* might stand for **elnāmi*, with substitution of a strong form of the root for a weak as in Latin *consternāre* compared with **Skr. strṇāmi*, and with the same change of conjugation.

As to the meaning of *ambulo*, it does not seem to be nearly so strongly opposed to the idea of composition with *ambi* as Bugge supposes. In *ambulo*, *walk about*) (*sedeo* the preposition *ambi* is perfectly natural. With *ambulo*, *go on a journey*, *bene ambulato*, *bene ambula et redambula*, in expressing a wish for a pleasant journey, cf. Irish *imm-adall*, *a journey* (*imm*=*imb*, *ambi*), [*ní maith im-madall indomnaich*, *it is not good to travel on Sunday* (Windisch, *Wörterbuch* 619), *imm-lai he goes away, goes off* (*ib.* 625). As to Umbrian *amboltu* (Bücheler, *Umbria* 93), it is not safe to dogmatise on the meaning and usage of a word which is found only once.

J. STRACHAN.

ON SOME LATIN AND GREEK NEGATIVE FORMS.

1. *Nōn* *noenu* *noenum*.

THE derivation of *nōn* from *noenu noenum* = *ne oinom*, adopted by Latin grammarians from Lachmann to Schweizer-Sidler and, so far as I know, questioned by none, might seem to have stood the test of time. But in spite of the fact that it is supported by the English *not* = *neought* and German *nein* = *ne ein*, it is open to serious objection.

The first objection is that *non* and *noenum* are employed side by side in Ennius, Plautus, Lucilius, Lucretius, and Varro. In the case of the last three *noenum* might indeed be an archaism. But there is no reason for supposing it to be so in Ennius and Plautus. Secondly, the compound *nolo* is found not only in Ennius, but also in the fragments of the XII. Tables. We shall therefore have to suppose a quite impossible contraction of **noinomnolo* to *nolo*, since *noinom* could scarcely have become *non* as early as the

fixing of the recorded text of the XII. Tables. The old derivation of *nolo* from *ne volo* (rejected by Corssen *Aussprache* &c. ii. 1027—8) is untenable because (1) we have no evidence that the *Italic* change of *ev* to *ov* was repeated in Latin and *neuter* as well as *nevolt nevis* &c. are against any such supposition, (2) granted a form *novolo*, we have no reason to suppose that it would become *nolo*: *Nola* for *Novla* is Oscan. Thirdly, the transition from *noinom* to *nōn* is phonologically impossible. The extremely doubtful *coraverunt* is scarcely evidence for *oi* becoming *ō*, and the dropping of the termination is unexplained.

I propose, therefore, to derive *nōn* from *nō* + *ne*, the latter member being either a second negative or a particle of emphasis seen in

men' obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi! (Ennius ap. Cic. *De Div.* i. 31. 66: *vide* Minton Warren, *Am. J. Phil.* ii.).

The negative *nō* is found in the collocation *nōsve* = *nisi* in the Iguvine Tables VI. b 54, where *nōsve ier* = *nisi ibitur*, and is also to be seen in the form *noisi* = *nisi*, which occurs in the Duenos inscription and elsewhere.

But, further, may we not ask whether it is quite certain that *noenu* and *noenum* stand for *ne* + *oinom*? At any rate a different etymology will now at once suggest itself. *noe(nu)* may very well be identical with *noi(si)*, which is a combination of *nō* with the deictic *i* of *qui* and *οἷοστί*. The second constituent of *noenum* will then be the enclitic equivalent of Greek *νῦ νῦν*. *n* in *-num* is no objection, vide *tum*. That the particle *nū* was originally a frequent addition to negatives is proved by Sanskrit *nanu* (*nenu*), already in Rîg-Veda a single word, and by the common conjunction of *οὐ νν* and *μή νν* in Homeric Greek.

2. *νόδυνος* *νωλεμές* *νόννυμος* *νωδός* *νωχελής* *νωχέλια* *νωχαλός* *νώψ*.

In these words we might be tempted to find a trace of the negative *nō* established for Italic. But *ἀνώδυνος* *ἀνόννυμος* *ἀνώμαλος* *ἀνωφελής* *ἀνόμοτος* *ἀνώδης* *ἀνρόφος* and *ἀνώχρος* render it necessary to regard the *ω* in all the cases as either the preposition *ω* Sk. *ā* or lengthened from *o* by a process corresponding to the Sk. *vrddhi*. What is noticeable in the words in question is that they are Greek instances of the full negative *ne* in composition, for which phenomenon cf. Lat. *neuter* &c. Sk. *nākis*, and perhaps also Greek *νέκταρ* = Sk. *aksāra*. (?) The old derivation of *νόδυνος* &c. from *νη* + *οδυνη* &c. is refuted by the circumstance that *νόννυμος* is found in Homer and that we never hear of an intermediate form such as **νεωδυνος*.

F. W. THOMAS.

ELLIS'S NOCTES MANILIANAE.

NOCTES MANILIANAE sive dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii: accedunt coniecturae in Germanici Aratea: scripsit R. ELLIS (Clarendon Press, 1891). 6s.

THE readers of Manilius at the present day, whether in England or on the Continent, are few and far between. Nor can this be wondered at; the obscurity and difficulty of the author, both in regard to language and subject-matter, are great and notorious. Yet the astronomical (or rather astrological) poet cannot be neglected by those students of Latin Literature who would take a comprehensive view of their subject, and in particular desire to understand how men thought and wrote in the period of the early Empire. Nor was Manilius neglected by scholars like Scaliger and Bentley in an age which took a more liberal view of the scope of classical scholarship than is current at the present day. Manilius can never become a popular author; but it is well that some of our leading Latinists should open up new paths. The author of the beautiful lines which were inscribed by Goethe in a visitors' book on the Brocken (*Quis caelum posset nisi caeli munere nosse, Et reperire Deum nisi qui pars ipse Deorum est?*) deserves to be better known. To this end Mr. Ellis has devoted his best energies. He has prepared the way for a revised text of Manilius, which we may be

permitted to hope that he will some day produce: his present book is a worthy continuation of his indefatigable labours as editor of the *Ibis* and *Avienus*, and seems specially appropriate to the present day, when the interest in horoscopes and other parts of occult science felt under the early Empire seems to be reviving.

Almost everything concerning the author of the *Astronomica* has been matter of uncertainty. Teuffel (ed. Schwabe, 1890) regards his very name as a matter on which no opinion can be pronounced. This question I believe that Mr. Ellis has definitely settled, so far at any rate as the name *M. Manilius* goes. This name it is true is absent from the oldest MSS. or is inserted by a late hand (*Mālius*); but it probably comes from ancient sources. A letter of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., of a date about 1000 A.D., shows that the poet was known by the name of *Manilius* or *Manlius* in the Xth Century. It next turns up in the XVth Century in several MSS. of this date (sometimes in the form *M. Mallius*); also in a letter of Francesco Barbaro to Poggio (A.D. 1417): this piece of evidence may be of importance, as Poggio had discovered a new MS. of the poet at St. Gallen, and had no doubt previously communicated the name to Barbaro. A good deal will depend on what evidence is hereafter brought forward as to the age

of the St. Gallen MS. If it was an old one, then the name *Manilius* will rest upon indisputable evidence. In any case we may accept it with safety, however we explain the fact that it has disappeared from the Gemblacensis and other comparatively old MSS. Mr. Ellis accepts also either *Boenus*, which is appended to Book II. in the Vossianus Secundus, a MS. of the XVth Century (*M. Mallius Boenus*), or *Boetius*, which is appended in the same place in a MS. now at Madrid, also of the XVth Century (*M. Manilius Boetius*). Other XVth Century MSS. give *Boecus*, and some have regarded *Boennus* and *Boecus* as corruptions of *Boetius* and all three as arising from a confusion between our poet and the celebrated author of the *De Consolatione*, whose full name was Anicius *Manlius* [Torquatus] Severinus *Boethius*. On this point I should hardly like to express an opinion; but I feel inclined to doubt whether the additional name has more authority than the name *Nauta* which is in some MSS. attributed to Propertius (Teuffel, p. 551), or *Coquus*, attributed to Martial (Teuffel, p. 787).

The reader of Mr. Ellis' *Noctes* will perhaps be startled at the boldness with which Bentley is in many places attacked. Mr. Ellis is not sparing of his criticisms, and is evidently by no means inclined to defer to the authority of Bentley's name. I yield to no one in my admiration of Bentley as a critic; his work on Terence has been the foundation of all modern criticism of the old Latin scenic poets; it laid down the lines on which subsequent advances have been made. But it must be admitted that Mr. Ellis convicts Bentley of frequent lapses, due to impatience and excessive self-confidence. To some of these allusion will be made below. Mr. Ellis adds the charge that Bentley was unfair to his predecessor Huet (p. 161), cf. on V. 107, p. 209. On the other hand Bentley sometimes gives signs of his wonted brilliancy, e.g. in V. 737 (quoted by Prof. Jebb in his *Life of Bentley*, p. 144): and it is but fair to remember that his edition of Manilius was a work begun when he was a young man (A.D. 1691) and long laid aside, and that the responsibility of bringing it out (A.D. 1739) was ultimately thrown upon his nephew Richard Bentley.

A very interesting palaeographical problem is raised by Mr. Ellis. It is well known that Jacob in his edition of 1846, which still holds the field in spite of its extraordinary inaccuracies in details, treated Voss.² (XVth Cent.) as the basis on which

the text should be constituted. The error of this extreme view was clearly pointed out by Bechert, 'De M. Manilii emendandae ratione' (in *Leipziger Studien*, 1878), in which he established the claims of the Gemblacensis (Xth Cent.) to be the chief authority among MSS., maintaining that Voss.² was of altogether inferior importance. Mr. Ellis takes up an intermediate position, and, while regarding G as of primary importance, holds that neither it nor L (a MS. of a date about 50 years later) are sufficient without Voss.², of which he often speaks with great respect (cf. especially pp. 221 ff.). I have noted the following passages in which Voss.² contributes important evidence, not derivable, so far as is known at present, from other sources. II. 290 is defective in G:

haec ta ferunt Libram Capricornus et illum.

Voss.² has after *libram* the word *tortus*, which both Jacob and Ellis accept. II. 882 *non* Voss.², *nec* G, Cus., Voss.¹ After II. 902 Voss.² has a half verse (*per tanta pericula mortis*) wanting in all other MSS. III. 89 *Utrumque* Voss.², *Ut sit cum* G. In III. 283

Et totidem amittunt gelidas vergentia in umbras

Voss.² alone has the true reading *vergentia*; the others *gelidasque rigentia*. III. 537 *placeat* Voss.² is far superior to *pateat* G, Cus., *pateant* Voss.¹ b, o. IV. 417 *fugientia* Voss.², *fulgentia* G, Voss.¹, Cus. IV. 773 *sua* Voss.², *sub* G, Cus., o, *sibi* Voss.¹ V. 181 *uidere* Voss.² *videri* G, Cus., Voss.¹ b, o. In a number of passages Voss.² shows some approach to the true reading: e.g. III. 332 *limite recto* b, o; *limiter octo* Voss.², *limitis octo* G: in III. 411 *ut* Voss.², b, o, seems better than *in* G, Cus., Voss.¹ III. 596 *olympias una* (ed. Neapolitana), *olimpus luna* Voss.², *olimpia luna* G, Cus., Voss.¹ b. V. 137 *ingenita est uisendi* (Bentley), *ingenio est uisendi* (Mr. Ellis; but can *ingenio* be a predicative dative?), *ingenies uisendi* Voss.², *ingenium uiscendi* G. V. 176 *habentibus* Voss.², *habitantibus* G, Cus., Voss.¹ b, o. V. 183 *metuendus* (Scaliger, approved by Mr. Ellis), *mutandus* Voss.², *imitandus* G. In II. 489 Mr. Ellis finds support for his reading *Virgine mas capitur in mars* Voss.¹, *mares* Voss.²; G has *mens*. Similarly II. 233 *aequali sidere* Mr. Ellis, *atque illis digere* Voss.², *atque illi degere* G, Cus., Voss.¹ o. On the other hand Mr. Ellis does not deny that there are numerous passages in which Voss.² is corrupt, and sometimes agrees with

inferior MSS., though he does not admit with Bechert that traces of interpolation are to be found. Much light may be thrown upon the true position of Voss.² in the stemma of Manilian MSS. by an examination of the Madrid MS. This obviously stands in a close relation to the St. Gallen MS. discovered by Poggio, and also to Voss.² (cf. the position of the names *Boenus*, *Boetius*); either it is the very St. Gallen MS. itself or it is a copy of it. Mr. Ellis (p. 232) quotes Loewe to the effect that the handwriting is different from that of the Asconius and Valerius Flaccus which are bound up in the same volume. It would be particularly interesting to know the readings of this MS. in the passages cited above.

Any attempt to discuss the emendations of Mr. Ellis, which extend over the whole five books, must necessarily be inadequate. One of Mr. Ellis' most prominent characteristics is the closeness with which he follows even the most minute indications of the MSS. This does not however lead to a blind conservatism, as the following quotations will show. The palm for ingenuity is probably borne off by the reading proposed in IV. 422, which is generally read :

Laudatque cadit post paulum gratia ponti.

For *ponti* G alone has $\chi\pi\iota$ or $\chi\pi\iota = \text{Christi}$. This looks at first sight like a 'jeu d'esprit' of some monk, and it has been generally so regarded, by Bentley and others. Mr. Ellis regards it as standing for *xysti* or *systi*, and justifies the scansion (*gratiā x.*) by examples from other poets and Manilius himself (short syll. before *zonae*, III. 319, 625). Yet the reading of all the other MSS. *ponti* must give us pause : how did it originate? May not *ponti* refer to the sea mentioned in the previous line (Et modo portus erat pelagi iam facta Charybdis)?—a sea in which a valuable harbour has disappeared.

IV. 369 is excellently emended to

Inque alio quaerendum aliquid iunctisque
sequendum
Viribus

G has *quaerenda mali cunctis*, other MSS. *quaerenda (-do) mali (mala) quid (quod est)*.

IV. 726. Mr. Ellis well defends *propior* (altered by Bentley to *proprio*, Voss.^{1,2} *proprior*), and takes it of local proximity. This gives a very good sense, the meaning being that Egypt is nearer to Italy than India and Aethiopia are. Mr. Ellis holds that the *Astronomica* was written in Italy : Prof. Jebb says between the years A.D. 9 and A.D. 14 :

NO. XLV. VOL. V.

Teuffel places Book V. in the reign of Tiberius.

IV. 728. Mr. Ellis ably defends *Poenus* (*Paenus* G) against Bentley's *Phoebus*, and ingeniously suggests *torris* or *torres* for *terris* (MSS.) :

Poenus harenosos Afrorum pulvere torris
Exsiccat populos.

IV. 801 is admirably emended—*pisce suborto* for the corrupt *piscis (piscis) uruptor (irruptor)* : cf. Hyginus P.A. II. 30 (*ibi figuram piscium forma mutasse*). Bentley accepted the far less attractive reading of Voss. *pisce sub atro* ; Jacob proposed *pisce sub horto*.

V. 135. *pavidae* is a very good restoration of *fidae* (MSS.).

V. 209 f. Mr. Ellis remarks that Sirius may well be said *radios movere*, and that *Dimicat in cineres orbis* is really impossible, though accepted by Bentley and Jacob.

III. 403. For *nascentia sidera Tauro* Mr. Ellis reads *nascenti ad sidera Tauro*, i.e. 'Taurus rising into his stars.'

II. 475. *aliorum...aliorum* is ingenious (*aliorum...aliorum* MSS.).

IV. 876-882 is a very difficult passage. Bentley violently transposed 882 to 877, and there condemned it as corrupt ; in 876 he read *est munere*. Mr. Ellis maintains the genuineness of the MS. reading :—

Perspicimus caelum : cur non et munera
caeli
Inque ipsos penitus mundi descendere
census
Seminibusque suis tantam componere
molem.

Perhaps we may regard the infinitives *descendere*, *componere* as subjects and *munera* as the predicate nominative (supplying *sunt*). This seems better than to connect *munera* as object with *perspicimus*, as Mr. Ellis does.

It would be easy to multiply examples of felicitous emendations ; but it may be more to the point to devote what space remains at my disposal to a consideration of some passages in which Mr. Ellis has not convinced me, though I am aware that in doing so I may merely expose my own infirmities.

V. 168. *Ille potens turba perfundere membra pilatum*
Per totumque vagas corpus disponere palmas.

The passage describes the dexterity of a person throwing and catching balls. G has *membra pilatum* (according to Thomas' ex-

cellent collation), whence Scaliger, followed by Bentley, wrote *membra pilarum*. This gives, I think, a better sense and is nearer to the MSS. than Mr. Ellis' *crura pilarum*; not merely the legs but all the limbs of the play are enveloped in a shower of balls.

IV. 85-87. Most MSS. have

Quod Decios non omne tulit, non omne
Camillos

Tempus, et *inuicta devictum morte* Ca-
tonem,

Materies in rem superat, *sed* lege re-
pugnat.

Bentley read *inuicta devictum mente* and *res* (for *sed*); Markland *inuicta devictum morte*; Scaliger and Jacob *inuictum devicta morte* (so b); Mr. Ellis *inuictum uicta de morte*. This no doubt enables us to see how the MS. reading may have arisen; but I doubt whether *inuictum de* will stand. Perhaps read *inuicta defunctum morte*; cf. Q. Curtius V. 8, 11 *cum liceat...aut reparare quae amisi aut honesta morte defungi*. In the next line Mr. Ellis accepts *sed* and takes *repugnat* impersonally: may not the subject be *materies*? 'there is abundance of material, but it comes into conflict with Law' (the law of Fate).

IV. 729. Holding that the second syllable of *Mauritania* is short (so Georges; Lewis and Short give it long), Mr. Ellis believes that we have here a genitive *Mauri*, agreeing with *oris* (730), and that the last part of the word is corrupt (for *Mauri belua* or *Mauri citrea*). But the name of a country suits the context better as subject of the sentence (*Mauritania nomen | oris habet, titulumque suo fert ipsa colore*) than the elephant or the citron-tree. Can it be said to be certain that Manilius did not scan *Mauritania*?

II. 168 f. Nihil exterius mirantur in ipsis
Admissumque dolent, quaedam quod parte
recisa

Atque ex diverso commissis corpore mem-
bris.

So G. The passage describes the heterogeneous signs of the Zodiac such as Capricornus and the Bowman, in contradistinction to those compounded of like parts, the Gemini and Pisces. I agree with Mr. Ellis in taking *quod* as the relative; but I think it is not necessary to accept *Admissumque* from Molinius, though I see that this was accepted by Scaliger and Bentley. Why not read *quod quaedam* (sc. *admissum dolent*): 'they are annoyed at no addition from without, such as certain signs (are), which have lost a part of themselves, and have had their limbs made up from a different body.'

II. 223-229. I confess I do not see how the sentence proceeds if we read *Quod* (so MSS. and Mr. Ellis). *Cancer* and *pisces* must be regarded as examples of marine constellations. Mr. Ellis regards *ut quae* (= *idem in his accidit quod in eis quae*) as beginning the principal clause. If Manilius wrote so, he wrote very obscurely.

II. 253. Thomas' *Contra te et* deserves notice.

I. 868. Bentley's *ut cuncta* seems to yield a better sense than Mr. Ellis' *obducta* (MSS. *ob cuncta*). For the change of *ducta* into *cuncta* Mr. Ellis compares II. 337 where the MSS. have *cunctis* and he reads *ductus*.

I. 25 f. Quem primum interius licuit cog-
noscere terris

Munera (or Munere) caelestum.

Here I prefer to take *quem* as relative. Reading *munera* I should take *quem* (= *vatem canentem*) as subject to *cognoscere*: 'it has been granted to mortals (*terris*) that I should be the first to attain to deeper knowledge of the immortals'; or, reading *munere*, *quem* may be the object of *cognoscere*: 'to attain to deeper knowledge of it has been first (*primum* = *nunc primum*?) granted to mortals by the gift of the immortals': so Thomas and Kramer.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY LATIN ANGLO-SAXON GLOSSARY.

An Eighth-Century Latin—Anglo-Saxon Glossary, Preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Edited by J. H. HESSELS. Cambridge: University Press. 1890. 10s.

THIS volume is an important contribution to the literature of Latin glossaries. Mr. Hessels

has, for the first time, published a complete transcript, with a valuable introduction, of the eighth-century Latin glossary in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It consists of two parts: (1) Hebrew-Latin and Greek-Latin; (2) Latin—Latin combined with Latin—Anglo-Saxon. The Latin—Anglo-Saxon glosses had been excerpted

by Wülcker from a transcript made by Zupitza, and published in his edition of Thomas Wright's *Vocabularies* (1884). But the glossary had never been edited as a whole.

Mr. Hessels tells us (p. xiii.) that 'the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press informed him that the edition was to be merely an exact reproduction of the MS., that is to say, with all its scribal mistakes, errors of grammar, erroneous divisions of words, peculiarities of spelling, etc., etc., without an elucidation of any, even the most corrupt, glosses; and that his notes should be strictly confined to explanations of the graphical alterations or corrections made by the scribe or his corrector.' To this plan, which was practically his own, the editor has, except in a few instances, adhered.

The introduction, which students not only of glossaries but of textual criticism will find extremely useful, contains a description of the MS., an account of the main abbreviations employed in it, of its confusions, transpositions, omissions, and additions of letters, with a discussion of some isolated points. The value of the whole work consists first, of course, in the publication of the glossary itself. The glossary is in positive value not of the first rank. It stands below the Vatican Glossary recently edited by Goetz, and the glossaries of 'Philoxenus' and 'Cyril.' But there is much in it which deserves careful study, and which will help critics in their attempts to understand the older specimens of this curious literature.

Secondly, the lists which Mr. Hessels has made of the confusions and other corruptions of letters will add to our knowledge of late Latin forms. The material here amassed should be added to that collected by the editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, by Goelzer in his book on the Latinity of Jerome, and by Bonnet in his great work upon Gregory of Tours. The time has hardly yet arrived for a complete digest of these materials: but Mr. Hessels' labours are a contribution by no means insignificant to the whole work.

The present writer has no claim to speak on the subject of Latin—Anglo-Saxon glosses; but the following notes on some of the Latin-Latin glosses have occurred to him in reading through Mr. Hessels' pages.

P. xvii.—Among other instances of truncation Mr. Hessels quotes F 242 *florea* for *floralia*, and I 241 *interpola* for *interpolata*. I am inclined to think that the gloss *florea tempora florum* is a corruption of two, *florea* (perhaps Vergil's *florea rura*) and

Floralia, tempora florum. *Interpola* may stand in spite of I 340: the shorter form occurs in Isidore 19 22 23, and Gloss. Vat. p. 99 27 (Goetz) *interpolis* (i.e. *interpola*) *vestis*.

P. xviii.—To the list of transpositions add A 403, *agmine fulmine*, where *fulmine* probably = *flumine*: C 326 *celebra* = *lecebra*.

P. xix.—P. 333 *pecunia* for *pecua*. Not necessarily: the gloss as it stands gives *pecunia armenta*, which may represent a statement that *pecunia* originally meant possessions in the form of cattle: Festus p. 213 Müller (*peculium*) *inductum est a pecore, ut pecunia quoque ipsa*.

P. xix.—'A (capital) for B: A 940 (*Aubulus* for *Bubulus*).'
Aubulus may however stand for *aububulus* (Epinal 5 C 14), a form accepted by Löwe, *Prodromus* p. 348.

P. xxii.—'b for p... A 64' (*abtet vos, impleat vos*). *Abtet* more probably stands for *habitet*. *Ibid.*—'Coarta for coarcta' (A 732). More probably for *coorta*: *Aen.* i. 148 *coorta est Seditio*.

P. xxiii.—§ 41:—*Crocitus* is recorded as a mistake for *crocitus*. It is probably the correct form, being given by the MSS. of Plautus *Aul.* 2 2 14 (*grocchibat*), and by the Harleian MS. in Nonius p. 45.

P. xxvii.—'C. 593 (*conferata* for *conserta*).'
The gloss is *conferata consociata*; I am inclined to read *confœdusta*.

Ibid.—'f for h: F 58 (*fariolus* for *hariolus*).'
Fariolus is the older form: see Terentius Scaurus p. 26 Keil, quoted by the present writer in his 'Contributions' p. 455.

Ibid.—*Eruli* and *erus* are surely the correct forms, *heruli* and *herus* incorrect.

P. xxviii.—*Holitor* should not be put down as a mistake for *olitor*: hardly even *honera* for *onera*, for a form *honus* was recognized, or at least supposed, by the grammarians.

Ibid.—*Lychni* for *lychni* is treated as an instance of *i* wrongly inserted: but *lychninus* is the genuine Latin form.

Ibid.—*Stinc* is hardly an error for *istinc*: at any rate it is found in the Medicean MS. of Vergil *Aen.* 6 389 *iam stinc, et comprime gressum*.

P. xxix.—*Lexiva* may stand, not for *lixivia*, but for *lixiva* (*cinis*).

P. xxx.—*Paedagogum eruditorium puerorum*. The change required is probably *paedagogium* for *paedagogum*. '*Pelleum* for *pileum*.' *Pilleus* is the right form.

P. xxxii.—*Formonsum* is a correct form. *Epilenticus* is a mistake, not for *epilepticus*, but for *epilempticus*, the *n* standing, not for *p*, but for *m*. *Ibid.* '*lucenosa* for *lacerosa*.' More probably for *laciniosa*.

P. xxxiii.—*Publicus* is right, not a mistake for *publicus*.

P. xxxv.—*Accussat* and *recussavere* may well represent a good tradition: *obessus*, again, is not wrong for *obesus*; see ‘Contributions’ etc. p. 538. The instances of *s* omitted after *x* (*exertus* etc.) should not be registered as mistakes.

P. xxxvii.—*Vatillum* is now acknowledged to be the correct form, not *batillum*.

I append a few instances of confusion of letters which seem to have escaped Mr. Hessels, and a few additional instances of the confusions which he has recorded: P. xxii. *a* for *is*, C 104 *calla* for *callis*. *Ibid.* As an instance of *a* inserted, add C 13 *carauma* = γάρμα. *a* for *er*, F 24 *faria eloquia* for *farier eloquier*. *Ibid.* *b* for *ci*, A 68 *abds ab hacrore* (= *acidus*). *b* for *g*, I 303 *iubit* for *iugit*. P. xxiii. *c* for *o* (or *od*?), C 71 *caeporicon* (= *odoeporicon*) *iterarium*. For *di*, C. 447 *clanculum mare* for *diluculum mane*. P. xxvi. *en* for *m*, E 198 *enicha adultera* for *moecha*. P. xxviii. *g* for *o*, A 345 *Aeglea patria ventorum* (= *Aeolia*). P. xxix. *ia* for *η*, A 724 *archia initium* (=

ἀρχή). P. xxx. *iu* for *ni*, A 464 *alterius agunt* (= *alternis*). For *y*, C 209 *candius* (= *sandyx*) *vestis regia*. P. xxxi. *l* for *d*, B 145 *Bosborius lux lucis* (*Phosphorus, dux*). *Ibid.* *l* for *s*, A 943 *avvultis regalibus*, for *avvultis*. *Ibid.* To the instances of *m* inserted add *artemta* (A 752) for *artemta* = *artepta*. P. xxxii. *ni* for *m*, P. 105 *palniatus* for *palnatus*. P. xxxv. *s* for *e*, A 922 *austis opotatis* (= *avetis optatis*). *si* for *z*, G 70 *gesiae* for *gazae*: *si* for *c*, I 239 *insilitus* for *inilitus*. P. xxxvi. *t* for *s*, C 50 *castum* (= *cassum*) *vacuum*. P. xxxvii. *ti* for *u*, A 334 *aerectatio* (= *aere cavo*) *tuba*: B 159 *botitum* = *rotivum*. *t* for *g*, A 697 *apototyos* for *apologias*. P. xxxviii. *u* for *ci*, F 122 *fenicum cocumum* (for *coccinum*).

The puzzling gloss A 907, *aulaeis superbis*, *pulchris amoenibus*, should probably be written (not *p. amoenis*) but *pulchris velaminibus*: see *glossae Vergilianae* in Goetz's fourth volume, p. 431 24. The gloss having been written *pulchris vel aminibus*, *vel* was taken for the conjunction and dropped: *aminibus* was then changed into *amoenibus*.

H. NETTLESHIP.

SEYFFERT'S DICTIONARY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities, Mythology, Religion, Literature and Art, from the German of DR. OSCAR SEYFFERT, revised and edited, with additions, by H. NETTLESHIP and J. E. SANDYS, with more than 450 Illustrations. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1891. 21s.

IT is hardly necessary to add anything to the chorus of general approval with which this English edition of Dr. Seyffert's *Lexikon der klassischen Alterthumskunde* has been widely received. The daily and weekly journals, which undertake to answer for the needs of the ‘general reader,’ have with great unanimity pronounced this just what was wanted for his requirements. It remains only to look at it from the point of view of the student, and to consider if there are any cases in which it gives him inadequate or untrustworthy guidance. The English publishers have certainly been fortunate in the editors whose aid they have secured. If there are any two scholars whose names are guarantees for careful and minute accuracy of work, they are the Professor of Latin at Oxford and the Public Orator of Cambridge. It cannot be questioned that they have added

materially to the value of the original. Professor Nettleship's notes on Latin literature, and the important articles by Dr. Sandys on Painting, Engraving, and Vases are alone enough to give an independent value to this edition. But the question can hardly fail to arise whether the original plan was that best fitted for a volume of the size and cost of the present one. There is a demand for an authoritative work of reference, in which questions may be treated with some fulness, and which may serve as a guide to the original authorities and to the best modern treatises. There is also a demand for a cheap abridgement, which may be put into the hands of every fifth or sixth form schoolboy, and in which he may find information enough for his immediate needs. But it is hard to see what class of students is served by a guinea volume, in which most of the articles are of necessity somewhat slight, and where there is not a reference to an ancient or modern authority, except such as have been, only too sparingly, though much more fully in the latter half of the book, introduced by the editors. It seems probable that the utility of the book will rather lie in the service which it may

do to those who are not professed students, but who may be attracted by the numerous and excellent illustrations, and may be glad to have on their shelves a book of reference which they can trust so far as it goes. Indeed the extreme care taken to mark quantities throughout, and to give the Latin form of every Greek word seems to indicate that this is the class especially kept in view.

An instance of a thoroughly unsatisfactory result due to the 'popular' character of the articles is furnished by the treatment of *Caprotina*. 'After their defeat by the Greeks, the Romans were conquered and put to flight by a sudden attack of their neighbours, and the enemies demanded the surrender of all the girls and married women. Thereupon at the suggestion of a girl called Tutula (or Philotis), the female slaves disguised as Roman ladies went into the enemy's camp, contrived to make the enemy drunk, and then, climbing into a wild fig-tree, gave the signal for the Romans to attack by holding up a torch.' 'Greeks' is here only a curious slip for 'Gauls': but if the story was worth telling at all, it was surely worth while saying who the enemies were, that Varro (vi. 18) tacitly discards the story, that Plutarch (*Rom. c.* 29) represents the Latins as asking for marriage alliances with virgins and widows (the latter being omitted: *Camill.* 33), and that the absurd *matres familias* comes only from Macrobi. i. 11, 37. Cp. Niebuhr *Hist.* ii. 573. It is needless to say that no authority represents all the slaves as climbing the fig-tree.

Prof. Nettleship might have had the courage to draw his editorial pen through *or Quintus* added to *Gaius* as the praenomen of Catullus. By the way there is a queer statement in the article on names:—'Some [praenomina] were employed only by certain gentes, even by certain families, as for instance *Appius* exclusively by the *Claudii* and *Tiberius* by the line of the *Nerones* who belonged to this race; while others were actually prohibited in certain families e.g. *Marcus* in that of the *Manlii*.' *Tiberius Sempronius* is a tolerably familiar combina-

tion; and even when the reader has corrected *Manlii* to *Manli* he will be puzzled to read about *Marcus Manlius* until he gets information from some other quarter as to the date of the prohibition. The irregularity in the use of cognomina surely began before 70 A.D. What of Paullus Fabius Maximus, or Drusus Claudius Nero? It seems more than doubtful whether *andabatae* fought on horseback (cp. Friedländer ii.⁶ 535). Under the head of *Athenaeus* we find the very doubtful statement that he lived at Alexandria from 170-230 A.D. These dates cannot be fixed with any certainty. It might have been noted too that *Larensius* is only the Greek form of *Laurentius*, a much more probable Roman name. There is no article *concilium*, but under the head of *comitia* we read that out of the *concilia plebis* grew the *comitia tributa*, a very misleading and inadequate statement of the case. Mommsen's views as to the *comitia curiata* are entirely ignored.

It is perhaps in the mythological articles that we most feel the lack of references. An attempt is made to narrate the story in the most compressed form, which does not always tend to clearness: but too often it is pieced together out of different authorities without any notice being taken of their discrepancies: cp. e.g. the narrative of the relations of Atreus and Thyestes, or the story of Catreus.

It is not quite clear what the editors mean by saying that they follow Marquardt in reckoning 1000 sesterces as equivalent to £10. He gives the value of 1000 sesterces at 175 marks, i.e. not far from £8 10s.: their estimate has further the disadvantage of making too marked a difference between the drachma, which they take at 8*d.*, and the *denarius*, which they thus bring out at 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* At the same time on p. 148 b the value of the *denarius* is given at about 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* This will surely be very confusing to students.

The printing is remarkably correct: *Sūidas*, and *Bibliothēca* are the only errors that I have noticed: 'the *contiones*' on p. 162 b is perhaps a misprint for 'four.'

A. S. WILKINS.

Decii Iuvenalis Saturae erklärt, von ANDREAS WEIDNER. Zweite und umgearbeitete Auflage. Leipzig. 1889.

HERR WEIDNER's second edition has in the main the same excellences and defects as the first, but as the former have certainly been considerably increased,

and the latter sensibly diminished, we may welcome the new edition as a distinct gain. The introduction, now consisting of xxxii. pages, has been to a great extent rewritten, and is divided into two parts: (1) dealing with Juvenal's life and authorship; (2) containing some information with regard to the sources of the text. The first part is to some extent

marred by the confused arrangement of the various points touched on, the sections on the known facts of Juvenal's life, the date of his *Satires*, the successive stages of his style and his character as a poet, following and preceding one another in a most bewildering fashion. Nor is Herr Weidner's criticism of the data at our disposal for the reconstruction of Juvenal's life entirely consistent and clear. If the various 'vitae' are to be pronounced as wholly useless and unhistorical, or at least as containing nothing which we do not know from other sources, it would seem all the more important carefully to collect all the notices in the *Satires* bearing on this subject, and to consider what inferences may safely be drawn from the Inscription of Aquinum. But this our editor does very insufficiently, and though he has had Dr. Diirr's *das Leben Juvenals* before him, he has, it would seem, made singularly little use of what at the very least is the most striking contribution made to the subject in recent years. Again, if the 'vitae' are to be put entirely out of account, it is difficult to see on what ground Herr Weidner without any hesitation accepts the statement in the most recent of them all, viz. that in the Barberini MS.—that Juvenal was born in 55 A.D. In this, as in several other opinions put forward, as e.g. that on Juvenal's banishment, the correct view is probably taken; but as they are not the result of any well-grounded criticism, but rather of a haphazard kind of procedure, they lose much of their value. On what ground by the way does Herr Weidner assume from the names Decius Junius that Juvenal's father cannot, as the 'vitae' say, have been a libertinus? I should rather draw the opposite conclusion. The second part of the introduction dealing with the text is contained on five pages, and might perhaps with advantage have been a little fuller, especially in an edition which we presume from the insertion of *Satires* ii. vi. and ix. is not intended for school use. At any rate we can hardly consider any account of the MS. authority for Juvenal complete, which makes no mention of the Florilegium Sangallense, the principal source of perhaps the most important new reading, 'sufflamine mulio consul' (viii. 148). The commentary, which is much fuller and also much better than in the first edition, is decidedly the best part of the work. Many of the notes are no doubt unnecessarily wordy, much information is given which can be found in any Classical Dictionary, and examples of quite familiar grammatical constructions are often needlessly multiplied, while actual repetition is not infrequent. Still the notes as a rule give the requisite information about men and things; and are illustrated, often quite independently of previous editions, by very well selected citations. That Herr Weidner is always happy in his interpretation, it cannot be said. At times indeed his judgment seems utterly to forsake him, and we must express the hope that, before a third edition is called for, he will reconsider his explanation of the following passages among others. In *Sat.* iii. 218, following the reading of P. 'haec Asianorum,' he takes haec...vetera ornamenta as in apposition to 'aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris aut Polyeliti,' haec meaning 'these here in Rome.' Whether this is better than the old way of referring haec (nom. sing.) to some rich lady, is doubtful. Personally, I prefer 'phaecasiatorum' as an easy corruption of P. In vii. 192, praefectos Pelopea' etc. Herr Weidner takes Pelopea and Philomela 'men who play in pantomime these unfitting parts.' Surely like Agave in line 87 these are the names of 'fabulae salticae.' In viii. 58 palma fervet is curiously translated 'hands are clapped with fervour.' In xvi. 25, on 'quis tam procul absit ab urbe,' Herr

Weidner remarks: 'one must live a long way remote from Rome, and consequently be very ignorant of life there, to venture into the praetorian camp as advocate of a civilian.' But first 'absit' is an impossible mood and tense for this meaning, and (2) with this translation 'tam procul absit' and 'tam Pylades cease to be parallel expressions, as they are.

Passing to Herr Weidner's treatment of the text, a much less favourable judgment must be pronounced. In most cases it is true he has adopted the new readings of Bücheler's edition, though he still retains adiutor for auditor (iii. 322), Dolabella hinc atque hinc for Dolabellae atque istinc (viii. 105). and casum lugentis for causam dicentis (xv. 134). But it is in the arbitrary and most injudicious admission of his own conjectures that the method of Herr Weidner appears to be thoroughly unwarranted. Out of about seventy emendations of this kind I give some of the most unjustifiable. In iii. 104 (omnis W. omni P.) 'semper et omnis' is translated 'always and with my whole being.' In iii. 114 quite unnecessarily coepit is altered into cogit: in iii. 232 moritur vigilando becomes moritur vigilansque, aeger and vigilans being taken as praedicative to plurimus: in iv. 116 repente satelles takes the place of 'a ponte satelles': in vii. 184 we find quanti cuique domus instead of quanticunque, a reading which implies that the price of a 'structor' was as great as that of a luxurious house: in vii. 194 'et si perfixit, cantat bene' becomes 'et ni perfixit' whereby the irony of the passage is lost; in viii. 7 the second 'Corvinum' is altered into 'Arvinam' merely because a dictator of that name is mentioned in Liv. viii. 38; in viii. 124 aculeum et galeam is altered to iaculo et galea, governed by spoliatis: in viii. 220, to the destruction of all point and meaning in the passage, Herr Weidner alters 'numquam cantavit Orestes' into numquam cantavit Orestem, entirely forgetting that Orestes is the subject of the whole sentence: in viii. 239 'in omni monte' becomes 'inermi menti': in x. 54 the difficult line 'Ergo supervacua' etc. receives a new, but by no means improved interpretation by the reading 'ergo supervacua est,' Fortuna being taken as the subject: in xi. 136 by altering 'sed nec structor' into si, and putting a comma only at secatur, the connexion of the sentences is entirely altered, and certainly not for the better. In xi. 148 he reads 'non a mangone petitus quisquam erit Armenio' instead of 'in magno' or 'et magno.' If guesses of this kind are to be admitted, we should be glad to know what canons of criticism our editor recognises. In xii. 32 we have 'arboris incertae nutu,' and in the next line 'non ferret' instead of 'cum ferret.' In xiii. 178 Juvenal says: 'your loss nevertheless remains, nor will your deposit ever be secure; but the least drop of blood will give you a comfort at the price of general detestation (invidiosa). Herr Weidner entirely alters and weakens the passage by changing sed into si. Less radical but hardly more necessary changes are producere for deducere (vii. 54): unda Leucade for non Leucade (viii. 241): viventi est for viventibus (x. 243): nunc aetas gravior for nunc aetas agitur (xiii. 28): stupet is Germanis for stupuit Germani (xiii. 164): percipit for praecipit (xiv. 16): dum sic aedificat for dum sic ergo habitat (xiv. 92): gratulor, en et for gratulor, et te (xv. 86). Out of all Herr Weidner's emendations, there really seem to be only four, and these not very important, which make any improvement in the text: x. 84 quam timeo victis (victus P.), ne poenas exigit Aiax: xiii. 208 laeva voluntas for saeva voluptas: xiv. 24 inscripti, ergastula, for inscripta, ergastula, a conjecture made independently by Mr. H. Richards of Wadham in

the *Classical Review* vol. ii. p. 326 *b*, and xiv. 229 *patrimonia conduplicandi* for *patrimonia conduplicare*. We may note in conclusion that, though there is a complete Index of proper names, the want of a subject Index is in many respects an inconvenience.

E. G. HARDY.

A Short Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin for Schools and Colleges, by VICTOR HENRY, translated by R. T. ELLIOTT, M.A. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 1890. 7s. 6*d*.

THIS is an accurate translation of a very good book. The merits of the original it is not necessary to dwell on now as M. Henry's *Précis de Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin* has already been noticed in the *Classical Review* (vol. iii. p. 210). The highest ideal which the translator of a book of this sort could set before himself would be to rival the lucidity of the original, and the English of Mr. Elliott is almost as clear as the French of M. Henry. Mr. Elliott like other translators of foreign philological works had to face to some extent the difficulty of making for himself the technical terminology required. M. Henry, when dealing with the mysteries of 'Ablaut,' objects strongly to the German terminology which describes the *e*-forms of a root as the 'middle' and the *o*-forms as the 'strong' grade. The objection is well founded and a new term (*fléchi*) had to be invented which Mr. Elliott has translated by 'deflected.' As the word has not been used before so far as I know in Philology it is free from ambiguity, but can hardly be said to convey to the reader any very definite idea of the origin of the variation between *e* and *o* forms.

It is naturally not the province of a translator to set his author right; but as Mr. Elliott has improved the book for English readers by adding occasionally an English example where a French one was cited by M. Henry, one cannot help wishing that he had also removed some trifling obscurities and ambiguities in the original. In § 7 (p. 4) the beginner is likely to feel puzzled over the statement that 'inscriptions apart from the necessarily limited number of mistakes on the part of the writers give us absolutely accurate information.' Similarly in § 9 (e) the information about -*ττ*- and -*σσ*- is put so briefly as to convey an erroneous idea, and the statement on p. 86 note 7 that **ῥος* = Skt. *yā-rot* when put thus without any limitation is likely to lead the novice into an ancient heresy about final *s* and *z*. These are small points indeed, but I mention them because in using the book with my own pupils I found they were misunderstood. By an oversight on the part of the translator *alithum* (p. 223 note 2) is described as an ablative.

On the title-page the book is described as one for schools and colleges, but notwithstanding its lucidity I am afraid it is much too hard for schoolboys, in England at least. The English schoolboy who devotes himself to the study of languages is generally so unversed in scientific ideas that the very precision of a book like this is to him a difficulty. The difficulty in this case is increased by the brevity of the introduction which postulates more knowledge than he possesses and plunges him too rapidly into a sea of ideas of which he previously knew nothing. Thus the very excellence of the book as a scientific manual militates against its success (*experto crede*) as a book for beginners. For those however who know the elements of the science already no better book could be found, and the translator has done good service by making M. Henry's treatise accessible to a wider public in this country than it would otherwise have obtained.

P. GILES.

Hermann Paul's Principles of the History of Language, translated by H. A. STRONG, M. A., LL.D. Sonnenschein: 10s. 6*d*: New Edition, 1890.

THE first edition of this translation was noticed in the *Classical Review*, Vol. iii. p. 180 *a*. f.; the work has now been carefully revised throughout, but most of what was there said both of its merits and defects is still applicable. In point of fact, as his readers know to their cost, Prof. Paul's style is not fitted to impart lucidity to an obscure subject, and Prof. Strong has not been able to emancipate himself sufficiently from the original to avoid the translator's bane—foreign forms of thought in English words. Where our praise is rightfully due to Prof. Strong is for the talents and research that he has brought to bear on his task so that his translation is a more valuable work than the original.

Many controversial topics of course suggest themselves on reading the book, but this is not the place to raise them. There still remain errata to be corrected, but we confine ourselves to one instance in which the mischief is serious. On p. 192 of the English version we read 'According to Verner's Law, in the original German a regular change has set in between the hard and the soft fricative (*h-ç, þ-ð, f-t, s-z*), and this change &c.' We are inclined to think that the examples in the brackets will seem to most readers to lack relevancy. On turning to the German (p. 153) we find 'Durch das Vernersche gesetz ist im urgermanischen¹ ein durchgreifender wechsel zwischen hartem und weichem reibelaut entstanden (*h-ç, þ-ð, f-t, s-z*), bedingt usw,' from which it is apparent that Prof. Paul has misprinted *ç* for *z* (soft guttural-fricative) and Prof. Strong has followed him with the additional misprint of *t* for *ð* (soft labial-fricative). Another instance of a mistake copied from the original is on p. 374 (= 279) where *débonnaire* is given as from *de bonne air*; it should of course be *de bon air* although *de bonne aire* would have some justification.

H. D. DARBISHIRE.

Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries, by THOMAS WILLIAM ALLEN. London: Nutt. 1890. 3s. 6*d*.

MR. ALLEN has reprinted in this little volume the notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries which he contributed to the *Classical Review* in 1889 and 1890, correcting and amplifying, and adding in his Preface memoranda of subsequent visits to other libraries at Brescia, Ferrara, Messina, Palermo, etc. We have thus descriptions of 470 MSS., out of which 64 bear actual dates. An Index of Classical authors is added.

E. M. T.

The Alcestis of Euripides, by M. A. BAYFIELD. Macmillan & Co. (Elementary Classics.) 1s. 6*d*.

THIS edition seems excellently adapted for the use of junior forms: the notes are short, and such as to supply a foundation for accurate scholarship: there are none of those 'fictions' which, introduced with the false idea of smoothing the beginner's path, have to be unlearned later on. To me however it seems a mistake to give notes such as '*προθήκη* = *προέθηκα*,' *ῆδε* from *ἄδω*, &c. Young boys should go to their grammar and dictionary for accidence, and notes should be given on syntax, where reference is perhaps beyond them: just as older boys may be left to

¹ It ought not to be necessary to draw Prof. Strong's attention to the fact that 'germanisch' does not mean 'German' but 'Teutonic.'

consult grammars for easy syntax, but should have harder usages explained in notes. The only fault in this book is that it must tend to check the habit of using books of reference. The vocabulary is a case in point. Mr Bayfield's practical experience however is entitled to much weight. Is it not misleading to

give 'ἀλίσκομαι, capture, grasp'? The note on 617 is repeated on 935. In 1128 'necromancer' seems a faulty rendering of *ψυχαγωγός*. The introduction is concise, and the appendix on the particles useful. There is a misprint at the top of p. 51.

W. S. HADLEY.

NOTES.

NOTES ON AESCHYLUS, *Agamemnon*.

(1) l. 557.—

μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσαντίας,
σπαρὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος;

If Mr. Sidgwick is right in believing some word like *κλαίοντες* to have fallen out, I would suggest *οὐδ' ἀχοῦντες* as possible. This gives the required sense, and supposes the very slight alteration of Δ into Λ (instanced in this very play, where *οὐ λέγω* appears in the MSS. for *οὐδ' ἐγώ*), upon which the omission of *ν* would naturally follow.

(2) l. 1118.—

ἐ, ἔ, παπαῖ, παπαῖ, τί τότε φαίνεται;
ἧ δίκτυόν τι γ' Αἰδοῦ;
ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἡ ξύννευος, ἡ ξυναιτία
φόνου. Στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει
κατολουζάτω θύματος λευσίμου.

θύματος λευσίμου has given great difficulty, and has not yet been satisfactorily, though it has been plausibly, explained. If we read *λουσίμου* (a legitimate formation from *λούω*) we get an easy and simple sense. 'And let Strife, insatiate toward the race, howl against the sacrifice of the bath.' This follows naturally on *δίκτυον* and *ἄρκυς*.

(3) l. 1125.—

ἄ, ἄ, ἰδοῦ, ἰδοῦ. ἄπεχε τῆς βοός
τὸν ταῖρον· ἐν πέπλοιςιν
μελαγκέρφ λαβοῦσα μηχανάματι
τύπτει· πινεῖ δ' ἐν ἐνύδρῳ κύτει.
δολοφόνου λέβητος τύχαν σοι λέγω.

μελαγκέρφ μηχανάματι seems to explain the bold comparison in the line before of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra to a bull and a heifer. The words must by position be taken with *λαβοῦσα*, and must owing to the context be a description of the weapon of offence. The former, apart from other considerations, forbids us to take the words as meaning the axe: the latter prevents us from supposing an allusion to Agamemnon enshrouded in the black robe, and holding up his arms like horns. But if applied to Clytemnestra, both conditions are satisfied and a really striking picture is presented to us. The murderess advancing with her head bent down, and enshrouded in the black robe which she holds outstretched in her protruded hands, is compared to a heifer charging upon her mate, the bull.

(4) l. 1227.

νεῶν τ' ἐπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης
οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλώσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς
λέξασα κᾶκτεῖνᾶσα φαιδρόνους, δίκην
ἄτης λαθραίου, τεύζεται κακῇ τύχῃ.

(1) If we write *ἄτης* with a capital letter, the connection between the workings of the Spirit of Infatuation and Clytemnestra's speech of welcome to Agamemnon becomes plain. In both the first announcement of approaching ruin is such that it is hailed by the blinded victim with deluded exultation: cp. the irony of Clytemnestra with Ate's message to Oedipus in the *Œ.T.* announcing that his father Polybus is dead.

(2) If we separate *οἷα* from *τεύζεται*, taking the latter absolutely 'to hit the mark,' like *κυρεῖν*, the linguistic difficulties are done away with. Thus: 'he knows not the real meaning of the fell adulteress' words, which with her long-drawn smiling welcome she spoke like a covert Infatuation, alas with too good point!'

E. A. L. M.

* *

The objection to taking *τεύζεται* absolutely with *δίκην* in the sense of 'like' is the order; *δίκην* in this sense regularly comes after its gen. and could hardly be separated from it by the end of a line, at least not in Aeschylus. If on the other hand we take *δίκην* = retribution, and govern it by *τεύζεται* from *τεύχω*, the sense is clear: 'exact the retribution due to a secret curse,' or (reading *ἄτης*) 'the retribution of a secret Fury.' In any case *οἷα* is governed by *λέξασα κᾶκτεῖνᾶσα*, a natural phrase in view of the common *ἐκτείνω λόγον*. I can quote no parallel use of *τεύχειν δίκην*, nor does *ποιεῖν* or *ποιεῖσθαι* seem to occur with *δίκην*: the nearest phrases are *δίκην ἔχειν* and *δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι*.

H. L. B.

* *

AESCHYLUS, *Supp.* 819—820.

αἵμονες ὡς ἐπαμίδα
ησυδουπιαταπιτα

Hermann has restored the latter words thus: 'σ' ἐπ' ἄμαλα "Ἡσεί δουπῖαν τὰπὶ γῆ, which besides the change of *αμιδα* to *ἄμαλα* involves only the addition of the stroke over A in ΔΟΥΠΙΑ, and the alteration of T to Γ; *ησν* for *ἥσει* is merely confusion of the sound. Accepting this, I would offer for the first words *δαιμον ὅμως*: the meaning being 'though you did not perish at sea, nevertheless the Argives will drive you back.' The letters ΔΙ could easily fall out before ΑΙ. The omission or addition of the stroke denoting *ν* has caused confusion in two other passages of this chorus. In line 824 for *ἀτίετ' ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐσεβῶν* I would read *ἀτίετ' ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐσεβῶν*. v. 844 has also been thrown into utter confusion by the omission of the stroke. The MS. gives *λύμασις ὑπρογασυ-*
οι
λασκει. For the last word Hermann wrote *ὕλάσκεις*, I would add the stroke over the *ι* of *λυμασι*, and re-divide: *λύμασιν σὺ πρὸ γὰς ὕλάσκεις*. Thus a

seemingly desperate passage is healed with little expense, and without recourse to the fire and steel of Prof. Tucker and others.

Ib. 970.—I choose this verse as a specimen of one emended by a method entirely opposed to that of far-reaching change advocated and practised by Prof. Tucker. The verse, which he calls the 'most corrupt in all Aeschylus,' stands thus in *M*,

ει
καλωρα κωλυουσιν θωσμένην ἐρώ.

Now after editors have told us that this is the 'most corrupt verse in all Aeschylus' etc., and have borne testimony to their belief by the twenty-five conjectures to be seen in Weeklein's appendix, the twenty-sixth which Prof. Tucker gives, and a twenty-seventh which has been proposed by Prof. F. W. Newman, it may appear presumptuous to hint that this twenty-eighth way is the easiest and best, and that the line can be set right by the change of two letters and the omission of a third, thus:

ΚΑΝΩΡΑ κωλύουσιν ὥς μένειν ὄρω.

'Kypris proclaims the ripe fruit, and I see her hindering the unripe from abiding so,' *i.e.* she brings it to maturity. ὥς = so, as often in Hom. Herod.; rare in Attic poetry but found *Agam.* 930, εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πράσσοιμ' ἂν. ὥς and ὄρω are my own, *κάνωρα* (more liable to corruption than the common *κᾶωρα*) Prof. Newman's.

C. J. BRENNAN,
Sydney, N. S. W.

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ON SOPH. *Trach.* 504.

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τάνδ' ἄρ' ἄκοιτιν
τίνες ἀμφίγυνοι κατέβαν πρὸ γάμων.

('But I will pass on to this bride, to tell what—entered the lists.')

The meaning of the word *ἀμφίγυος* has been very variously explained.

The following meanings have been suggested:

1. With large strong limbs—*ἀμφί* expressing greatness.

2. Dexterous, well-practised combatants. cf. *ἀμφιδέσιος*.

3. Armed at all points.

This meaning is derived from Hom. *Il.* 13. 147

οἱ δ' ἄντιοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
νύσσοντες ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἐγχέσιν ἀμφιγύουσιν,

but Mr. Leaf in his note objects to this.

His note runs thus; "Generally supposed = 'having a γυῖον at each end,' *i.e.* the head at one end, and butt, *σαυρωτήρ*, at the other—but it is not explained how γυῖον which is properly used of the flexible extremities, hands and feet, can be used of the point of a spear, nor how the adjective can be formed from it by dropping the ι. Others have explained it of the spear-head only, as 'having a curve on both sides,' *i.e.* being of what is known as the 'leaf-shape,' for want of a more satisfactory explanation. I have elsewhere suggested that it may mean 'Elastic,' literally bending to either side.

The existence of the root γυ- to bend is abundantly proved—cf. *γυρός*, *γύαλον*, *γύης*, etc."

4. *Disparis formis*, of unequal form—one a man, the other a bull. (Hermann.)

Of the four meanings suggested the first second and third which are derived from γυῖον are thrown to the ground by Mr. Leaf—and the fourth is too absurd to suit the Epic grandeur of the passage.

And this leaves us with Mr. Leaf's suggestion [at the end of his note], which is I believe on the right

track; *i.e.* the two rivals wrestled in a most *elastic* manner, and used both hands and feet in trying to bend round one another and so trip one another up. This is exactly the meaning required, for the poet goes on to speak of the *wrestling tricks* employed by the combatants:

ἦν δ' ἀμφίλεκτοι κλίμακες.

L. H. S.

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PLUT. *Them.* xxi.—δύο γὰρ ἦκειν ἐφ' θεοῦς κομίζων, Πειθῶ καὶ Βίαν, οἱ δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς θεοῦς μεγάλους δύο Πενίαν καὶ Ἀπορίαν. No Greek would have spoken of Πειθῶ and the rest as male deities. θεοῦς here is feminine (θεά is poetical), and we must read *μεγάλας*.

H. RICHARDS.

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THE INSCRIBED WHORL FROM TROY.—I observe that in the last number of the *Classical Review* (p. 341) Dr. Meister is quoted as proposing a reading which differs from mine for the Cypriote inscription on the whorl found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik in 1890. It is evident that his reading is taken from the imperfect copy of the inscription which was in the first instance sent to myself. As I considered it unsatisfactory, Dr. Schliemann subsequently sent me the original which I consequently had in my possession for some weeks. I found that the characters are deeply engraved and very clear, all of them presenting well-known forms. About their correct reading there is no room for doubt. They represent the syllables: *pa to ri tu ri*. The interpretation of the reading is of course another question.

A. H. SAYCE.

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HERODAS, IV.

30. Instead of *πρὸς Μοιρέων* I would like to make out of *προσκοιρέων* an infinitive which would describe the old man (*τὸν γέροντα*) as taking part in or watching the action of the boy strangling the goose.

36. A statue of a dumb girl whose speech had been restored by Asclepius would be made to look as if she were speaking or even shouting (*οὐχ ὀρῆς, Κυννοῖ, ὅκως βεβόηκεν*).

55. These lines may describe a picture of a room with open door (in the Pompeian manner) within which are to be seen this and that subject.

66 foll. These lines read like a description of one of those pictures of *bœm immolatio* which Pliny mentions (xxx. 126) as frequent, the best of them being one by the famous painter Pausias, in which the ox seemed to be coming out of the picture.

78. If this line is to be ascribed to Apelles, then we may class it with that other proverbial saying which he, looking round from behind his picture, addressed to a critic, *ne supra crepidam sutor judicaret* (Pliny xxxv. 85).

A. S. MURRAY.

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THUC. iv. 64.—I quite agree with Mr. Carter's rendering of *οὐ στερήσομεν* (*Class. Rev.* v. 196); but, since he mentions Shilleto as possibly supporting another view, I should like to testify that Shilleto's interpretation was the same, and that he certainly did not wish this passage to be classed with those which he cites on Dem. *F.L.* p. 389 § 151. I have a notebook in which I have preserved his comments on

the fourth book of Thucydides, and his remark on the passage in question is set down as follows:—

‘οὐ στερήσομεν, *i.e.* *we shall confer*: cf. Eur. *Or.* 1151,

ἐνδὸς γὰρ οὐ σφαλέντες ἔξομεν κλέος
καλῶς θανόντες ἢ καλῶς σεσωσμένοι.

The use of οὐ στερισκόμενοι Thuc. iv. 106 is similar.’

G. E. MARINDIN.

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LIDDELL AND SCOTT: *s. v.* *στῶμα*.—III. in pl. also *piles* for building bridges on, Lat. *sublicae*, Polyaen. S. 23, 9.

Polyaenos is named in the ‘list of authors, with the editions referred to,’ but no edition is specified. The reading *στῶματα* occurs in the editions by Casaubon in 1589, by Maaswyck in 1690, and by Mursinna in 1756: but the inevitable emendation *σταυρώματα* was introduced by Coray in his edition in 1809, and has been adopted by the subsequent editors, Woelfflin in 1860 and Melber in 1887.

CECIL TORR.

ERRATUM.

Page 320, col. 2, line 15, for “*munkái*” read “*munkák.*”

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

London.—In pulling down No. 50 Cornhill, remains were discovered which proved the existence of a Roman house or part of a Roman street, and various interesting objects were brought to light, including bracelets, bits of armour, one or two coins, and vases more or less complete. A fine piece of the Roman wall was also found, surmounted by large slabs of stone, one foot thick, with part of an evidently Roman superstructure.¹

Twynford, near Winchester.—During excavations for building purposes in July a paved way was discovered, composed entirely of small red tiles, 6 feet in width and extending probably for a considerable distance, a length of 14 feet having been uncovered. More recent excavations some 20 feet to the west brought to light an oven or kiln, with three openings, in a very perfect state of preservation: also at 5 yards’ distance a chamber about 8 feet square, paved with tiles, the sides coated with reddish plaster. On one side of the latter is a ledge 15 inches from the ground, extending the whole length of the chamber; on the floor is a sunk channel with an outlet for the water at the end. This chamber evidently formed part of a bath. Portions of the partition-walls have also been found, and various bones and ornaments. These discoveries were made about two or three feet below the surface, within a quarter of a mile of other Roman remains found a few months ago.²

Lincoln.—The remains of a fine and spacious Roman villa have been laid bare here, which, from the extent of the tessellated pavements, must have been on a scale almost unrivalled in England. From time to time extensive basement floors have been uncovered, and tentative explorations have shown that there yet remain other floors to be brought to light. One strip of pavement, 144 by 18 feet, has an elaborate pattern of Greek fret down the centre in blue tesserae, with borders of broad bands of white, and narrow bands of red tesserae, alternating. Another strip was laid bare for a space of 81 by 10 feet, cut up into neat patterns, showing that it formed the floor of various rooms.³

Green Street, near Eastbourne.—A large number of circular pits have been found here, 18 inches in

diameter and the same in depth, and another shaped like the letter L, 15 feet long and 5 feet deep, edged with stones. In the latter were fragments of Samian and Upchurch ware, a spindle-whorl, a finely-shaped dark grey patera, burnt corn, shells, and large pieces of lead and copper. In another pit, shaped like a tomb, similar objects were found. These may have been refuse-pits attached to a large villa, or else a place of interment.⁴

Chester.—The excavations in the old city walls during the month of September have resulted in the discovery of four inscribed stones and several pieces of monumental sculpture, which are all believed to date back to the Romano-British period.⁵

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

Heidelberg.—In this neighbourhood has been discovered a Roman shop or cellar, in the walls of which were niches for placing objects. Inside one was found a broken relief in stone, representing a figure of a woman holding a cornucopia; her head is lost.⁶

Cologne.—In making the foundations of a new flight of steps at the Cathedral a Roman pavement was discovered, with round bricks for the pilae of hypocausts; also a stone broken in four pieces adorned with two Corinthian columns, with architrave above. This stone is 1 by 0·56 m. in dimensions, and bears an inscription of 164 B.C. (Macrino et Celso Coss).⁶

Vienna.—Sixteen Roman tombs have been found here, containing skeletons, twelve coins, a fibula, two urns, and two vases. At Baden in the neighbourhood, the remains of a Roman temple were brought to light, also Roman bricks, lamps, coins, knives, arrows, fragments of vases, bones of animals, etc. A niche in the rock contains the remains of an altar of Mithras. Near Ahrweiler were found seven tombs, containing vases, urns, lamps, etc., all of Roman date.⁶

Salona, in Dalmatia.—A fine marble sarcophagus has been discovered, the front sculptured with reliefs of two winged genii bearing a round disk on which are inscribed the names of two married persons, Valerius Dinens and Attia Valeria. The cover is in the form of a saddle back roof with acroteria at the angles on which are genii and small Cupids. Within

¹ *Pall Mall Budget*, 20 August.

² *Times*, 13 August.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 5 September.

⁴ *Antiquary*, July 1891.

⁵ *Academy*, 12 September.

⁶ *Antiquary*, August 1891.

were two skeletons and various ornaments, including three gold collars with pearls and beads of paste, two gold earrings, a small gold ring with an opal, amber and ivory hair-pins, and twenty-five ivory buttons, used as *tesserae lusoriae*.¹

ITALY.

Rome.—Excavations have been carried on between the Porta Salaria and the Porta Pinciana, during which a headless torso of a statue of Hygieia was found, clothed only in a mantle leaving the right shoulder and breast bare. The left hand formerly held a patera; at her right side is her sacred serpent, the head of which is lost. It is of mediocre style, 0.50 m. in height, and of Carrara marble.

Here was also found a sarcophagus, in perfect preservation, containing the bones apparently of a husband and wife, mixed with earth. In the middle of one side is a medallion with busts of the two persons resting on a branch of acanthus. The woman wears a tunic and mantle, the man a toga with *trabea* passing from the left shoulder beneath the right arm-pit. The features are much obliterated, but the style appears to be that of the third century of our era. Below the medallion is a pastoral scene, representing a shepherd in an *exomis* by a shrub, milking two goats, and another leaning on a knotty staff, playing on the shepherd's pipe. On the right-hand side is the figure of a bearded man with long hair, of Greek type; he wears a philosopher's cloak, leaving the right arm and part of the breast bare, and appears to be in the act of speaking. On the other side is a female figure in tunic and mantle, her arms wrapped in the drapery, the right as in statues of Pudicitia; two locks of hair fall on the neck. This figure is also of Greek type. On the top of the sarcophagus are two gryphons in very low relief. It is of Pentelic marble, 2.20 × 0.72 × 0.65 m. in dimensions.²

GREECE.

Athens.—Acquisitions of the Central Museum: (1) a marble hydria, of Hellenistic style, the neck and handle lost, 0.45 m. high. On it is a relief of a female figure seated on a chair with back and footstool, and a maiden standing before her, touching her throat with her left hand. Above is the inscription ΕΥΚΑΕΑ. It was found in the excavations for the Peiraeus railway. (2) A slab (0.90 × 0.60 m.), with a relief representing a shrine with *παραστάδες* and pediment, in which one female and two male figures are standing. The female on the right places her right arm on the shoulder of the male figure in the centre, embracing him. It is of late Roman date. On the architrave is scratched the inscription:

Ζώσας Ζοίλου Τειχίππου ὀνησιφόρου.
Ζόϊλος

(3) Two fragments of a Roman relief, with two headless figures, male and female, and a small figure between, all much mutilated. (4) The upper half of a sepulchral relief, with the head of a female figure, much injured. On the architrave is inscribed: Κλεοστράτη Καλλιμάχη. It is of Hellenistic date; dimensions 0.60 × 0.20 m.

In the excavations for the Peiraeus railway to the north-east of the Theseion was found a rectangular base of Parian marble, 0.74 × 0.76 × 0.325 m. On one side was inscribed:

ΦΥΛΑΡΧΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝΙΚΩΝΑΝ ΟΙ ΠΡΑΞΙΑΙ
ΔΗΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΕΟΡΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ
ΔΗΜΕΑΣ ΔΗΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΡΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ
ΔΗΜΟΣ ΘΕΝΗΣ ΔΗΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΡΑΙΑΝΙΕΥΣ
ΒΡΥΑΞΙΣ ΕΡΟΗΣΕΝ

On each of the other sides is sculptured in relief a tripod, and a bearded horseman in a chlamys. On the top is visible the hole in which the *ἀνάθημα* was inserted, probably a bronze tripod with a circular base, and a projection which went into the hole still remaining in the centre of the pedestal; or else it may have supported an Ionic column with Attic base, on which the *ἀνάθημα* was placed. The three *φύλαρχοι* are unknown, so that the date cannot be accurately ascertained, but it was probably made by Bryaxis in his youth, before he went to Halikarnassos, to judge from the inscription. Pliny gives his date as Ol. 117 = 312 B.C. The three horsemen are of course the three *φύλαρχοι*, one being father of the other two. The *ἀνάθημα* must refer to some victory they won as *φύλαρχοι*. It was a privately, not publicly, erected monument, which again points to its being made by Bryaxis in his youth. For the *ἀνθιπασία* cf. Köhler, *C.I.A.* ii. 1291 and *Ath. Mittl.* ix. (1884), p. 49.

In the same excavations was found a fragment of another base of Pentelic marble (0.42 × 0.16 × 0.10 m.), inscribed:

Γάϊον Καρρείναν Γαίῳ υἱὸν Σεκοῦνδον φιλο-
καίσαρα τὸν ἐπ' ἀννυμῶν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἱερέα
Δ[ρο]ύσου Ἰσπάτου
[ἡ] ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν χ' καὶ
ὁ δῆμος, κ.τ.λ.

The term *ἱερεὺς Δρούσου* points to a date between 9 B.C. and 126 A.D. (cf. Dittenberger, in *Ephem. Epigr.* i. p. 116, and *C.I.A.* iii. 1009). Dio Cassius (liv. 20) mentions a *Καρίνας Σεκοῦνδος*, cf. also *Juv.* iii. 7, 203, and *Tac. Ann.* xv. 45—xvi. 23. The most probable date is about A.D. 65.

Outside the Kerameikos has been excavated a small *τετράγωνον*, or rectangular sepulchre, of unburnt brick, in which was a *τάφος κεκαμένος* (or tomb containing a burnt corpse), with a covering of the same material. Near this were found similar tombs, on some of which were found large vases of the Dipylon style, evidently erected originally as *ἐπιτύμβια μνημεῖα*, answering to our gravestones.³

Thespieae.—To the 200 inscriptions already discovered, 150 more have to be added, taken out of the walls of the Eremokastron, which were found to have been built mostly of ancient materials, and will now be entirely demolished, so as to preserve all the antiquities they contain. Among various sculptures brought to light are an archaic head of Apollo, some figures of animals, statues of women, and bas-reliefs.⁴

Serres, Western Roumelia. — On the south-east slope of the ancient acropolis, which covers the old Macedonian and Roman burial-place, there was found on March 10th, at the depth of four metres, an interesting stele (1 × 0.50 × 0.10 m.), with an inscription of 36 lines containing a long list of names. The date is A.D. 41.⁵

ASIA MINOR.

Magnesia.—The sacred enclosure of the temple of Artemis Leukophryne has been made out, and all the

¹ *Antiquary*, July 1891.

² *Bull. Comm. Arch.*, May and June 1891.

³ *Δέλιον*, April and May 1891.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, 8 August.

⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 20 June.

remains of the temple itself brought to light. Portions of the frieze were discovered, much damaged, and in digging out the theatre and the remains of a portico, many inscriptions were found.¹

CRETE.

The archaic statue discovered at Eleutherna last year has been more thoroughly examined by Dr. Loewy, who considers it the first example of an early style indigenous to the island, and carried by the pupils of Daedalos into Greece. The upper part alone remains, and the existence of colour can only be surmised from the lines which divide the body into bands, and by some traces of rosettes. The hair falls in eight curls down the back over a close-fitting chiton fastened by a girdle round the waist. The figure was at first thought to be an ephebus, but is now considered by Dr. Loewy to be a woman, from the slightly swelling breasts, as in the statue dedicated by Nikandra at Delos. It bears a strong likeness to a statue discovered by the French at Tegea, for which place statues were made by Endoios and Cheirosophos, both of Crete.¹

CYPRUS.

In 1890 Drs. Dörpfeld and Ohnefalsch-Richter discovered remains of an ancient mountain-cult on the ridge of Pedalion, consisting of a temenos with numerous stone sculptures of life-size and over, also remains of destroyed statues and the primitive walls of the peribolos, which were intended to shut off the sacred mountain. This may have been a temenos of Aphrodite (cf. Strabo iv. 682).²

The chief results of the excavations at Salamis in 1890 are as follows:—

The plan of the agora was made out, and numerous inscriptions were found in it, from pedestals of honorary statues, partly of Ptolemaic date, partly of the early empire. The only other find of importance was the great bull's-head capital (see p. 343). The agora consisted of a double colonnade enclosing an open space 701 feet long and 110 feet wide, or, reckoning in the walls, 192 feet. The columns were of the Corinthian order, and the floor was paved with mosaics. At one end was a large *loutron*, at the other the stoa and cella-walls of a temple, 96 × 72 feet, where most of the inscriptions were found; from these it would seem that it was dedicated to Zeus Olympios. The temple and agora were both of Roman date, rebuilt at the same time. The *loutron* is the only part still standing; its dimensions are 194 × 72 feet. The walls consisted of large blocks of squared stone, with pier-buttresses on the south side; the interior formed a large pillared hall, with four aisles of thirteen bays, vaulted over. It was probably used as a *castellum* for supplying the town with water, as there is an aqueduct in connection with it, and it is not fitted internally for a bath.

The temenos of Zeus in the 'sand-site' was also excavated; it is a four-sided colonnade of late date, 168 × 125 feet. The column-walls are of slight construction, with plain pillars and Corinthian caps of marble. The chief finds on this site were limestone and marble statues, of which the best are a Serapis seated on a throne with Cerberus by his side (now at Cambridge), a female figure above life-size, perhaps Hygieia, an Athene of Roman date (now at Oxford), a fine female portrait-head, and a nude male torso, of the type of the Hermes of Andros.

On the 'cistern-site' were found fragments of limestone and terra-cotta statuettes, broken pottery, figures with offerings and seated female figures, and

standing figures wrapped in mantles, some with traces of painting. Of the pottery the most interesting fragments are of the oriental style, and one of late b.f. style, closely resembling a kylix in the British Museum (B 377).

At *Τοῦπα* was found a remarkable series of painted terra-cotta figures of archaic type, dating about 650 to 550 B.C., mostly bearded and draped, carrying flowers. The best example is given in *J. H. S.* xii. pl. 9. They are painted in red and black, the hair treated in oriental style, and the drapery brilliantly decorated with scale, flower, and lotos patterns, imitative of oriental embroidery. Other types are male figures carrying kids and animals, of which the most interesting are bulls with a row of lamps down the back. Also various limestone figures, and a series of fifty or sixty inscriptions, mostly late, including one or two syllabaries.³

¹ *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xii. pt. 1. April, 1891.

1. The north doorway of the Erechtheum. R. W. Schultz. (3 plates.)

He shows that part of the original doorway is *in situ*; the main jambs are of a period slightly later than the date of the building, and the lintel, brackets, and cornice still later insertions.

Mr. E. A. Gardner adds a note on the evidence from the Erechtheum inscription, and considers that Mr. Schultz's view helps to explain some difficult passages.

2. *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*. R. W. Macan.

3. Archaic reliefs at Dhimitziana. G. C. Richards. (With plate.)

A discussion of three archaic bone plaques, either votive, or forming part of the decoration of a cista, representing two warriors and a female. They are genuine specimens of early Spartan art, and are probably *ἀναθήματα* to some mythical heroic personages of a Spartan cult.

4. Sculpture in Sicilian museums (Palermo, Girgenti, Catania and Syracuse). L. R. Farnell.

5. Excavations in Cyprus, 1890. J. A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs. (7 plates.)

6. Notes on the antiquities of Mycenae. W. M. Flinders Petrie.

He finds a basis for an approximate chronology in the discovery of other pre-Hellenic tombs in Greece, and the discoveries in Egypt. The flourishing period of pre-Hellenic art was about 1500 to 1400 B.C., when intercourse with Egypt was common. The treasury-tombs date from 1500 to 1200; about 1150 B.C. graves were made in the form of a circle at Mykenae; from 1100 to 800 (the date of the Dorian migration) the prevalent decorations are in impressed glass. The bee-hive tombs of Menidi and the private tombs are of this date. The range of civilization was from the north of Europe down to Egypt, not only by distant trade, but by familiar intercourse. These facts accord with the dates derived from the literary record of Egypt.

7. A journey in Cilicia Tracheia. J. T. Bent. (With plates.)

A description of Kanygelleis (a deme of Sebaste), where various inscriptions were found; of the Olban cave, with cave-temples and a propylaeon dedicated to Hermes; of the Corycian cave, with the ruins of the town and temple; of Uzunja-burdj, with the temple of the Olban Jove and a great fortress on the hill of the upper town; and of Meidan, with ruins of a wall of polygonal masonry.

8. Inscriptions from Western Cilicia. E. L. Hicks. A supplement to the last article.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 8 August.

² *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1 August.

³ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xii. pt. 1, April 1891.

Archaeological Journal, No. 190. June 1891.

1. Some tombs in Crete of the Mycenaean period. Rev. J. Hirst.

A description of three coffers with lids, shaped like baths, found in arched chambers with *δομοι*. The shape of the tombs recalls the Phrygian huts, and the ark-shaped coffers resemble the more advanced sort of dwelling in use at that time (cf. the Tugurium-vase in the British Museum).

2. Roman antiquities of Augsburg and Ratisbon. Bunnell Lewis.

A description of various antiquities in the Augsburg Museum, including a miliarium with an inscription of Septimius Severus, relating to the repair of roads; an inscription of a temple built at Aelia Augusta (Augsburg); a sign of a wineshop (?), representing a cask on a cart; a monument of two *duumviri* (?) in niches side by side, under elliptical arches; a statue of Hermes carrying a winged child (probably Eros), and a fine mosaic pavement.

3. Notes on Bath as a Roman city. Emanuel Green, F.S.A.

He discusses the extent of the city, and the position of the four cross-roads; the route of the Fosseway was probably along the line of the present High-street, from north to south.

4. Some recent archaeological discoveries in Lincoln. Rev. Precentor Venables.

An account of some bits of the city-wall discovered in June 1890, and of the traces of a Roman villa a mile east of the city.

Antiquary, July 1891.

Quarterly notes on Roman Britain. F. Haverfield.

The most important note is on a Romano-British village at Bampton, Oxon., the inhabitants of which appear to have been very little civilised. Pits were found there similar to those found near Eastbourne (*vid. supra*).

At Binchester, to the south of Hadrian's wall, an altar was erected by Pomponius Donatus, beneficiary of the consular legate, to Jupiter and the *matres olostotae* (probably a Keltic word), *sive transmarinae*.

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. 11 July, 1891.

P. 886. Fünfzigstes Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste, Berlin, 1890. (Review of, by Fritz Baumgarten).

Dr. C. Robert writes on 'Homerische Becher,' *i.e.* hemispherical cups of stamped red clay, of metallic appearance, dating about the third century B.C. The designs appear to be derived from silver models, and are closely taken from Homer, with verses from the poems appended.

Dr. F. Winter discusses a relief found in 1875 on the Esquiline (now in the Conservatorium), representing a Maenad, probably the Greek original of the many Roman replicas of the so-called Chimairophonos. It formed part of the base of a choregic tripod. Dr. Winter identified four more of the Maenads at Madrid, one resembling the Venus Genetrix, which he ascribes to Kalamis, but the date seems too early for the relief. Dr. Furtwängler writes on a small Argive bronze in the Berlin Museum, and a fifth-century vase with a representation of Orpheus.

H. B. WALTERS.

AMONG the objects discovered last season at Salamis, one of the most interesting is a mutilated statue of Serapis enthroned, with Cerberus by his side. The figure—the head of which is unfortunately missing—is in dark blue marble; and at once arrests

the eye by the peculiar treatment of the drapery, which is exceptionally light and clings closely to the form beneath. The arrangement of the folds is also to be noted, especially on the upper part of the body; and the disposition of the two ends—one pendent from the left shoulder, the other flung across the lap—deserves attention. The grouping of Cerberus with Hades is sufficiently unusual in itself to make the statue remarkable, but is not unexampled, as, to go no further afield, may be seen by a marble in the Graeco-Roman Room of the British Museum. The Salamis statue is published and described in our report of the excavations [*J. H. S.* 1891].

WHILST in Rome during the autumn and early winter of last year I kept a look-out for possible replicas of this statue, which from the first had seemed to me to possess a strong individualism. My search was not unrewarded. In the Chiaramonti Gallery of the Vatican is a statuette of Hades enthroned, which bears in every respect a striking resemblance to the marble from Salamis. It is of similar material, dark blue, almost purple, in tint, with flesh parts in white, as had been the case with our Salamis figure. It is true there is here no Cerberus, but the figure of the god is similar in all other details, there is the same peculiar treatment and arrangement of the drapery, the same half-impatient pose of the lower limbs, the same disposition of the arms. The statuette, which has an inclusive height of about 60 cm. has been broken and in parts restored: but, owing to the place which it occupies on the uppermost shelf in the Gallery, it is difficult to say what is ancient, what modern. The blue marble is throughout untouched: and of the white portions the head and feet may be ancient, the arms modern. On the arms are puntelli as though the restoration had been carried out in the light of an extant statue.

MORE important and of larger size is a statue in the Museo dei Conservatori [Sala rotonda]. This also agrees almost exactly with the Salamis figure: Cerberus however is more to the front, the throne, especially on the left side, is more in evidence, the legs more widely sundered and the right somewhat more advanced. But the arrangement and rendering of the drapery are the same; and there is no mistaking the connection between this work and that from Salamis. The material is white marble. In its present state the figure is 1.10m. high, inclusive of base: the polus when complete would have added another 6 or 7 cm. It is a much poorer copy than that discovered at Salamis, as would indeed be indicated by the change of material; but has the advantage of preserving the head, whose type is noteworthy. The cheek-bones are high and the eyes with their protruding ball and sharply recessed corners are rendered in such a manner as to give an almost savage effect. The general form of the head with its slight forward stoop and upward glance is later than the type represented by the Zeus of Otricoli.

THERE may exist many other replicas of this work: I have had no opportunity of examining other museums in search of them. But the existence even of three agreeing so completely in all essentials as do those here enumerated is sufficient proof of a common archetype. Unfortunately we seem to have no record of any important treatment of Zeus-Serapis other than that of Bryaxis, of whom we know practically nothing. The type of our example belongs to a post-Lysippean school, and, if we may trust the head of the Conservatori statue, to that school which is represented by the Eros with the bow, and some

other youthful types. At least there is a similar proportion observed; though subject and treatment are sufficiently diverse.

H. A. TUBES.

Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn. Vol. xiv. Vienna. 1891.

1. E. B(ormann); publishes a series of leaden Greek weights from various places in the Dobrukscha; six cuts. 2. Klein; the 'Enkrinomenos' of Alkamenos; this title has never been satisfactorily explained, nor has any corresponding type of statue been found; he proposes to read Encriomenos, of an athlete anointing himself with oil, similar to the fine statue in Munich and replicas elsewhere. 3. Tocilescu; ninety-six new Greek and Latin inscriptions from the Dobrukscha; including a long decree from Tomi; on account of the repeated incursions of Karian pirates, the state appoints two officials who are to select forty men for the guarding of the town gates, and for patrol service in the city; the latter part records the honours paid to the officials (*ἡγεμόνες*) and the watch (*ἐπίλεκτοι*). 4. Szanto; note on the *πυλωροί* (Akropolis police) inscriptions. 5. Ladek; publishes a series of antiquities from Brigetio, a bronze cup with a sacrifice in relief, bronze statuettes, &c., with woodcuts. 6. Patsch, two Greek inscriptions from Knidos in a private collection. 7. Fröhlich; eighty-eight Roman inscriptions from Pannonia inferior and superior. 8. v. Premmerstein; epigraphical notes from Steiermark and Krain; notes on twenty Latin inscriptions. 9. Jung; five Latin inscriptions from Siebenbürgen. 10. Patsch; old and new Praetorian inscriptions from Aquileia. 11. Cumont; sixteen Latin inscriptions from Dacia, new and revised. 12. Gerojannis; eight Greek inscriptions from Nikopolis. 13. Kubitschek; Roman find at Klosterneuberg. 13. Szanto; Themistokles and the old Athenae temple; argues that the Athenae *ἡ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μεδέουσα* (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xii, p. 154; cf. *Plut. Them.* 10) was the goddess of the older temple, so called to distinguish her from the Polias in the Erechtheion. 14. Gurlitt; publishes a bronze terminal statuette of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. 15. The same; the Thrasymedes son of Arignotos of Paros, of the Epidauros inscription (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1886, p. 145) may be assigned to about the middle of the fourth century; he may be identified also with the Thrasymedes who did the joiner's work, thus showing that even down to this date there were examples of handicraftsmen who were also great artists. 16. Kubitschek; Roman inscriptions from Brigetio. 17. The same; on the use of the tribe-names Arnensis and Aniensis. 18. The same; a Roman inscription from Carnuntum. 19. Frankfurter; fifty-eight Greek and Roman inscriptions from Bulgaria. 20. Hauser; excavations in Carnuntum, with plan of amphitheatre. 21. Ornstein; the Roman settlement at Szamos-Ujvár; with plan of the site, and Roman inscriptions. C. S.

THE Cambridge Antiquarian Society has just issued No. 31 of its *Communications*, and this contains papers read as recently as the spring of the year before last. Among these is a paper by Prof. Middleton on an oenochoe belonging to the Rev. S. S. Lewis, since deceased. This oenochoe is of the later Greek form, with masks and festoons in relief, and is coated with blue Egyptian glaze; coloured plate. The words *Βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Φιλοπάτορος* are incised on the neck. It was found in Cyprus.

C. T.

Römische Mittheilungen. 1891. Part 1. Rome.

1. Michaelis gives a very elaborate account of the growth of the collection of antiquities at the Capitol in Rome down to the inauguration of the museum in 1734: three plates and three woodcuts. 2. Mau contributes some notes on Pompeii, qualifying former opinions about the Basilica; two woodcuts. 3. Huelsen makes his second report upon discoveries and researches affecting the topography of Rome, giving a summary of results published between April 1889 and December 1890, and subjecting many of these results to very severe criticism: two dozen woodcuts. C. T.

Revue numismatique. Pt. 2, 1891.

A. S. Dorigny. 'Aurélien et la guerre des monnaieurs.'—*Chronique.* Description of two *tesserae* (?) of porcelain with the types of Ptolemaic coins. These pieces were found in Egypt and have been presented to the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, by M. Maspero.

Numismatische Zeitschrift. (Vienna) 1890. Vol. xxii.

K. B. Hofmann. 'Ueber eine Anzahl griechischer Gewichte.'—A. Markl. 'Die Reichsmünzstätten unter der Regierung des Quintillus und ihre Emissionen.'

Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique. March—April. 1891.

J. de Rougé. 'Les personnages sur les monnaies des nomes.' Maintains that the figures represented on Egyptian nome-coins are the gods of the nomes and not, as Froehner suggested, merely personifications of the nomes.—The number for May-June contains no articles on Classical numismatics.

Numismatic Chronicle. 1891. Part. ii.

Warwick Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1890.' 177 Greek coins have been acquired during the year. Thirty-one of the most important specimens are here described. Among these may be noted the following:—*Sparadocus*, King of the *Odrysae*. A rare tetradrachm. *Amadocus*, King of the *Odrysae*. Bronze. Reasons are suggested for assigning this and similar coins to Amadocus II. and Teres III. instead of to Amadocus I. and Teres II. *Alexander of Phoenice*. A silver coin inscribed *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ*, *sc. τριώβολον*. Specimens of the *στατήρ* and *δραχμή* inscribed respectively *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΣ* and *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ* had previously been published. *Latus in Crete*. An Imperial coin indicating the importance of this place under the early Empire. *Onidus*. New silver coin with a beautiful head of Aphrodite. *Olba in Cilicia*. Bronze coin with types of club and fortress, interesting in connection with recent discoveries in Cilicia Tracheia.—W. Wroth. 'Eupolemus.' On coins attributed to Eupolemus, general of Cassander of Macedon. Gives details as to their provenance and suggests Mylasa as their mint-place. A note by Prof. W. M. Ramsay on the site of Hylarima in Caria (emending *Diod. Sic.* xix. 68) is appended.—Col. F. Warren. 'Notes on coins found in Cyprus.'—John Evans. 'On some rare and unpublished Roman medallions [in the writer's own collection].'*Miscellanea*. E. Thurston. 'A further discovery of Roman coins in Southern India.' Roman denarii, Augustus to Nero. W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Kuhn's Zeitschrift. Band xxxi. Heft 3. [Continued from vol. v. p. 135.]

This number contains a long and important paper by P. Kretschmer. I. The action of the original I.E. accent works not merely regressively but also progressively, affecting the ablaut not only in preceding but also in following syllables. This is illustrated at great length in various types of inflexion. II. The current theory that the ablaut $e : o$ is connected with change of accent is not well grounded. The alternation of $i : \epsilon$, $u : o$ in Greek, $a : e$ in Latin is due to a shifting of accent (Kretschmer is apparently unaware of Mr. Wharton's proof of the Latin change). I.E. i , u discussed: partly due to the reduction of a diphthong, partly to contraction of i , u with a short vowel. Accented γ = Greek $\alpha\rho$, unaccented γ = Greek $\rho\alpha$. The ordinary theory of the doubling of the liquids (gr , ll) disputed, and a new explanation advanced of $udatta$ -roots. III. 1. Initial combinations of labials and gutturals with dentals go back to a reduction of a fuller form with a vowel, e.g. $\beta\delta\epsilon\omega$ = $bzde\omega$ from $\sqrt{pezd}$ - in $p\epsilon do$ ($pezo$). Initial ks , ps alternate with s , kt -, bd -, pt with t , d . The relation of Greek $\kappa\tau$, $\chi\theta$, $\phi\theta$ to Arian ks , where the second letter must be dental, not spirant in character. 2. u -epenthesis, which Kretschmer believes to be a phenomenon of the original language. There is an appendix on the treatment of I.E. ou in Latin. F. Solmsen on I.E. pronominal stem eno - in $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$.

Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, tome 7. fasc. 1. [A summary of fasc. 2 appeared in vol. v. p. 243.]

M. Bréal discusses adversely (1) the theory that the termination of the first plural in French is by analogy from *sumus*, (2) Brugmann's explanation of the origin of the feminine gender. He has a second paper on 'Irradiation grammaticale,' i.e. the phenomenon by which a suffix, originally of vague meaning, acquires a special signification by virtue of its attaching to a particular word and then becomes more widely extended to form derivatives from words of a different type—e.g. $\nuαντ\iota\alpha$ produces $\nuαντ\iota\omega$, on which is formed $\delta\deltaοντ\iota\omega$ etc.— $\alpha\mu\beta\lambdaακ\iota\sigma\kappa\omega$ is connected with $\alpha\muαρτ\alpha\ν\omega$ (root $\mu\alpha$, $\muαρ$)— $\pi\rho\nuω\alpha\pi\eta\varsigma$ owes its form to $\epsilon\nuω\pi\eta\varsigma$, $\alpha\nuω\pi\eta\varsigma$ —Note on two Oscan inscriptions—*strenae* (quasi *saburnuac*!)—*dinturnus*—*tergorare*—*coelum*—*rabies* ($\beta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\omega$)—*studeo*—*forda*—*suescere* and other words—L. Havet on *canaba*, *curculio*—A. Meillet illustrates from Armenian the law that a velar is unlabialised after u —E. Andouin on vocalic prothesis. F. de Saussure on the forms of the number six in I.E.— $\phi\rho\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ Goth. $bairhts$ — $\lambda\iota\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\text{Flg}\acute{u}\varsigma$ becoming * $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ (τ , δ become $\lambda\upsilon$, $\rho\upsilon$ before a velar) and then by dissimilation $\lambda\iota\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma$ — $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon\omega\alpha$ (cf. $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\kappa\omicron\alpha$) $\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\iota$ (cf. $quic$ -s)— $\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ — $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ (= $\delta\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$)— $\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ ($\eta\varsigma$ - $\iota\omega$ - from reduced root of $n\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\upsilon\varsigma$)— $\delta\kappa\rho\upsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ — $\delta\gamma\eta\varsigma$ — $\chi\phi$ for ks , ps before a consonant in $\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\eta$ ($\tau\epsilon\chi\omega$), $\epsilon\phi\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$ ($\epsilon\psi\omega$). Attic $\rho\eta$ for $\rho\alpha$ in $\kappa\rho\eta\eta$, $\epsilon\iota\rho\eta\eta$, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\eta\eta$ — $\mu\upsilon\omicron\alpha$ - for $\sigma\mu\upsilon\omicron\alpha$ - in $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\mu\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\mu\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$.

Fasc. 3.—M. Bréal on the pronunciation of f in the Italian dialects and on the inscription in an unknown language discovered at Lemnos, which he supposes to be in the tongue of $\Sigma\iota\nu\tau\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\phi\omega\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$ of Od. 8. 294. *Silenta*, *fluenta*, and *cruentus* (the last two by analogical formation) preserve the old form of the pres. part. not contaminated with i -stems. *Umbra*-*tilis exercitatio* originally signified $\sigma\kappa\iota\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\iota\alpha$ —*serus* originally meant 'heavy,' so 'slow,' 'late': cf.

serius—*dat* in *Aen.* 9. 266 is an old unaugmented aorist. In *tibi consultum volo*, *consultum* preserves an old inf. form; *monitos eos volo* originates in a misunderstanding.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1890.

No. 19. Huemer, *die Genesis des Entschlusses in den Tragödien des Euripides und Sophokles, oder über den objectiven Character der griechischen Tragödie. Eine ästhetische Studie.* 'The author applies to ancient the rule of modern tragedy,—pronouncing sentence according to laws which ought themselves to be brought before the bar.'—Bruchmann, *Psychologische Studien zur Sprachgeschichte.* 'A unique and important book. On a well-known linguistic fact the author builds to the skies a system of psychological and metaphysical speculation. The linguistic researches are thorough and extended with critical acumen and observations from the most varied departments of life and knowledge. But the book is uncommonly hard reading, and the conclusion does not express clearly the result of the whole work.'—Christiansen, *de Apicibus et ilongis inscriptionum latinarum* (Inaug. Diss.) 'Diligent and, in part, useful; but with much doubtful matter.'

No. 20. v. Arnim, *Quellenstudien zu Philo von Alexandria.* I. 'Περὶ ἀφθαρίας κόσμου' goes back to three sources, viz. (a) a treatise which tried to compromise between Plato and Aristotle (p. 226, 3—235, 6 B.), (b) a polemical peripatetic essay against the Stoa (p. 221, 8—226, 2 and chaps. viii.—xix.), (c) another peripatetic treatise (the second and fourth proof of Critolaus, second part of chap. xx., chap. xxii. and last part). The arguments of (c) have their source in Antipater's (?) $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\phi\theta\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$. II. Gives new support to the assumption of Heraclitism in Aenesidemus by showing Heraclitean influence in Philo $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\varsigma$ M. I. 383—388 *De Jos.* M. II. 59 ff. 111. 'De plantatione' p. 350 ff., ($\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\alpha\iota$ δ $\sigma\omicron\phi\omicron\delta$) goes back to a stoic-peripatetic treatise, which was perhaps used also by Seneca ep. 83.—Francke, *De Siliii Italici Punicorum tropis.* F. ought to have confined himself to what is characteristic in Silius, and to have paid more attention to S.'s indebtedness to his predecessors.

No. 21. *Pauli Orosii historiarum adversus paganos lib. vii.* ed. Langemeister. Reprint of the text of ed. maior in the Vienna C S E L, without critical apparatus. A few changes in the text.—Schmitt, *Über den Ursprung des Substantivsatzes mit Relativpartikeln im Griechischen* (Schanz's *Beitr. z. hist. Synt.* III. 2) Sch. has confined himself to the Homeric language and hence deprived himself of valuable material which later authors would have yielded. The second chap. (on the Verb) is weak. But the first has a very careful and instructive discussion of the different forms of relative substantive-clauses in Homer.—Dumond, *Le Théâtre de Polyclète.* An unsuccessful and idle attempt to reconstruct the geometrical ground-plan of the antique theatre.

No. 22. Link, *Die Einheit des Pastor Hermas*, Baumgärtner, *Die Einheit des Hermasbuches.* Both try, as it seems unsuccessfully, to prove the unity of the Pastor Hermas; L. the unity of the book as a whole, while B. claims that the visions, although by the same author, do not belong to the rest of the book.—H. Schmidt, *Handbuch der lateinischen und griechischen Synonymik.* No abridgement of Sch.'s larger *Synonymik*, but entirely independent. Too little attention is paid to the historical development and

change of meaning. But the great mass of collected material and many happy suggestions make the book valuable.—Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*. II. ed. Improved and enlarged. Chiefly practical.—Haubold, *De rebus Iliensium*. A careful and critical collection of all that can be gleaned from literary epigraphic and numismatic sources.

No. 23. Gùldenpenning, *Die Kirchengeschichte des*

Theodoret. 'Its main source is Rufinus, but a large number of passages show Th.'s dependence on Socrates and Sozomenos. There are also traces of his having used Philostorgius and Sabinus.'—Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*. D. ingeniously and successfully proves, that the oracular verses quoted in the tenth chapter of Phlegon's *Mirabilia* are genuine, and remnants of the official Roman *libri fatales*.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

ENGLISH BOOKS.

Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by F. G. Kenyon. 12mo. 164 pp. Bell & Sons. 4s. 6d.

Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. Translated for English Readers and Students by Thomas J. Dymes. Post 8vo. 160 pp. Seeley. 2s. 6d.

Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. Translated by E. Poste, M.A. Post 8vo. x, 108 pp. Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d.

Belton (R.) A Digest of Latin Grammar Examination Questions. Post 8vo. 148 pp. Simpkin. 2s. 6d. Key, 2s. 6d.

Cæsar. Civil War. Book I. Edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by Malcolm Montgomery. xxvii, 141 pp. Macmillan. 1s. 6d.

Cicero. Pro Plancio. Edited by H. A. Holden. New and revised edition. Cambridge Press. 4s. 6d.

Euripides. Plays. Translated into English prose from the text of Paley, by Edward Coleridge. Vol. II. Post 8vo. 470 pp. Bell & Sons. 6s.

———. Iphigeneia in Aulis. Edited, with Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes, by E.B. England. 8vo. 186 pp. Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d.

Herodas. ἩΡΟΝΔΟΤ ΜΙΜΙΑΜΒΟΙ. A First Recension by William Gunion Rutherford, M.A., LL.D. xii, 48 pp. 8vo. Sewed. 2s. net.

Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, including the newly-discovered Poems of Herodas. With Autotype Facsimiles. 8vo. Frowde. 7s. 6d.

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———. Odyssey. IX. X. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix on the Dialect, by J. H. Haydon and A. H. Allcroft. Post 8vo. Clive. 2s. 6d.

Horace. Satires. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, &c., by F. G. Plaistowe and A. F. Burnet. Post 8vo. Clive. 6s. 6d.

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Juvenal. Satires VIII. X. and XIII. Edited by A. H. Allcroft. Text and Notes. Cr. 8vo. Clive. 3s. 6d.

Kennedy (B. H.) Exercises on the Shorter Latin Primer. By M. G. and J. E. Kennedy and H. Wilkinson. Longman. 1s. 6d.

———. Key to Exercises on the Shorter Latin Primer. By M. G. and J. E. Kennedy and H. Wilkinson. Longman. 2s. 6d. net.

Livy. Book II. Edited by H. Belcher. Notes, &c. Cr. 8vo. 224 pp. Longman. 2s. 6d.

Mahaffy (J. P.) A History of Classical Greek Literature. Vol. I. 2 parts. 3rd edition. Revised and enlarged. Post 8vo. 570 pp. Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. each.

Morice (F. D.) Loculi: a Junior Latin Reading Book. Feap. 207 pp. Percival. 2s.

Plautus. Captivi. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by A. R. S. Hallidie. 12mo. Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d.

Quintilian. Institutionis Oratoriae liber decimus. A Revised Text, with Introductory Essays, Critical and Explanatory Notes, and a facsimile of the Harleian MS., by W. Peterson. 8vo. lxxx, 227 pp. Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d.

Rowe (T. B.) Greek Syntax and Note-book, for use in Upper Forms of Schools. 8vo. 176 pp. Percival. 7s. 6d.

Schliemann (Dr.) Excavations at Troy, Tiryns, Mycenae, Orchomenos, Ithaca, presented in the light of recent knowledge, by Dr. Carl Schuchhardt. Authorised Translation by Miss Eugenie Sellers. With Appendix on latest researches by Drs. Schliemann and Dörpfeld, and Introduction by Walter Leaf. Illustrated with Two Portraits, Maps, Plans, and 290 Woodcuts. 8vo. Macmillan. 18s. net.

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Thucydides. Book II. Edited, with Introduction, Critical Notes, and Commentary, by E. C. Marchant. 12mo. Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d.

———. History. Book VII. The Text newly revised and explained, with Introduction, Summaries, Maps and Indexes, by H. A. Holden. Feap. 448 pp. Cambridge University Press. 5s.

Xenophon. Anabasis. Book I. With Map, Plan, Notes, Vocabulary and Exercises for Translation. Edited by H. R. Heatley. Cr. 8vo. 132 pp. Percival. 2s.

The Classical Review

NOVEMBER 1891.

MR. BAYFIELD ON CONDITIONS 'CONTRARY TO FACT.'

IN the *Classical Review* for May, 1890, the Rev. M. A. Bayfield makes a vigorous attack on the familiar grammatical doctrine that the form of conditional sentence expressed in Greek by the secondary tenses of the indicative with *εἰ* in the protasis and *ἄν* in the apodosis, and in Latin by the secondary tenses of the subjunctive, necessarily contains a supposition which is known or implied to be contrary to fact. Mr Bayfield utterly denies the truth of this doctrine, and asserts that the only difference between the sentences 'If he did it, he did wrong' and 'If he had done it, he would have done wrong' [*εἰ ἐποίησεν, ἠδίκησεν* and *εἰ ἐποίησεν, ἠδίκησεν ἄν*] is that the latter form presents the hypothetical statement 'less positively' than the former.

Mr. R. C. Seaton and Mr. Caskie Harrison, each in a very brief note in the *Review*, have expressed their dissent from Mr. Bayfield's position, but neither of these scholars attempted a discussion of the question, based upon the interpretation of the passages which Mr. Bayfield cites in support of his view. As sentences do occasionally crop up, which seem at first glance to be at variance with the rule, it may be worth while to examine briefly Mr. Bayfield's argument.

He begins by saying that if it be true that the form of sentence in question necessarily contains a condition contrary to fact, then, if a Greek or Roman had wished to express the following thought: 'If a man had heard Demosthenes, could he ever have forgotten it?' he could not have done so without implying thereby that, in fact, no one ever heard the orator. 'Truly, a terrible conclusion!' adds Mr. Bayfield. Later in his article he brings forward another illustra-

tion in the following words: 'In an unthinking moment a master gives his form the following sentence to translate into Latin or Greek: "Even a Stoic would have jumped, if a wasp had stung his nose." The boy, seeing the words "would have jumped" and "if a wasp had stung," is about to turn the sentence correctly, but, unfortunately, he pauses and reflects. Reflection brings him to the conclusion that a wasp might have stung even a Stoic, and he writes down anything but what he ought.'

To answer the argument which Mr. Bayfield would draw from these illustrations will require only a moment's reflection upon a distinction which is not, so far as I know, referred to in any of the treatises on this subject, but of which the recognition will materially assist in seeing the question at issue in its true light. There are some conditions which are contrary to settled and known facts, as, for instance, 'If Caesar had not crossed the Rubicon he would not have become master of Rome.' But, besides these, we find, at rare intervals, and expressed in the same grammatical form, sentences which contain suppositions possible enough in themselves, but which the writer finds it convenient to regard for the moment as contrary to fact. Such conditions may be called 'subjectively contrary to fact.' And these latter illustrate the rule just as truly as the former class. In interpreting any formula of language the proper test is not the external fact, but the intention of the writer; the form in which he chooses to present his thought. The sentences quoted from Mr. Bayfield above are excellent examples. When we say 'If a man had heard Demosthenes, he could not have forgotten it,' we forget, for the moment, all those persons who ever

heard the orator, and confine our thought to those who did not have that privilege. This is shown by the very form of the sentence. No one would say 'If he had heard, he would not have forgotten,' except when thinking of some one who, in the opinion of the writer, had not heard. And so in Mr. Bayfield's other example. When we say 'Even a Stoic would have jumped, if a wasp had stung his nose,' whatever may be the real probability of such an occurrence, the form of the sentence shows that the writer is thinking of the case as not having actually taken place. Subjectively, at least, it is contrary to fact. If the writer had been thinking of an actual Stoic and an actual wasp, he would have used a different form of expression.

With so much by way of preface, let us briefly examine the passages which Mr. Bayfield quotes in support of his view. The first is from the *Ion* of Euripides, 354. Creusa is asking after the fate of her lost son, and in reply to the question 'How long is it since the child was made away with?' she says

σοὶ ταῦτόν ἦβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἶχ' ἂν μέτρον.

Mr Bayfield argues that since she is inquiring about the child's fate, she is not thoroughly convinced of his death, and therefore the condition εἴπερ ἦν cannot properly be called contrary to fact. In reply to this we need only say that although she is not sure, yet she is practically certain that the child is dead, as is shown by l. 348

θῆράς σφε τὸν δόστηνον ἐλπίζει κτανεῖν,

and therefore, when asked his age, in her despair she adopts the form of statement suitable to her state of feeling. In short, this is a clear case of a condition subjectively contrary to fact.

The next case cited is from Plato's *Meno*, 93 E. Socrates says of Cleophantus, son of Themistocles, οὐκ ἂν ἄρα τήν γε φύσιν τοῦ νείους αὐτοῦ ἡγιάσαι ἂν τις. Here Mr. Bayfield remarks: 'We must here supply the suppressed protasis "if the occasion had arisen," or the like, and are we to say that no occasion ever arose for expressing an opinion of Cleophantus's natural endowments?' Mr. Bayfield here falls into the common error of confusing the so-called 'Potential Indicative' with the similar conditional form. In this case there is probably no reference at all to any definite protasis, for the Potential Indicative is often used to express 'past possibility, probability, or necessity' ¹ with

no condition implied. This sentence, then, is probably not to be regarded as conditional, in the strict sense of the word, and therefore does not bear on the point at issue. If, however, any one insists upon supplying the protasis, the sentence becomes subjectively contrary to fact, and should be interpreted 'If an occasion had arisen,' referring to one which did not actually arise, 'no one would have found fault with the natural endowments of Cleophantus.'

Precisely this latter statement applies to Mr. Bayfield's next instance, Xen. *Hell.* III. iv. 18, ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἂν τις ἰδὼν καὶ ἐκεῖνο, Ἀγησίλαον κ.τ.λ. This does not imply that no one ever saw Agesilaus, but merely that the author adapts the form of his statement to refer to those who did not see him, rather than to those who did.

In Plato's *Meno*, 84 D, Socrates says ὥστε εἴπερ ἦν τοῦτο (ἀρετή) διδασκόν, ἐξευρεῖν ἂν (Θουκυδίδην) ὅστις ἐμελλεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς νείεις ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσειν...εἰ αὐτὸς μὴ ἐσχόλαζε. On this Mr. Bayfield argues: 'Here we are not justified in assuming either (1) that Socrates anticipated the conclusion of the dialogue, and implies that virtue cannot be taught (his own words at the end of the passage are "perhaps virtue cannot be taught"); or (2) that Thucydides is supposed to have had plenty of leisure to instruct his own sons.' On this latter point Mr. Bayfield falls into the remarkable error of supposing that the second protasis, εἰ αὐτὸς μὴ ἐσχόλαζε, is part of the un-real complex. A little closer inspection would have shown him that it is not at all so intended, but that it is added as an independent afterthought and merely signifies 'if he himself, as might naturally happen, had not sufficient leisure.' And on the first point his reasoning is equally erroneous. When Socrates says 'If it were true that virtue can be taught,' he is anticipating the conclusion of the discussion, *i.e.* that virtue cannot be taught, as the whole context clearly shows. εἴπερ ἦν τοῦτο διδασκόν means 'if virtue could be taught, as I affirm it cannot be.' And Mr. Bayfield's translation of the concluding words, 'perhaps virtue cannot be taught,' is a very weak rendering of the Greek ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ οὐκ ἦ διδασκόν ἀρετή, as every one will admit who remembers Socrates' habit of stating his firmest convictions in this modest form.

The last passage quoted by Mr. Bayfield is Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 220 f.

οὐ γὰρ ἂν μακρὰν
ἔχνεον αὐτὸς μὴ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον.

Here he says; 'The condition (meaning the

¹ Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses*, p. 82.

condition expressed in the participial clause) is obviously fulfilled. Oedipus has no clue, but by a natural idiom he states his actual position hypothetically. "I am altogether a stranger to this matter, and accordingly am about to make a proclamation, for I should not be tracing the crime far if I had no clue; but now (since I intend to get a clue) I make proclamation," &c.' Mr. Bayfield's error here arises from the assumption that the chief protasis of the sentence is found in the clause *μη̄ οὐκ ἔχων τι σύμβολον*, whereas this is, in fact, of quite subordinate importance, the leading protasis being supplied from what immediately precedes. The thought, correctly stated, is as follows: 'I intend to summon you all to assist me in tracking the murderer, for, if I did not do so, I should not be making much progress in the search, unless indeed I had some clue, which of course I have not.' With this interpretation,¹ which is the only one which suits the context, the sentence is in perfect harmony with the rule.

We have now examined all the passages which Mr. Bayfield adduces from Greek writers. Space will not permit a detailed examination of the Latin examples, on which he seems to lay less stress, but one or two may be touched upon in passing. Livy, 22, 54, in speaking of the battle of Cannae says: 'Nulla profecto alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset.' This plainly means 'If any other nation had suffered this defeat it would have been overwhelmed. But Rome suffered it and did not fall.' And yet Mr. Bayfield cites the sentence as containing an implied condition which is not contrary to fact. So too in the prophetic lines in the *Aeneid*, VI. 880, 881,

¹ See Jebb and Schneidewin-Nauck.

non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obuius armato,

Mr. Bayfield fails to observe that the poet, by an easy change in the point of view, is referring to the untimely death of Marcellus, and that the unreal condition 'if he had lived' is plainly to be supplied.

But further discussion of these passages is unnecessary. Every one must admit that not one of them affords any good ground for Mr. Bayfield's position. And yet he is betrayed, near the close, into a still stranger assertion. 'It would appear then,' he goes on, 'that the rule does not hold. Indeed no conditional sentence can, of itself, convey any implication either as to the facts, or the speaker's impression of the facts. The hearer knows, if he knows at all, by independent information already in his possession.' To this inexplicable assertion even Mr. Seaton, in his brief note of protest referred to above, seems to yield a partial assent, when he says 'I admit I cannot at the moment point to a case in which this information (that the condition is regarded as unfulfilled) is conveyed by the conditional sentence alone, but that fact by no means proves that it could not have been so conveyed.' It certainly cannot be necessary to introduce in this article sentences in illustration of so familiar a usage as this. But perhaps we cannot close this paper more fitly than by suggesting that if we should courteously say to Mr. Bayfield 'If your arguments *had been* as sound as they were cleverly put, we *should have been* convinced,' our meaning would have been sufficiently clear, without any 'independent information' whatever.

EDWARD B. CLAPP.
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NOTES ON SOME FRAGMENTS OF MENANDER.

My attention has been called to the following passages by a paper of Dr. Robinson Ellis's in the *American Journal of Philology* (Vol. xi. No. 2), of which he kindly gave me a copy. The numeration used is that of Kock's *Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum*, vol. 3.

I take first a couple of apparent instances of a special kind of corruption. *Words, or letters, meant as guides to construing have been written above a line; a subsequent copyist has mistaken them for words to be inserted in*

the line, and has inserted them accordingly; and sometimes either his or a still later hand has altered the rest of the line to accommodate the insertion.

The first instance is to my mind so absolutely certain that I regret, on turning to Kock, to find that Bentley has made the emendation before me—but where and on what grounds I know not: I only know that his correction has been received by Kock but rejected by Ellis.

Fr. 462.

τὰς δ' ὀνθυλεύσεις καὶ τὰ κεκαρκευμένα
μᾶλλον προσεδέξατο χεται Ἀρκαδικὸς τοῖναντίον
ἀθάλασσος ἐν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἀλίσκεται.

[‘So A, the best MS. of Athenaeus. VL
give προσεδέξατ’ εἰ δέ τις ἔρχεται Ἀρκαδικός.’—
Ellis.]

Read

μᾶλλον προσεδέξατ’ Ἀρκαδικὸς τοῖναντίον

Process of corruption. προσεδέξατ’ is an
aorist with present sense: so some one wrote
χεται above it thus

ΧΕΤΔΙ

ΠΡΟΣΕΔΕΞΑΤ

meaning ‘προσεδέξατ’=προσδέχεται.’ A later
copyist mistook ΧΕΤΔΙ for a word to be
inserted, and hence the reading of A.

Then came the scribe of a MS. now
lost. He emended ΧΕΤΔΙ into ΕΡΧΕΤΔΙ
and wrote ΠΡΟΣΕΔΕΞΑΤ ΕΡΧΕΤΔΙ
ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΣ. Over this he or some one
else wrote εἰ δέ τις thus

ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ

ΠΡΟΣΕΔΕΞΑΤ ΕΡΧΕΤΔΙ ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΟΣ

meaning ‘ἔρχεται is hypothetical and=εἰ δέ
ἔρχεται. Ἀρκαδικός is not a personal but a
generic name and=τις Ἀρκαδικός.’ So we
get the reading of VL.

Fr. 1098.

ὁ γέλως ἂν μὴ ᾗ τοῦ γέλωτος ἄξιος
αὐτὸς πέφυκε τοῦ γέλωτος κατάγελως.

Ellis reads ὁ γέλως ἂν ᾗ μὴ τοῦ γέλωτος
ἄξιος, but I submit that ἂν=ἐάν must be
long in a poet of Menander’s time and that
consequently the emendation does not
comply with the requirements of the
metre.

If, as Liddell and Scott say, the *a* in ἐάν
itself is always long, it will not do to sub-
stitute ὁ γέλως ἐάν ᾗ. I suggest that we
ought to read

ὁ γέλως, ἐάν μὴ τοῦ γέλωτος ἄξιος,

Omissions of a subjunctive copula are not
unknown in Greek, and ἄξιος frequently dis-
penses with an indicative copula; but if we
put commas after γέλως and ἄξιος no copula
seems wanted at all.

Process of corruption. Above and be-
tween μὴ and τοῦ HI was written as a guide
to the construing. A later copyist mistook
it for a word to be inserted, and then ἐάν

¹ We might indeed read ἐάν ᾗ μὴ γέλωτος, but (1)
the change proposed would be greater, and (2) it
would be less easy to account for the corruption of
the line.

was shortened into ἂν in an ignorant attempt
to mend the ruined metre.

It is true that in Soph. *O. T.* 1062 MSS.
read

οὐδ’ ἂν ἐκ τρίτης ἐγὼ

μητρὸς φανῶ τριδουλος ἐκφανεῖ κακή
but² I have no reasonable doubt that the
line stood

ΕΚ

ΟΥΔΕΑΝΤΡΙΠΗΘΕΓΩ

the ΕΚ being simply a guide to the con-
struing of the unusual genitive: it was mis-
taken for a word to be inserted, and then
to save the metre ΕΑΝ was reduced to
ἂΝ.

My attention has been called by Dr.
Ellis to the fact that in an epigram attri-
buted to Nicarchus (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 74, 9)
there is an instance of ἂν=ἐάν. Supposing
that the crucial words are sound and as
early as Nicarchus, they are still probably
several hundred years later than Menander:
but the epigram, as Dr. Ellis informed me,
has also been assigned to Lollius Bassus,
and if it were indeed by him we might dis-
miss ἂν=ἐάν as the pardonable mistake of a
Latin.

I pass to other emendations.

Fr. 481.

ὁ προσδιατρίβων δὲ σκοπιάσας ἀπώλεσε

Read

ὁ προσδιατρίβων δ’ ἐσκοπίας’ ἄττ’ ὤλεσε

Menander has just finished describing the
advantages of dying before you can reach
old age—

βελτίονα

ἐφόδι’ ἔχων ἀπῆλθες, ἐχθρὸς οὐδενί—

and he proceeds

ὁ προσδιατρίβων δ’ ἐσκοπίας’ ἄττ’ ὤλεσε,
κακῶς τε γηρῶν ἐνδεής που γίνεται

‘but he that lingers on spies (or, is always
observing) his losses,’ i.e. becomes melancholy
over departed friends and pleasures.

Process of corruption. ΑΤΤΩΛΕΣΕ was
misread ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕ and ΔΕΣΚΟΠΙΑΔΕ
was then supposed to represent δὲ σκοπιά-
σας.

Alternative hypothesis. ACC was written
for ἄττ’ (cf. ἀθάλασος above for ἀθάλαττος).
Over it some one wrote ΑΤΤ either as a
correction or as a guide for reading. This was

² When I wrote these words, I supposed from the
authorities before me that ἂν was read by all
MSS. But according to Blaydes one MS. (Aug. c)
actually does read οὐδ’ ἐάν ἐκ τρίτης ἐγὼ.

misread ΔΠ and brought into the line, and then owing to false division the previous C was dropped as unintelligible.

Fr. 362. $\begin{matrix} \eta\nu \\ \eta\nu \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu \\ \delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu \end{matrix} \right\} \begin{matrix} \omicron\upsilon\tau\iota \\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\iota \end{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \nu\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\lambda\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota. \\ \nu\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\lambda\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota. \end{matrix} \right.$

As regards the end of the line, Bentley's $\tau\acute{o}\tau'$ is probably correct. The Ε of papyri often has a very long middle stroke, and if the downstroke of the second Τ were lost in a vertical fissure of the papyrus the word might easily be read as ΤΕ.

As for the rest of the line, I feel sure that the key to it lies in the reading $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$. $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$ is far more likely to be a correction of

$\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$ (indeed Ε actually has $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$) than $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$ a corruption of $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$, and it is not easy to see how the Τ and the Ν can both be corruptions of a common original.¹ I suggest that $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota$

¹ Bentley's $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\sigma\iota\eta$ is not, indeed, quite out of the question, because ΟΤΙΗ can be written in a papyrus hand so as to be almost indistinguishable from ΟΥΝΙ.

represents ΕΥΝΙΝ, which I should take to be an acc. of $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\iota\varsigma$, 'a bedfellow.' The confusion between Ε and Ο is of course common. The final Ν might be lost (1) by the word coming at the end of a line (the fragment is embedded in prose) and Ν being indicated, as is often the case, only by a thin stroke—above, (2) by the eye slipping to the next letter, which is also an Ν. Accordingly I propose

$\eta\nu\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\upsilon\nu\iota\nu\nu\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma\tau\acute{o}\tau'\alpha\lambda\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota.$

Fr. 330.

$\epsilon\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\nu\omega\nu\iota\varsigma\omega\varsigma\delta\epsilon\iota\phi\rho\omicron\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\iota.$

Here Bentley's unaccepted emendation $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ seems to me morally certain. In majuscule cursive Τ and Υ were often alike written Υ. Hence ΒΙΟΤΟΥ might be written ΒΙΟΥΟΥ, and this corrected into $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$.

EDWARD W. B. NICHOLSON.

EURIPIDES' ANTIOPE.

A.

2.—Zeus does not fill the gap. Should one read $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\text{Ze}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma\gamma\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\eta}\rho$?

4.—I still think that $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ in the papyrus must be miswritten for $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$. The converse error ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$ for $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$) is of frequent occurrence.

10.—I presume that all are now agreed in accepting

$\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\acute{o}\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega,\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho,\xi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\delta\acute{\omega}\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$

proposed by Mr. Headlam in the April number, and simultaneously in a letter to me from Professor E. L. Lushington. (The traces on the facsimile appear not inconsistent with | εν.) But the editors do not seem to be aware of the *rhythmical* improbability of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\kappa\tau\lambda.$ as formerly proposed.

14.—The ε of $\tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon$ appears unelided in the facsimile.

15, 16.—I still think that a slight modification of my former suggestion—viz.

$\nu\omega\nu\delta'\omicron\upsilon\nu\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\alpha\nu\tau'\epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\acute{\omega}\varsigma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\nu$
 $\delta\acute{o}\lambda\omega\theta'\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ —

is not improbable.

17.—I prefer $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ to $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

19–21.—The facsimile does not seem to me to bear out some of the letters of the

transcription here. I am still inclined to suggest what I thought of at first:—

$\Lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\omicron\varsigma.\pi\acute{o}\upsilon\tau'\sigma\theta'\eta\nu\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\delta\epsilon\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\sigma\text{---}$
 $\beta\acute{\eta}\eta\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\nu$
 $\delta\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{o}\iota\varsigma\sigma\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\nu;\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\delta'\acute{\alpha}\rho'\eta\nu\eta\delta\epsilon$
 $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta;$
 $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\sigma[\nu]\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma;$
 $\sigma\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\delta'\omicron\kappa\eta\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\varsigma$
 $\kappa\tau\lambda.$

The four remaining lines of the fragment are indeed in hopeless case. But there are traces which suggest

$\eta\lambda[\theta\omicron\nu\text{.....}\beta\lambda] \alpha\sigma\tau[\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$
 $\beta]\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma\text{.....}\iota\alpha\mu\alpha[\tau\omega\nu$
 $\chi\omega\rho\alpha[\nu\kappa\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon\text{.....}\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\omega[\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$
 $\text{.....}\nu\pi\text{.....}\eta\mu[\epsilon\rho\alpha]$

B.

On the fragment now marked B I have to remark generally that I still approve of this order, and still hold to the drift of my former attempted reconstruction.

2.—In particular the letters $\sigma\tau\upsilon\gamma$ following the ε of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\epsilon$ seem to me clearly indicated in the facsimile.

4.—This is also true of $\nu\nu$ at the end of l. 4.

15.—The conjectural $\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\text{N}\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, which

I put forth with some confidence in March, is better supported since the publication of the facsimile. The following changes in my reconstruction are now required:

- 1.—κακὸς γυνάικας ἥδομαι κακῶς λέγων.
- 7.—πῶς οὖν ἄριστ' ἂν τοὺς ξένους ἔχοιμ' ἰδεῖν;
- 9.—οἱ δ' οὖν ἀφείνται καὶ δυοῖν παραστατῶ.
- 12.—παῦροί γε λόγχασδ' οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐν χεροῖν.
- 13.—ὕμεις ἂν οὖν φρουροῖτε περίβολον πέτρας,
- 14.—ἐκτὸς μένοντες, κἂν τι καινὸν ᾗ, δόμων
- 15.—φύλακες· ἐγὼ δὲ παῖδα Νυκτέως ἐμῇ
- 16.—μάρψω βία καὶ χειρί· καὶ τάχ' εἴσεται

C.

Left-hand column.

1-4.—W-M.'s restoration of these lines is very spirited. That of 5-7 is less probable.

8.—Probably χο. εἰ. εἰ.

14.—I now suggest that ἔπρεσεν has arisen out of a dittographia of ἔλαβεν and that the reading of Stobaeus is a further corruption.

15.—ἔλαβεν ὅταν ἴδῃ τιν' ἀσεβῆ βροτῶν?

21.—Seems to be rightly restored by Prof. Mahaffy.

24, 5. *Qy.*—

Ἐρμῆς. ὕμᾱς κελεύω πεδίον ἐξορμωμένους
ἐλθεῖν, ἄναξ Ἀμφιον· ἐντολὰς δέ σοι

32.—Rather λκα...? *e.g.* ἐστάλκατε, ἐσφάλκατε?

Right-hand column.

Here I am compelled to relinquish my too rash hypothesis. But I still find it difficult to restore the last thirteen lines without supposing that some lines have dropped out.

44.—A nearer parallel is *Antig.* 1124 according to the reading of L.

46-8.—I still suggest, though hesitatingly,

εὐ μὲν χθονὸς τόννευμα, πολεμίων λαβών,
Ζήθ', ὥς πρὶν ἐκπόνει σὺ τὴν δ' Ἀμφίονι
λύραν καταινῶ διὰ χερῶν ὠπλισμένον κ.τ.λ.

51.—My suggestion

δέμας δὲ μητρὸς εἰς νεούργ' ἐδώλια
does not appear to stand condemned.

52.—*Qy.* νεότευκτον ἐσθλῶν τεκτόνων θήσει
χερί?

63.—I cannot but think that a line has been dropped after 62. Line 63 may then have begun with ἐσφράγισας (suggested by Prof. Mahaffy's conjecture), *e.g.*

τούσδε δ' ὥς Δίον γένος

ἐσφράγισας δοκοῦντας οὐκ εἶναι Διός.

64.—I read εφ. ρε, *i.e.* ἔφερε.

71.—Ἐρμῆ, δέμας δάμαρτος εἰς κρήνην βαλῶ
γυναῖκα θάψας, τῆσδ' ὅπως ἐνούσα γῆς
νασμοῖσι τέγγῃ κ.τ.λ.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

LATIN ACCENTUATION.

(Concluded from p. 377.)

III. Another theory of the Grammarians is equally entitled to credit, viz. the distinction by Accent of some words of the same form, but of different sense. These words are:—

(1). Interrogative (or Exclamatory), and Relative (or Indefinite), Pronouns, the former taking the ordinary accent, the latter resigning their accent in favour of the following word, *e.g.* *quālis fuit Cicero!* but *tālis est qualis Cicero fuit*. The usual statement of the Grammarians, who were no doubt influenced by the analogy of the Greek accentuation of *ποιός* and *ποιός*, is that the latter class, *e.g.* *qualis*, the Relative, are accented on the last syllable; but this is corrected by Quintilian (I. 5. 26), who points out that what really happens is that the relative is joined to the following word. Priscian (V. 67, p. 183 H.) objects similarly to a statement of Hellenizing Grammarians

that *quis*, the Indefinite Pronoun, in *siquis*, *numquis*, etc., is an Enclitic like *tis* in *εἷtis*, and prefers to call *siquis* a compound, with the natural accent of a compound word. We may then believe that *qualis* had as an Interrogative or Exclamatory Pronoun a certain independence in pronunciation which was wanting to the Relative *qualis*, and that Interrogative *quis* might similarly be distinguished by the ear from the Indefinite Pronoun of the same form. The Scholiast Acron on Hor. S. I. 2. 17,

maxime quis non | Juppiter! exclamat simul atque audivit,

remarks that *quis* should have in this line its 'interrogative pronunciation' (interrogative pronuntiandum). Similarly no doubt *ubi*, *unde*, *quō*, *quī* were distinguished by a certain stress when interrogative from the corresponding Relative and Indefinite Pronouns, though it is doubtful whether this distinction could have been discovered from

a study of Plautus and Terence alone, had it not been mentioned by the Grammarians.

(2). Other examples are more questionable, such as *nê*, 'verily,' *nê*, prohibitive, *ne*, 'lest': *ádeo*, the verb, and *adêo* the adverb (*ádeo* is the metrical accentuation in Plautus and Terence both of verb and adverb): *út*, 'how,' *ut*, 'in order that': *êrgo*, 'therefore,' *ergô*, 'on account of.'

On the other hand the distinction seems to be well founded between

(3). Adverbs and Prepositions; viz. that the former are accented, while the latter re-sign their accent to the following noun. Thus we should say *súpra est*, but *supra moénia est*; *ánte vénit*, but *ante Caésarem vénit*; and so Quintilian (I. 5. 25), speaking of the distinction in sound between *circum*, Acc. of *circus*, and the Preposition *circum* says: cum dico 'circum lítora' tamquam unum enuntio dissimulata distinctione, itaque tamquam in una voce una est acuta. He makes the same criticism of the ordinary statement that disyllabic Prepositions are before the Noun 'accented on the last syllable' as of the similar statement about Relative and Indefinite Pronouns, viz. that it is truer to say that they are 'joined to the following noun.'

With regard to Prepositions the rule of the Grammarians, as modified by Quintilian, is simple and credible. When preceding the Noun they form a sort of compound with it and lose their Accent; when they follow the Noun they take the Accent which they had lost. The close connection of a Preposition with its Noun is shown by the practice in old MSS. and Inscriptions of writing the two words as one, e.g. *edavo* for *e Davo* in MSS. of Terence, and by the fact that for metrical purposes a Preposition and its Noun are treated by Plautus and Terence as one word. In Mil. 1284,

aliúm álio pacto própter amorem nê sciam, the two short syllables of the Anapaest in the fourth foot cannot belong to different words. *Propter amorem* must be to all intents and purposes a single five-syllabled word. The shortening too of *ad* in Rud. 904 *sêd ad prándium uxor mê vocat*, if we compare it with the shortening of *ab-* in Stich. 418 *âge abdúce hasce intro*, shows not only that *ad prándium* was treated as one word, like *abduco*, but also that no Accent fell on the Preposition in ordinary pronunciation.

IV. A study of the Prosody of Plautus and Terence will show us another fact about the pronunciation of Prepositions in Latin, which is not mentioned by Latin Gram-

marians, but which has abundance of parallels in other languages, viz. that Prepositions were accented before monosyllabic Personal Pronouns, the Pronouns being left accentless, unless the Pronouns were specially emphasized, in which case they take the Accent away from the Preposition. In Greek we have *πρός με*, *πρός σε*, in English 'with him,' 'for him,' and in the Celtic languages the practice has been carried so far as to reduce the Pronouns to mere suffixes, e.g. Old Irish for-m, 'on me,' for-t, 'on thee,' etc. That in Latin the pronunciation was *ád me*, *ábs te*, *ín se*, and so on, cannot be doubted by any one who has read through a play of Plautus or Terence with attention to the treatment of such phrases. In the *Trinummus* for example there is hardly an instance where the Preposition has not the Accent except in lines like v. 196 *apúd tést*, where the pronoun is emphatic, and in a few like v. 97 *ad te ádveni*, where the Pronoun is elided. We have, v. 421 *ábs te accepi*, v. 619 *ergá te*, v. 733 *penês me*, and so forth, all evidently following the ordinary accentuation; this explains why *apúd me erít* Merc. 585 is allowed as the ending of an Iambic line. It is only in *erít* that the metrical ictus is at variance with the natural accent. In his Prolegomena p. ccxxvii. Ritschl postulates the same accentuation for *intér eos*, *praetér eos*, and the like.

Priscian (XIV. 6, p. 27 H.) tells us that in *mecum*, *tecum*, *secum*, *nobiscum* the Preposition is Enclitic, but has the Accent in *quocúm*, *quacúm*, *quibuscúm* (cf. *nobiscum* Amph. 951: *quibuscum* Heaut. 388 etc.). So also *quam própter*, *quas própter*, *quaprópter* is perhaps the usual accentuation in Plautus.

V. That Conjunctions, like Prepositions, had a different pronunciation according as they came first or second in the sentence is asserted by Priscian (XIV. 1, p. 24 H.): *praepositae gravantur omnibus syllabis*, *postpositae acuuntur in principio*. He refers expressly to *igitur*, *quoniam*, *saltem*, so that he would have us pronounce e.g. *igitur Cícero vénit* but *vénit igitur Cícero*. Whether the shortening of *si* in *síquidem* (in the Comedians also *síquidem*) is to be explained by the accentuation *síquidem* is not certain. Bücheler (*A.L.L.* iii. p. 144), who quotes other examples of the kind in Early Latin Poetry, e.g. *tíquidem*, seems rather to regard it as due to a sort of metrical compensation, the addition of the extra syllables to the long monosyllable being compensated for by the shortening of

the long vowel. This is a well-known feature of the Welsh language, and is common enough in English too, e.g. 'clēan' but 'clēanly,' 'clēanliness': 'knōw' but 'knōwledge,' but it has not yet been ascribed to Latin. That the monosyllabic conjunctions *sed, et,* and the like, were Enclitic words in the sentence hardly requires proof, though Ritschl (*Prolegomena* p. ccliii. *sqq.*) has shown in a conclusive way how they with relative pronouns and other 'Sentence Enclitics' (such words in fact as we omit in writing telegrams) are carefully kept in the theses of the line:—

e.g. Trin. 2 *sequor sed finem fore quem dicam nescio.*

It might also be proved from the Romance languages, where the Latin monosyllabic Conjunctions have suffered the same phonetic changes as the unaccented syllables of Latin words. *Et,* for instance, if the word had been accented, would have become '*iet,*' or some similar form, instead of Ital. *e,* Fr. *et,* Span. *y,* just as *veto, vetat* have become Ital. *vieto,* Fr. *viede,* Span. *vieda.* Of the disyllabic Conjunctions in Plautus *quidem* is joined to the preceding word, so that for example *nōsquidem* is allowed only in those parts of the line in which a dactyl word is allowed: *ēgoquidem, ēāquidem, ibiquidem* show the usual accentuation of quadrisyllabic words with the first three syllables short: *hī(c)quidem* is regular, *ī(d)quidem* occasional: *nempe* is always the metrical equivalent of one long syllable, and according to editors should be pronounced *nemp(e)* before a word beginning with a vowel, *nē(m)pe* before a word beginning with a consonant. Ritschl rejected the other possible explanation, viz. that the pronunciation in both cases was *nemp(e),* the apocope of the final *-e* being due to the proclitic nature of the word, e.g. *nemp' recte* Bacch. 188, though it has the analogy of *atque,* before consonants *ac,* to support it. Plautus' treatment of *quidem* is perhaps in keeping with the accentuation prescribed by Priscian, and so is his practice of making *non enim* always a dactyl, and never a cretic, in dialogue metres (see Seyffert in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* 1890, p. 23).

VI. Other words which must have been occasionally Sentence Enclitics are the Personal and Possessive Pronouns. It is true that Priscian (XVII. 55, p. 141 H.) expressly says that there is no distinction in Latin corresponding to the Greek distinction between *ἐἰδέν με* and *ἐἰδέν ἐμέ, οὐκ ἐκείνor*: apud nos autem pronomina eadem et discretiva sunt ut '*vidit me*' vel '*videt me,*

illum autem non'; but he seems to refer rather to the identity of the written form of the emphatic and unemphatic Pronoun, than to that of their intonation in discourse. In the Romance languages, owing to the influence of the Accent, two distinct series have been developed for the Personal Pronouns: (1) the enclitic e.g. Ital. *mi, ti*; Fr. *me, te*; (2) the accented, e.g. Ital. *me, te*; Fr. *moi, toi.* Similarly a Vulgar-Latin Possessive **mus, *mum, *ma* beside the regular *meus, meum, mea* is indicated by French *mon, ma,* and vulgar-Italian *madonna, padre-mò,* etc. In Plautus the distinction between emphatic and unemphatic *me, te,* etc., can be very clearly seen in phrases like *abs tē* and *abs te, in mē* and *in me.* In fact, as we have already seen, these monosyllabic Personal Pronouns never take the accent when preceded by a Preposition unless they are emphatic. It may be too that phrases like *patēr vocāt me* Amph. 991 (where the two iambic words would hardly be allowed in succession unless the actual pronunciation were *vocāt me), servā me* Curc. 628, and the like, are examples of an enclitic use of the Personal Pronoun with the Verb, similar to that which we find in the Romance languages: e.g. Ital. *prestatemi il libro, non mi parlate più.*

The enclitic nature of the Possessive Pronoun is indicated in Plautus by the small metrical weight which it occasionally has in the line, e.g. Trin. 990,

vāpūlabis meo ārbītratu ēt novorum aedī-
lium,

where *meo* (monosyllabic) is absorbed by the metre, and hardly counts as a syllable at all. *Meus, tuus,* etc., receive the metrical treatment of other disyllables when they are emphatic, as in

Capt. 261 *ūt vos hic itidem illi apud vos*
mēus servatur filiū (MSS. illic);

Trin. 329 *dē meo nam quōd tumst meūmst:*
ōmne meūmst autēm tuum (so the MSS.);

or *Men.* 282 *meūm parasitum!* where the staccato tone of the repeated words expresses the surprise and incredulity of the speaker. We have already remarked that the enclitic Possessive occurs in phrases like *volūptās mea* (so always at the end of a line), *fratēr mī,* and we may add that Festus (p. 428, de Ponor) speaks of the spelling *sis* etc., for *suis* etc., in Old Latin, in the line of Ennius, for example:

postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancu'
reliquit.

That the Demonstrative Pronouns, like the Personal and Possessive, were slurred

in pronunciation, unless they required special emphasis, is clear from their metrical treatment in Plautus, where *ille*, *iste*, and before a consonant *hīc*, *hōc*, *īd*, etc., meet one on every page. *Huius* receives a different treatment in such a line as Poen. 394 :

oculus huius, lippitudo mēa, mel huius, fēl meum, where it is emphatic, from its slurred form in *huiusmodi* (a Cretic); and in the phrase 'I am he,' where the Demonstrative is spoken with stress, we have always *is ego sum*, or *ego is sum* in Plautus, which contrasts with the ordinary *intēr eos, proptēr eos*. The Romance forms point to (*il*)*lum patrem* etc., (*il*)*la mater* etc., as the origin of the Definite Article in all the Romance languages, while *ille pater* seems to have been pronounced sometimes *il(le) pater*, e.g. Ital. *il padre*, Span. *el padre*, Prov. *el paire*, sometimes (*il*)*le pater*, e.g. Fr. *le père*. Similarly (*i*)*ste*, attested by Ital. *stasera*, 'this evening,' etc., is actually found in Old MSS.; and *istē* is mentioned as a barbarism by Marius Plotius Sacerdos (p. 451 K.).

VII. Other Enclitics, or rather Sentence Enclitics, are :—

(1). The Substantive Verb.

The forms assumed by *est*, *erat*, etc., in the Romance languages show them to have been unaccented words; and the way of writing *es*, *est*, in the best MSS. of Plautus, *amatus* (*amatu's*), *amatust*, *amatast*, *amatūmst*, shows that they were treated as enclitic appendages of the Past Participle Passive. Klotz is probably right in denying that *iurātus s(um)* at the beginning of a Trochaic Tetrameter, Rud. 1373, is a violation of the law which forbids a conflict between natural and metrical accent in words of this kind in the odd feet of Trochaic lines. The unusual metrical accentuation of final *-ūs* is probably to be justified by the enclitic nature of *sum*. But he is wrong if he supposes this to be the normal accentuation of such phrases in Plautus' verses. In the time of Plautus final *-s* after a short vowel hardly constituted 'position' before an initial consonant; and the accentuation which we should expect at that date, *iurātū'sum* (like *iurāntium*), *tristī'sim* (like *tristium*), is at least thrice as common in the lines of Plautus as the other. We have e.g. *salvūs sum* in Cas. 312, Rud. 442, Bacch. 772; *salvūs sis* Poen. 751, 858. Stich. 316; but *sālvus sum* Amph. 331, 581, Curc. 610, Merc. 381, 603, Mil. 1343, Most. 566, Pseud. 973, Rud. 1394, Truc. 707; *sālvus sis* Bacch. 456, 536, Epid. 549, Men. 910,

Pers. 579, Rud. 104, 139. The short quantity of the middle syllable is established by such endings of Trochaic Tetrameters as *nāllūs sum*, Merc. 217, or of Iambic Senarii as *visūs sum*, Merc. 232, 245. On the other hand when the syllable preceding the substantive verb, *sum*, *sim*, etc., is long by nature or by position, the metrical ictus usually falls upon it, e.g. *misēr sum*, Capt. 993, 994, Pseud. 13, 80, 299: *salvāē sunt* Rud. 168, *acceptūm sit* Truc. 894, *paupēr sum*, Aul. 88, *auctōr sum* Aul. 251, *victōr sum* Pseud. 1036. These remarks apply equally to the versification of Terence.

Disyllabic forms of the Substantive Verb, following a Past Participle Passive etc., occur generally at the end of a line or hemistich. The metrical ictus falls on the syllable which would, if the Substantive Verb were enclitic, bear the natural accent, e.g. Men. 654 *dēfessi sumus*, Merc. 481 *oblītūs fui*, Aul. 229 *cōiunctūs siem*, Mil. 170 *optandūm foret*. Although the necessities of metre at the end of a line make it impossible that the ordinary accentuation could be followed so successfully there as at other parts of the verse, I see no reason for doubting that in these endings at least there was no conflict between metrical ictus and the pronunciation of common life.

Before leaving the Substantive Verb it is perhaps worth mentioning that the common phrase 'what is the matter?' shows, according to Studemund, only two accentuations in Plautus—*quīd negōtist?* and *quīd ēst negōti?* but not *quīd ēst negōti?* The second may possibly be distinguished from the first by its impatient tone, like our 'what is the matter?'

(2). The monosyllabic Substantive *res*.

The frequency of the accentuation *in rem*, *ab re*, *proptēr res*, *qu(am)ōbrem*, *hāc re* in Plautus suggests that the word *res* may have been, at least in some phrases, an Enclitic. If this be the case the order of the words in Trin. 682, where the MSS. give *mē qui abusus sām tantam rem*, need not be altered with Ritschl to *mē qui tantam abusus sum rem*, to avoid the conflict between natural and metrical accent in the odd foot of a Trochaic line. In the phrase *ei rei operam dare* the two first words are always monosyllables in Plautus, with the metrical accent normally on *ei*. All these facts point to an enclitic use of *res* like that of the word 'thing' in 'nothing,' 'something.' But this theory is not mentioned by any of the Latin Grammarians, and is based solely on the versification of the Comedians.

VIII. On the other hand we are indebted

to the Grammarians for the knowledge of a law of Latin Accentuation which we should hardly have discovered from other sources, viz. that in contracted Vocatives and Genitives of *io*-Stems the Accent of the uncontracted form is retained, e.g. *Vergíli*, *Valéri*, *tugúri*. (Serv. ad Aen. I. 451: Priscian VII. 18, p. 301.) There is no reason to doubt that this was the usage of Plautus, though it is hardly possible to get proofs of it in his versification. We never find e.g. *consíli* in his plays, though indeed such a form could only occur in the few places where a dactyl word is allowed, and perhaps even there the shortening of the final *-i* (standing for *-i*) was felt not to be permissible. *Bénéfici* reflects a common accentuation of Nominative *bénéficium*, just as *cónsili* reflects *cónsili*um, an accentuation which alternates with *consílium*. In Pseud. 1210:

Hárpax ego vocór: ego servos súm Macedonis
mílitis,

the accentuation of the second last word is suspicious, for in Plautus words of the form of a Proceleusmatic or fourth Paean have, as we shall see, the accent invariably, or almost invariably, on the first syllable, e.g. Mil. 44 *trigín*ta *Sardi*, *séxagín*ta *Mácedones*. Elsewhere in the *Pseudolus*, the phrase is invariably not *miles Macedo*, but *miles Macédonius*; and seeing that Studemund in his Apograph of the Ambrosian Codex declares himself uncertain whether its reading in this passage is *Macedonis* or *Macedonii*, we are perhaps justified in rejecting the reading of the Palatine MSS. in favour of *Macedoni*, the Gen. of *Macedonius*, which would naturally be spelt *Macedonii* in the MSS. The apparently abnormal accentuation *Macédoni* will be explained by the fact that the contracted form retains the (Plautine) accentuation of the full form *Macédonii*, just as *Vergíli*, according to Priscian, retains that of *Vergílii*.

IX. Words like *Vergíli* are, like *Arpinás*, *íllíc*, and the other words which we discussed before, only apparent departures from the ordinary rule of accentuating the penult if it be long, and, if it be short, the antepenultimate syllable. The Grammarians mention one or two more decided examples of the kind. Thus Servius (ad Aen. VI. 743) tells us that *évinde* was accented on the third syllable from the end, though the penult is long by position; and Priscian (XV. 9, p. 67) says the same also of *déinde*, *súbinde*, *périnde*. That this was also Plautus' usage is made probable by Stich. 520:

*út quoique homini rés paratást périnde amíciis
utitur,*

where *périnde* is not only the reading of both the Ambrosian and the Palatine MSS., but is expressly attested by Charisius, who quotes this very line. The scansion *périnde* seems to imply that in ordinary pronunciation the second syllable was unaccented.

X. Interjections also are excluded by the Grammarians from the ordinary rule. They are said to have no 'certi accentus,' whatever that may mean; and the statement of a late Grammarian (Audacious [Audax] apud Bedam de metr. p. 2363 P) that *papaé* and *attát* were accented on the last syllable is confirmed, in the case of at least the former, by the metrical accentuation of Plautus. They tell us too that, where a Greek word in a Latin author retained its Greek form and declension, it should retain its Greek accent, so that for example *Épiros* in Virg. Georg. I. 59 was to be pronounced in reading, *Épiros*. (Servius ad loc.)

XI. But more important deviations from the Latin Accent laws are found in Early Latin and in Vulgar Latin. It was the merit of Corssen to establish by clear proof the existence of an older Accent Law in Latin by which in early Latin, as in the Teutonic and Celtic languages, the Accent fell on the first syllable of each word. Long words like *potestatibus* would no doubt have, beside the main accent on the first syllable, a secondary accent on a syllable nearer the end, perhaps *pótestatibus*, *lánificium*, *bénéficium*, so that the change from the old to the new Accentuation may have been in the main a usurpation by the secondary accent of the importance of the primary accent. This change was no doubt a gradual one, but the precise period to which it should be assigned has not yet been discovered. It is a striking fact, but a fact about which there can hardly be any doubt, that the accentuation of quadrisyllables with the first three syllables short was in Plautus' time on the first syllable, and not, as in the time of Quintilian, on the second. Examples of such quadrisyllables, — *facílius*, *miseria*, *memínero*, — with the metrical ictus on the second syllable are so rare in Plautus, and perhaps also in Terence, that their occurrence in a line gives suspicion that the reading is corrupt or that the line is a later addition or alteration.

A single case of exceptional spelling on an inscription is not evidence of great weight; but it is worth noticing that in an inscription (C.I.L. I. 1016) which can hardly be earlier than Plautus' time, we find OPI-

TVMA, the accentuation of which the later form *optuma* shows us to have been *ôpituma*, just as the trisyllabic *balneae* shows that the pronunciation of the Plautine *balineae* must have corresponded with the metrical accentuation which it has always in his plays (with one doubtful exception, Poen. 976), *balineae*, or as the metrical accentuation *pueritia* Ter. Heaut. 183 (the only instance of the word in Plaut. or Ter.) is shown by Horace's *puertia* to have been also its natural accentuation. Whether this particular class of words with fourth last syllable accented is to be regarded as a mere freak of usage, or whether it is a proof that the earlier accentuation had not in Plautus' time entirely yielded to the three-syllable Law is difficult to say with certainty. We might expect to find some traces of it in some of the Romance languages, the languages namely of those provinces which were conquered before or at the time of Plautus and Terence, but Romance scholars have not as yet mentioned any instance of the kind except the word *trifolium*, 'trefoil.' The forms assumed by that word in Span. *trébol*, Catalanian *trébol*, Portuguese *trévo*, point to an early Vulgar Latin **trifolium*, whereas Ital. *trifoglio* requires *trifolium*. But Gröber refers the forms assumed by the word on the Spanish Peninsula to the influence of the Greek *τρίφυλλον*, so that the argument from *trifolium* is at best a doubtful one. On the other hand the Latin of Plautus is by no means the same as Vulgar Latin, and the absence of this particular accentuation from the latter cannot disprove its existence in the former.

XII. Other examples of deviation from the three-syllable Law in Plautus are isolated words, such as *sâtêllites* (?), *sâgitta* (?), where the accent is probably that of the language from which the words were borrowed, just as *Philippus* shows the Greek accentuation, *Φίλιππος*, and *fenestra* (or *festa*: so Paul. Fest. 64 de Ponor), the precise relation of which to the later *fenestra* is not clear. *Âu(o)nculus* is perhaps nothing but an instance of the common law that words of constant use in daily and familiar intercourse tend to become smoothed away to a reduced shape. *Consobrinus* has similarly dwindled in the Romance languages to Fr. cousin, Catal. *cosí*, Ital. *cugino*, while *mea domina* becomes in Ital. *madonna*, and *ma dame* in English 'ma'am.'

XIII. The Romance languages furnish us with more deviations from the classical Accent Law:

(1). First of all they show us that in

Vulgar Latin the accent must have shifted from the third last to the second last syllable in the words ending in *-iētem*, *-iolum*, *-iērem*. Thus Vulgar Latin *mulierem* is shown by its Romance forms to have been pronounced *mulîerem*, Span. *mujer*, Prov. *molher*, Roum. *muier*, etc.; and this is confirmed by the precept of a late Grammarian (Anecd. Hel. CIII.): 'mulierem' in antepaenultimo nemo debet acueri sed in paenultimo potius, as well as by the scansion in Christian poets of the third and fourth centuries *mulîere*. In Plautus, whose Latin, as we have said, is not by any means the same as Vulgar Latin, there is no trace of this usage. *Pârietem* and *hâriolum* have with him the same metrical accentuation as *fâcilis* (viz. *pârietem*, *hâriolum*); *filiolum* as *môbilius* (viz. *filiolum* or *filiolum*).¹

(2). Again the occurrence of a Mute with the Liquid *r* at the beginning of the last syllable seems to have attracted the accent to the penult. Thus Vulgar Latin *tenêbrae* is attested by Span. *tinieblas*, and other Romance forms. We cannot be wrong in connecting this with the practice of Latin poets of treating a short syllable before a Mute with *r* as a long syllable, when it suits their convenience, a practice unknown in the early Drama. Servius (ad Aen. I. 384) seems to say that the accent was not in his time attracted to the penult in ordinary pronunciation; for he remarks with regard to *peragro* in this line of Virgil; 'per' habet accentum...muta enim et liquida quotiens ponuntur metrum iuvant non accentum.

(3). In compound Verbs the Accent seems to have shifted to the stem-vowel of the Verb in Vulgar Latin, e.g. *reôpit* is indicated by Ital. *riceve*, Fr. *reçoit*: *demôrat* by Ital. *dimora*, Fr. *demeure*. With this we may connect the tendency in the spelling of post-classical Inscriptions and of our earliest MSS. to restore the Vowels in Compound Verbs to their undecayed form, e.g. *consacro*, *compremo*.

(4). Lastly we see from the Romance forms of the Numerals that the Vulgar Latin accentuation of the tens must have been *vîginti*, *quadrâginta* (Ital. *quaranta*). *Trîginta* is one of the barbarisms, 'quae in usu cotidie loquentium animadvertere possumus,' enumerated by a fifth century Grammarian, Consentius (p. 391 K.). In Plautus *quadrâgintâ* is indeed the invariable metrical accentuation,² but this proves no-

¹ See my paper in Wölflin's *Archiv*, 1891.

² In Trin. 420 the Ambrosian Palimpsest reads: *minâs quadrâginta accepistinc a Câlliôle* but the Palatine MSS. have *quadrâginta accepisti*.

thing about the ordinary pronunciation of the word in his time, for the prosodical nature of the word does not allow of a metrical accentuation *quadráginta*, unless we allow (what seems very doubtful) that a syllable *long by nature* might be metrically shortened in a polysyllable. The numeral 'four hundred' appears as *quadríngenti*, showing the legitimate metrical shortening of a syllable *long by position*, or (as editors usually print it) *quadrígenti*, the older form, of which *quadríngenti* is a later debased form, due to the false analogy of numerals like *septíngenti*. *Víginti* and *tríginta* are common enough in the verses of Plautus, but it is almost always in the phrases *víginti (tríginta) minae*, or sometimes *víginti (tríginta) dies* that the words have this accentuation. In other cases the metrical ictus falls normally on the second syllable *víginti, tríginta*, which we must suppose to have been the actual pronunciation of Plautus' time, while the phrases *víginti minae, tríginta dies* were really compounds like 'twopence,' 'fortnight,' and took the accent on the antepaenultima of the compound word *vígintíminae, trígintídies*, like *octódecim, novémdecim*. The metrical accentuation *víginti, tríginta* is so invariable in Plautus and Terence, unless *minae*, or *dies*, follows, that one is tempted to question the reading of the few lines which furnish exceptions. They are:

Asin. 364 *ní hodie Argýríppo víginti éssent argénti minae*.

Here the MSS. have *essent víginti*, and Fleckeisen is probably right in reading *argénti essent vígintí minae*.

Bacch. 6. *quí víginti annis érrans a patria áfruit*.

The MSS. have *annis víginti*, which we may retain if we change *errans* into *aberrans*, and so aid the alliteration.

Cist. II. 3. 19 *unde tibi talenta mágna víginti, pater?*

In Rud. 1382 the MSS. have:

quinque et víginti natus annos. Habe cum hoc. Aliost opus,

but the MSS. of Priscian, who quotes the passage, have *annos natus*. Schoell retains the *natus annos* of the MSS. of Plautus and accents *víginti*, but Fleckeisen adopts Priscian's *annos natus* with *víginti*.

Merc. 432 *trís minas accúdere etiam pòssum ut tríginta sient*

perhaps does not require alteration, though one might remove *minas* from the first to the last part of the line; for the accentuation *trígintá minae* will excuse the two iambic words at the end of the line, *ut tríginta minae sient*.

In Lucilius XXVII. 27 M. (ap. Nonium 88 M.),

víginti domi án tríginta an (MSS vel) céntum cibicídás alas,

the harshness of *víginti* in the first foot of a Trochaic Tetrameter would be softened by retaining *vel* of the MSS. and reading the line:

víginti an tríginta domi vél céntum cibicídás alas.

Of the other numerals, *quínquaginta, séxaginta, óctoginta* are the prevailing accentuations in the verses of Plautus.

W. M. LINDSAY.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

III § 30. § 30, 28 omnes $A^1 B^1 P V^1$ || cereum, eu in ras. 2, A cereum c. praeced. esset in ras. V^2 certum $B^1 M P$ || 29 commutari potest B^1 || 31 cuncta A^1 || potest esse P || 33 corpi mutab. B^1 || ac si B^1 (ad si A) || esset omne aliqu. M^1 || 1 muta*bi*le, praeter le in ras. I, B || 3 id om. P || ex his concretum est aut ex P his etiam $A^3 B F M K$ || earum horum (orum B^1) $B F K$ || 4 quin] qui C qui non ut vid. V^1 || § 31, 4 et humor ita mollis est $C V^3$ et humor (humori K) ita molle est (mollest A^1 molest B^1 molē V^1) $A B F M V^1 K$ et ita molle est humor P || 5 prami A^1 (praemi $A^2 B C F M$) comprimi P || 6 maxume] om. A^1 maxumae A^2 maximae B^1 maxime $B^2 C F M P K$ || dissipabilis $B C F M P K$ || 8 et ex aqua, om. cum, B^1 || 9 ex aere] et ex

aer C^1 et ex aere C^2 || 10 intereant...constet $Z K$ || § 32, 11 ommitamus $A B^1$ omittit. $C M$ omitamus B^2 || inuenire $B F K$ || 14 nec] non M^1 || ullo sensu—uoluptatis sen- om. B^1 (iocunda $A B^2 C F M V^2 K$) || nullo V^2 || 15 caput dol. B^1 || 17 esse animal mortale, animal del. I, C || mortalem B^1 || § 33, 17 quid est] quidem $C F K$ (quit est B^1) || 19 ad illa V^1 || et quod ea sentiat $A B F M P V K$ (sentit err. typogr.) om. C || 21 non om. M^1 || 22 secundum in ras. min. A^2 || 23 fuit B^1 || 24 est et—contra naturam om. B^1 est et quod contra naturam est $B^2 F K$ || 25 interemendi $B^1 V^1$ interim, sed sec. i in ras. ampl. 3, A (inter**emendi A^1) || § 34, 26 innumerabilia sunt om. B^1 || 27 qui in id B^1 || intereat] V^1 add. V^2 al. necesse est, quae

rursus deleta sunt (interaeat *A*) || etenim *om.* *V* || 28 ut uoluptas ut dolor] *A*³*B*²*C**F**K* *om.* *B*¹ uoluptas ut dolor (*om. pr.* ut) *A*¹*M**V* uoluptas, *om. rel.*, *P* || 29 intereunt, *supra* u *scr. fuit* a *sed eras.*, *V* intereunt *P* || est aeternum *C* || 30 aut] *A*³ (*supra ras.*) et *C**F*²*M* ut *A*¹(?)*B**F*¹-*P**V**K* || terrena] aeterna (?) *C*¹ terrea *C*³ (terraena *A*) || 33 habeat, *post.* a *spscr.*, *A* || quod *B*¹ || ui (ut *V*¹) efferatur *ABC**FM**V**K* efferatur ui *P* (natura eui eff. *B*¹) || 1 quoddam] cottam *B*¹ || quohaerere *A*¹ quoher. *A*² coerere *B*¹ coh|rere *M*¹ coher. *C**V*¹*K* || 2 necessest, *sec.* s *spscr.* *I*, *A* || quaeque] quae *A*¹ (queque *F*¹) || 3 naturapiatur *B*¹ || animale esse *B*¹ || § 35, 4 eraditum *B*¹*F*¹ eracl. *B*²*F*² || 5 qui quoniam] *V*² quoniam, *om.* qui, *ABC**F**M**P* quoniam] quoniam ut *vid.* *V*¹ || 6 qui id *A*³ || diceret quod intellegi (intelligi *AV*¹) *Z*, *sed* quod *del.* *V*² || omittam *B*¹ omittamur *C* || omne uim *C*¹ omnium *V*² e *corr.* (*V*¹ *obsc.*) omnem uim *V*³ in *mg.* || 7 ignem *Z* || animantes *C* || 8 uiuere* *A* (*sequi.* i in *ras.* 2) uidere (?) *F*¹ || id uigere in *ras.* *I* *V* id uisere *B*¹ id ui*||gere, *ge m.* 2-3, *F* || 9 comodo *V*¹ || corpore *C*¹ || § 36, 12 uultus (?) *B*¹ (uultis *A*³*C**F**M**P**V*³) || animal (anima *A*¹ ?) extrinsecus *Z* || 14 animantem *A*¹ animantum *M* || animal] anima *Z* || 15 ho *A*¹*V*¹ *corr.* *A*³*V*² (hoc uel homo *A*² in *mg.*, quae *del.* *A*³) || nisi ignem—esse animum *om.* *V*¹ *suppl.* *V*² || 16 inprobabilius *B*¹ || enim] autem *P* || quoddam *C* || 17 temperatum, te in *ras.* *ampl.* 2, *C* || quod si—sese animal—alia *bis scr.*, *utrobique om.* ipse, *sed pr. del.* *C* || animal] anima *B*¹ || nulla se] nulla esse *B*¹ (*fort. corr.* *I*) || 18 quoniam his cum *B*¹*F*¹*V*¹ quoniam cum is cum *C* || in *om.* *M* || 19 russus *B*¹ rursum *C* || 20 quod quid *C* (quicquid *B*³*F**M**P**V*²) || habeat, *post.* a *spscr.*, *A* || sentia *A*¹ || 21 ad ante eundem *om.* *B*¹ || 22 quidem *om.* *B**F* || § 37, 23 iisdem *V*³ || pastus, *sed post.* s *eras.*, *C* || 24 alatur, at *corr.* 2 *ex itt.* *V* || ali] alii *B**F*¹*M* alia *C* || 25 aquis *corr.* *ex* aquas *A* a*quis (t ?) *B* || ali dulcibus *C* dulcibus, *om.* alia, *M* || alia marinis, *sec.* a in *ras.* 2, *C* || 26 quur *AC* || prodigiter *C*¹ || solistitiali *AB**V*¹ solistic. *P* || urbe *B*¹ orbe *B*²*F**M* || 27 itemque] neque *C* || nec *M*¹ || 29 naturae (*pr. loco*) *V*¹ || i*gnem (n) *A* || § 38, 31 autem, u *spscr.*, *A* || nos] *A*¹ uel non in *mg.* *A*² non *B*¹*V* || 33 conscientia *M* (sciencia *A*) || 34 nihil esse *V*² || delectu *B*³*C*²*F*²*M*²*V*²*K* || 35 quid autem intelligentia, *sed* autem *del.* *I*, *A* (intellig. etiam *V*¹) || 1 at, t in *ras.* 2, *AM* (ad *B*¹) || opseurum *AB*¹ || 3 sotieatas *A*¹ sotietas *A*² || communita *B*¹ || 4 corpori *B*¹ corporibus *C* || 5 si *corr.* *ex* se ut *vid.* *A* *om.* *B*¹ || intellegi qui] intellegui *A*¹ intellegi, *om.* qui, *C* (intelligi qui *V*¹) || 6 potest dolore an in periculo an in dolore, *om.* an in labore, *P* || dolore in, *om.* an, *C* || labore in *ras.* *F*² || § 39, 7 utentem, u *corr.* 2, *A* || s

possimus *M* || inscitam *AB*¹*V*¹ insitiam *C* || 9 III § 39 dispicere *C*¹ || dicitur *A*¹*V*¹ || stoicus *A*¹ || sunt in *ras.* *B*² || 10 omnes *B*¹ (*corr. rec.*) et *F*¹ || 12 alabandum alabandi *Z* || tenendi, *post.* n *spscr.*, *A* tenen* *B*¹ tenedi *B*²*C**F**M**P**V* || tenen *B*¹*C* || 13 inoo *B*² (in *ras.*) et *F* || asclepium *C*¹ || 14 Tyndaridas *om.* *F* (tind. *C*) || nostrum *Z* || complures *CP**V* || et *bis scr.* *C* || 15 adscripticos *B*¹ (adscriptitios *AB*²*F**M* ascriptitios *C* ascripticios *V*) || recepto *A*¹ || § 40, 16 qui duos philosophi *A* qui philosophi duos *P* (phyl. *F**V*²) || qui] quid *C*¹ || 17 mundus deus ipse *P* || 18 sublime *Z* || esse candens *P* || inuocans *A*¹ || omnis *corr.* *ex* omnes *C* || 19 plures *A*²*P* || quanto *A*¹*M*¹ || eorum est *M* eorum sit *P* || 20 singulas, n in *ras.* 2, *A* || numeras *corr.* *ex* numeros *A* numeris *M* || 21 easque *P* (eosquae *B*¹) || aut] ut *C*¹ || belluarum *B*¹ *om.* *C*¹ || appelles *C*¹ || nepam] lupam *Z* || 22 inanimatarum *B*³*P**V*² animarum *C* || § 41, 25 sermonis, i in *ras.* 3, *A* sermones *B*¹*V*¹ sermone *V*² || haecquem *AB*²*F*¹*V* haecquaem *C*² hecquem *P* haecquem *B*¹ haec quae in *C*¹ inter haec quem (quaem *M*¹) *F*²*M* || 26 putamus *C* || 27 peruenisse dicimus deos *P* || deos, d *spscr.*, *C* || redde *V*² || 28 id] idem *AC* et in *mg.* *V*³ || sieri potuerit *B*¹ || 29 co pacto *B*¹ || 30 monte moetaeo (montem oeta eo) *AMP**V* montemetaeo *B*²*F* montem etae *B*¹ monte octa eo *C* || (inlatae] *CF*²*P* inlate *A*¹*B*¹*F*¹*V*¹ illate *A*² illatae *M**V*²) || fuerint *Z* || acieus *C* accutius *V*¹ actius *V*² || 31 quem, em *corr.* 2, *V* || 32 excesserat *A*¹*P**V*¹ *corr.* *A*³*V*³ || uita (in *ras.* *V*³; ta in *ras.* *A*³) quamquam *AV* uita quamquam *BCF*, *sed* in *B* uita in *ras.* 2 et n *spscr.* 2; uix aquam. quam *P* || § 42, 33 quem, e in *ras.* 3, *V* || potissimem *A*¹ || 34 plures *A*³*P**V*³ || hii *AB**F**M**V* hi *P* || 1 iouem natum *BF* || ite ioue *C*¹ item quo ioue *A*³ || antiquissimo item ioue *P* || iouis *A*¹*BF**M**P**V* || 2 plures *A*²*CV*³ || grecum *C* (grecorum *F**M**P**V*¹) || 3 lysito *AC**M**P* lysitho *B* (*sed* h *spscr.* *I*) et *F* lisito *V* || est is in *ras.* *B*² est his *F*¹ || herculis *AB*¹*P**V*¹ || appolline *M* || 4 accipimus *V*¹ || aiunt *om.* *C* || (frygiis *AB**F* frig. *C**M**P**V*) || 5 exida] ut *vid.* *A*¹ (exideis *C*²*M**P*) || digitis *C*² || 6 quartus] cui quartus *Z* || est et] est *Z* || tyri* (a vel ae) *B* || colitur *Z* (*err. typ. ed.*) || 7 carthaginem *AB*¹*P* carthagin. *B*²*F* cartagin. *CV* chartagin. *M* || quiintus *B*¹ || inmdia *B*¹ india, *om.* in, *C* in inuidia, *sed* ui *del.* *I*, *F* || bellus *B*¹ || 8 sexus *B*¹ || hic qui ex *BF**M* hic et *C*¹ || tertius] septimus *C*¹ artius *V*¹ (tercius *BM*) || 9 plures *CP**V*²³ || iouis *V* || accipimus *AB**F**M**P**V*¹ || § 43, 10 quando *AV*¹ || dicebo *B*¹ || 11 dedicisse *A* || pontificio, ci *corr.* *ex* cl, *A* || 12 pecudunculis *C* || his *BF**M* *om.* *ACP**V* || 13 quam] quam refer sit *C*² || 14 sequar *corr.* *I* (?) *ex* sequor *A* || dic, e e *corr.*, *A* || respondeam, pon in *ras.* *min.* 2-3, de *spscr.* *I* ut *vid.*, *A* || 15 nymfae dae *A*¹

III § 43. nymphae de V^1 nymphedeae B^1 nymfae deae A^2M || (synnymphae A si nympe B^1 si nymfe C si nimphae MP si nymfae V) || pani sunt etiam corr. 3 ex panisci**tiam A panes etiam C || et om. V || hii C hy V || 16 nymphae (-phe B -fae CV) deae (dea B^1) quidem (quidest C^1) Z || 17 nec ceteri BF nec caeteri M || ergo om. P || corum B^1 || 18 Age] ege B^1 || ergo] orgo B^1 || ortus B^1F^1 || 19 qui—dicuntur] qui fluunt apud inferos P || acheton C^1 acherō, h $spscr.$ 1, F accaron P || 20 pirislegethon B^1 pyrflegethon M (pyriflegethon AV piriflegethon B^2F piriflegeton C pyriflegeton P) || caron P || dii sunt putandi C (dii put. BFM^2V^2) || § 44, 20 At id] at ut C^1 at uel C^2 (ad id $A^1B^1V^1$) || 21 dicit C || ergo haec de P || 22 haecarneades V || agebat AB^1CPV || 24 conuiceret BF || agebat V^1 || 26 uolgi V^2 (uulgo $BCFMP$) || maxime, i corr. ex a, A maxim B^1 || ad occidentem colunt P || 29 genealogiis M || nominatur C (sed corr. 1 -ntur) et M^1 || morbus] modus $ABCFMPV^1$ motus V^2 || labor, 1 in ras. 2, B || 30 querela $CFMP$ quaerela A^2 (quaerella A^1BV^1) || 31 rareae P (parce A^1B^1C) || omnes V^3 || erebo] cerbero in ras. min. C^2 om. M^1 || § 45, 1 appoll. M || 2 dicis P || asclepio C^1 esculapio C^2 || 3 hii C i V^2 || 4 hii dii C (hi di P) || 5 (aristeus Z) || apollini C || theseus qui neptuni $A^1B^2-CFPV^3$ et fort. V^1 th. que nept. V^2 th. quæ neptūni (primum vid. fuisse que, sed ex e corr. d?) B^1 th. quid neptuni A^2M || 7 opinior etiam B^1 etiam opinor F || enim in iure Z || s item] ita V^3 || qui** (ui?) B || deae $A^1B^1V^1$ || 9 astypalinsae AP astypalis n̄ se C astipalinsae V astipalinsae BF astypalinsae M || insula, corr. 1 ex insule, P || sanctissime colunt] B sanctissime colunt CM sanctissimum ecolunt AV^1 (-mume col. V^3) sanctissimum (corr. 1 ex -ssima) colunt P sanctissimum (extr. m 2) colunt F || 10 et rhesus, rhe in ras. 2, B ethesis A^1 ethesus A^2CPV^1 et theseus MV^2 || maritimae C^2M maritum hae P (maritume, sed e in ras. ampl. 3, A maritum enupt. V^1) || 11 hii C || § 46, 13 honoris ABF^1-PV^1 || non* M || immortalitatis corr. $A^1(?)$ ex immortalibus, quod etiam B scribere inceperat (inmort. M) || 14 haecatan C^2 heccatem corr. ex heccatam M (haecatam ABC^1FV) || 15 matre est asteria soror P || an in ras. B^2 || 17 eumenides quae sideasunt (sunt in ras. 1? pro est A) quarum Z || adhenes A^1V^1 || fanus A^1CV^1 fanu A^2B^1 || 18 lucis B^1 locus C lucos P lucus* (e?) V || furinae (-ne A^1) furiae (-ie A^1) AB^1-CPV furiae, om. furinae, B^2FM || 19 et scel.] esceleris A^1 || § 47, 20 fana circumius B^1M circumius fana P || 21 in agris, is in ras. 2, C || ardeat irem A et sic ut vid. etiam B^1V^1 ardeatino rem M || facerere A || 22 tuetur B^1 || 23 memorabantur B^1 commemorabantur P || honor BF (honos fides bis scr. sed 1 corr. V ||

24 (omnia quaeque cogitatione AB^1CM) || ipsis Z || 25 fingere, n in ras. 2, B || 26 autem om. C^1 || accipimus Z || 27 supra genere serapim ras. maior A || isim- in ras. ampl. B^2 (-quae B^1) || nuremus A^1V^1 || 28 rerudiemus A^1 || equos, e $spscr.$, o e corr., A (aequos P) || ibi AV^1 ibim C ibes PV^2 || 29 accipitres, res in ras. 2, V accipitros AB^1P || aspidēs C || crocodillos $ABCFMV^1$ crocodrillos V^2 corcodrillos P || pices A^1 || faeles C (felis BFV^1) || 2 reiciemus] explicemus, $spscr.$ ead. m. ut uid. reiciemus, P || § 48, 2 quod M^1 || dicitur B^2FMPV^2 || leucothea $ABFMV$ leuchathea C lechothea P || 3 matuta, supra a post. ras., V matarta C^1 || dicitur B^1 || sit admi A^1V^1 si cadmi B^1F || pasiphe $A^1(?)B$ (s e corr.) F pasiphaeae C^1 pasiphae P || 4 et eae (aeae P) e perside $ACPV$ eteae persi de B^1 et eae persidae B^2FM || filiae AV^1 filiae $BCFMP$ filie V^3 || natae (-te V^1) Z || patres sole A^1 prates (?) sole V^1 purat resolē B^1 || numerum B^1 || 5 circum $ABCFMPV^1$ || cercienses AB^1CPV cercenses B^2F circenses M || 6 deanducis A^1V^1 deam ducis B^1CM deam ducis PV^2 deam dices A^3B^2F || 7 Aeta] eta (et a) Z || matri dyla $ABCFMP$ matri dila V || 8 absyrtio ACP absireio B^1 absirtio $B^2F^2MV^2$ absiroo F^1 obsirtio V^1 || egialeuis BF , sed in F corr. ex -leuus; aegialeus M || 9 qui*si F || § 49, 11 trofoneus A^1 triphonius P (trofonius A^2BFMV) || boetia (-am C^1) Z || 12 immortales A^2CP (immortalis A^1BFV) || illos P || 13 sunt hi di] BF sunt *di A^1 sunt ii di (dii C) CV^1 sunt hi dii MV^2 sunt hii di A^3 hii sunt di P || eretheus AB^1CP erictheus B^1M erittheus F eratheus V || 15 quodro B^1 || teteris B^1 (caeteris CM) || pugnanti (?) A^1 || 16 libertate patriae P (patrie lib. C) || qudem A || 17 manent A^1 || § 50, 17 atqui B^2FP || 19 memoria C^1 || 20 esse consecratam B^2 || 21 eretheus AB^1CPV erictheus B^2FM || filiaeque] $A^3B^2FMPV^2$ filiaeque B^1 iliaeque A^1 illiaeque C^1V^1 illicque C^2 || 22 leonaticum $ABCFPV$ leonatic M || leochorion CM || 23 alabandens is $ABFM^1P$ alabandens his V^1 || sanctus C^1 || urb*s B || 24 quos non] nos C || 25 stratyonius B (r $spscr.$ 1) et F || molestius C || 28 solem deum, m d corr. 2, A || 1 alterum dianam P || putent A^1 || 2 deae est A^1 deest V^1 || 3 arcui B^2FV^2 arcui M arcus $A^3M^2V^3$ || spicies V^1 (spet. A) || 4 reponantur P || et om. P || ob eam speciem (spet. A) quia causam habeat Z || 5 thaumantein C || Iris om. Z || nata, post. a in ras. 3, A || 7 quodammodo C || coloratus Z || centauro A^1 || 8 retuleris in deos $BCFPV^1$ in deos retul. M || tempestatis A^1 || 10 putandi sunt M^2 || 11 fructibus A^1MPV || § 52, 11 Iam] tam $A^1(?)$ $CMFV$ tum A^3 || 12 gerendo, o corr. 2, A || 13 sin] in V sin in M^1 || terra mater $ACPV$ (terrā are B^1) || 14 Fontis] fontes C || marso Z

[ex Corsica] scorsica B^1 || 15 augurem V || tiberinum *corr. fort.* 1 ex tiberinum C ti-e *corr.* M || anemonem $ABFMPV$ et, *corr.* ex anemonem, C^1 uel anienem *spscr.* C^2 || 16 nodium *corr.* ex nonium B^1 (nodinum B^2) || 17 inmensum, *om.* in, C (in imm. B^2FV) || aut si nichil C (aut nichil P) || honorum ABF^1V^1 bonorum P || recipimus C || 18 probauit V^1 || prabandum A || § 53, 19 eos] hos Z || 22 hi BFP hii M || thelogi C || 23 natos *om.* F || patre] parte M^1 || 25 carens B^{21} craetensem B cretens*, *ult.* *et corr.* ex u , M || 26 sepulchrum B (sepulchr. CFM) || dioscorce A^1V^2 et ut *vid.* B^1 dioscorte CV^1 dioscoride PV^3 dioscore A^2M^1 dioscorae B^2FM^2 || 28 anacthes B^1C || anti*quiss. V || et] ex C || 29 eubules C eubulaeus V || dionisyus A dionisius $BCFMV$ dyonisyus P || 30 melampus euolus AB^2FM melampus euolus CPV meuiolus B^1 || atregi A || 31 fili AB^1V^1 || § 54, 31 primae quattuor B^1 quatuor primae M (pr. quatuor P) || Ioue—Aoede] natae (-te V^1) ioue altero nata et thei (aethei AM) xinoneode $ABFMPV$ (*sed syllabis et litteris uario modo coniunctis ut ex. gr.* none oede B^1 noneoe de B^2) nate ioue altero nate et thei (t *in ras. ampl.*) xinone cede C || 1 Mnemos.] nemo sine A (*sed m. 1 in ras.*) et CPV (m nemo sine BFM) || 2 tertiae (terciae B^1 tertio A^2 tercio M) ioue tertio (-cio BM) piero (-rio P) natae (-te B^1C) Z || pieridas, *pr. i corr.* 2, A || 3 et plerias $ABCFMV$ et proelias P || iisdem B^2F || et edem BF^1 eodem, *om.* et, V^1 || 4 quos $ACPV$ || proxime CPV || appellatum, *um in ras.* 3 A , *um in ras.* 2 F appellatus V apellatus B || 5 quā*multi, — m . 2, A || 6 hyprione C^1 || Uolcano Nili] uulcanoni C (uulcano nili $AFMPV^3$ uolca nonili B^1) || 7 urbem *om.* B^1 || aegypti (?) V^1 || eliopoli ACM^2V^2 aeliopolis B^1 aeliopolis B^2F oliop. M^1 || 8 his V^1 || acantorhodi AB^2CFMV acantor odi* (e ?) B^1 acantu rhodi P || 9 ialisy C || cameri tinderhodi $ACMPV$ cameri tynderhodi BF || aetam $A^1(?)BCFMPV$ ae*[am A^2 || cirtam B^2F || § 55, 10 uolcaniitem, ii *radendo corr.*, Buulc. it. $CFMV^3$ uulg. it. P || 11 antiquistorici BF || 12 secundus C^1 (saec. C^2) || in nilo Z || opas $ABFMPV$ opos C || aegypti V^1 (?) (aegyptii P) || 13 aegyptii MV^1 (egypti BCF aegypti P) || 14 qui ter lemmi C^1 || lemmi ***** fabricae B l. frabr. C (l. fabrice AF^1V^1) || menalio C^1 menmalio M || § 56, 16 natus dia matre P || cuius *om.* B^1 || 17 aliter V^1 || 18 foronidis Z , *sed M invers. ord. for.* et ualentis || filiis B^1 || his $B^1M^1V^1$ || idem] i M^1 || trifonius P (trof. $ABCFMV$) || ioue] ex ioue P || 19 tertio] tertius A^1 (tercio BM) || mala $ABFM^1PV$ (*in C 1 et i vix dinoscuntur*) || penelopam natam, *om.* pana, P pana *del.* 1 vel 2 V (poenel. AMV paen. C) || fuerunt C^1 || 20 aegypti ut *vid.* V^1 (egyptii BC egyptii M

aegyptii P) || nefans $A^1B^1V^1$ nefanis M || habet A^1 nominare, are *corr.* 2-3, A || 21 fenetae V^2 (feneatae *corr.* 1 ex foen. A fen. $CMFV^1$ faen. BF) || argentum dicitur A^1V dicitur argentum P || aegyptum] B^1V^1 egyptum C aegypto A (*sed to in ras.* 2-3) et B^2FV^2 aegypto MP || 22 profugisse] CM profuisse AB^1PV^1 praefuisse (pref. F) B^2FV^3 || aegyptiis] $A^2B^2F^2MV^2$ (egyptiis C aegyptiis P) aegyptus F^1 aegyptis A^1V^1 aegypti B^1 || et literas *spscr.* M^2 *om.* M^1 || aegyptii] A^3F^2M (aegyptii P) aegypti (eg. C) A^1BCF^1V || 23 theyn AB^2FM thein B^1P theyr CV || eodem nomine V || § 57, 1 asclepiorum C^1 || 2 speculum MPV^3 || obli-gauisse—percutus dicitur *om.* F^1 || oblegauisse B^1 || 3 mercuri $A^1BC^1V^1$ || his V^1 || gynosuris AC gin. V^1 cin. V^3 || 4 arsipti C (arsipiae tarsinoae P) || arsipti A^1 arsipti M (arsinoe A^2BCFV^1) || alui—euolsionem *om.* C || aludentisque A^1 audent. B^1 || 5 (euuls. A^3FM-PV^3) || 5 flumine, flu *in ras.* 2, B || 6 locus V^3 || apollinem P || antiquissimis V^1 || is *om.* M^1 || 7 uulgano B^1 (uulc. $A^3BCFMPV^3$) || esse *om.* C || adhenarum B^1 || 9 fuisse traditur, e t *in ras.* 3, A || ex] et A *om.* M || 10 fuerunt (?) B^1 || 11 nomionem Z || legis $A^1B^1PV^1$ || accipisse ABF || § 58, 12 iouis *corr.* ex iouss B ioues C^1 || 13 nitior V^1 || latonatum A^1V^1 *corr.* A^3V^2 || accipimus P || 14 tertiae pater—§ 59, 21 natum accepiamus *om.* C || tertia patre B^2F tertia (a *in ras.*) e patre M || matre B^2M (*de F nihil notavi*) || 15 upin M || dyonysios A^3 dionisios M dyonisyos P (dyonisos A^1 dionisos BF dyonysos V) || 16 prosperinum A^1V^1 || nysan A^1 (nisam B^1MV) || 17 caprio $ABFM$ capryo PV || perfuisse V^1 (pref. BF) || cuius abazea A cuius abazea $BFMPV^1$ cuius ab ea V^{3-4} || 18 confeci A^1V^1 || § 59, 20 diena nata A^2 || elide delubrum M elidelubrum APV^3 elidulubr. V^1 helidelubrum B (*sed h spscr.* 1) et F || uidemus V^1 || 21 accipimus P || 22 tertia] tertio B (*sed corr.* 1 ex -cio) et F^1 || 23 matre M^1 || anteneros A^2B^2FM || Syria] sitia V^3 || cyroque AB^2CFMPV ciroquae B^1 || 25 apollonis AV^1 || 26 salaetae AM saletae $BCFPV^2$ salete, ete *in ras.* 2, V^1 || quam ioue V || 27 corufe $ABCFMPV^1$ et V^3 coruse V^2 || oceani V^2 nata oceani P || corian $ACFPV$ corian* (t) B coriam M || 29 uigolare, g *del.* 1 ut *vid.*, B || pinarum A^1 pen. A^2 (penn. M) || atalaria B^1 || § 60, 31 qui idem] quidem Z || anteneros A^2B^2FM || 32 tertiae A^1 || aliaque] *om.* AB^1CPV^1 et B^2FM atque V^2 || 1 colecta A || 2 religionem C || haec refellunt M^1 || 3 corsum B^1 qursum F^1 || 4 huc unde, *sed transp. sign. add.*, C || § 61, 7 concordiam salutem caeteraque M || huius modi B (*sed h spscr.* 1) et FK || 8 autem enim A^1PV^1 aut eni* (*eras.* t ut *vid.*) B^1 || ipsis insunt M || 9 aut] ut A^1 || honor C bonos V^1 || 10 post. uideo *om.* B^1 , *del.*

I § 61. in *V*, sed restit. et spscr. 3 uel ideo || 11 in iis] *CV*² in is *V*¹ in his *BFMP* in hiis in ras. *A*³ || 12 Quo in genere om. *F*¹ || 13 ab *AV*, sed b in ras. *A*³ et corr. *V*² || inconstantantia *A*¹ || § 62, 14 explacatio *A* (sed ac ut vid. in ras.) et *V*¹ explanatio *C* || 16 alia egeneris *A*¹*V*¹ aliae generis *P* || eiudem *V*¹ || defendis *A*¹*M* || ut ii] *A*²*V*² uti (?) *A*¹ ut hi *BFP* ut hii *M* ut, om. ii, *V*¹ || quiqui ista *A*¹*MPV*¹ quiquam ista *C* || 17 enodandis, om. in., *B*¹ (etiam. ur praecedens *B*² scrips. vid.) || 18 miserandum] *F*¹ uel

mirandum spscr. *F*² mirandum *M* || laboratus *C*¹ || 21 ueioue *C*¹ || 23 quid *A*¹ || 24 dictum *C*¹*M*¹*P* || natarae *uisus (e ut vid. eras.) *B*¹ nature uisus *F*¹ || est *V*¹ || § 63, 27 cur om. *B*¹ || quique *AB*¹*CPV* || appellantur sit (n del. fort. ead. m.) *V*¹ appellati sint *V*²³ appellatus sit *P* || 31 perneciosis *P* || modo om. *Z* || 32 contituer. *A*¹ || Orbonae ad om. *Z* || 33 esquiliis] *F*²*M*, sed hic in ras. 1; exquiliis *ABCF*¹*V*, sed in *BC* -iis corr. ex -us; exsquiliis *P* ||

P. SCHWENKE.

(Continuabitur.)

HOMERIC SCHOLIA.

Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum ad Odysseam pertinentium reliquias collegit, disposuit, edidit HERMANNUS SCHRADER. Leipzig: Teubner. 1890. 16 Mk.

TEN years have passed since Schrader gave us the first instalment of his edition of the remains of Porphyrios, those which refer to the *Iliad*. The publication of those referring to the *Odyssey* completes a laborious and somewhat ungrateful task, carried out with the utmost thoroughness and wise judgment. The work is, to say the least of it, not likely to be popular. More perhaps than any other part of scholiastic learning the arguments of the ἐνοτατικοί and λυτικοί are monuments of wasted ingenuity, often desperate inventions of cobweb difficulties for the sake of breaking through them with swords of Lilliput. The results are of more importance to the student of the human mind than to the commentator on Homer. To the former they may have a certain interest, for they were once highly esteemed, as is proved by the liberality with which they were copied into the margins of *Iliads* and *Odysseys* of all ages from the tenth century to the fifteenth. But a considerable portion of them is taken from quite respectably ancient authorities, of whom we thus learn something; it is for instance through Porphyrios that we know of Aristotle's treatment of his *Aporemata Homerica*, though it cannot be said that these add much to the philosopher's reputation. Porphyrios too has added something to our scanty knowledge of Antisthenes the Cynic.

In dealing with Porphyrios, as with other Homeric scholia, the critic finds himself in far greater difficulties with the *Odyssey* than with the *Iliad*. The *Odyssean* notes are not only more scanty but they are far more carelessly excerpted. Of the mass of scholia

which are in all probability Porphyrian, only forty in the *Odyssey* bear his name—just as many as occur in the first four books of the *Iliad* alone. The attribution of the majority is therefore a matter of inference, to which Schrader brings an unsurpassed knowledge of his author and of all the side-lights which can be cast upon the subject. Many of the scholia which he puts down to Porphyrios seem at first sight to be of a purely neutral and impersonal character; but it will always be found that Schrader has some good reason for his attribution. He credits Porphyrios with all scholia which are put in the form of a question; though he admits that this criterion is not quite safe, inasmuch as certain cases can be traced where this form has been given to a scholion which we know in an earlier shape as a direct statement. On the other hand it seems certain that all which were originally in the form of a question have reached us through Porphyrios; at any rate of all the other authors after him who are known to have composed Homeric problems not one can be traced among the scholia; and all those who preceded him Porphyrios seems to have included in his collection. Other notes which are not in the form of questions are given to Porphyrios because we know from other sources that he discussed them. The most important of these other sources is the single book of Porphyrios on Homeric problems which is distinct from the scholia; it is contained in the Vatican MS. No. 305, published at Rome by Lascaris in 1518, and edited by Schrader in his previous volume on the *Iliad*.

The work is accompanied by a most elaborate discussion of the chief MSS. used, of which the Harleian *Odyssey* takes the first place.

W. LEAF.

Les Scolies Genevoises de l'Iliade, publiées avec une étude historique, descriptive et critique sur le Genecensis 44 ou Codex Ignotus d'Henri Estienne et une collation complète de ce manuscrit, par JULES NICOLE, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Genève. Paris: Hachette. 1891. 35 fres.

THIS is a work of immense toil, real acumen, and scholarly research of which Switzerland, where little has been done for Homeric study since the days of Koechly, may well be proud. For practical purposes it may be divided into two parts. One consists of pages 196–212 of Vol. I. The rest of the work forms the other.

The MS., now in the library at Geneva, was once the property of Henri Estienne, who used it in the preparation of his *Poetae Epici Graeci*, as Prof. Nicole makes plain. It dates from the thirteenth century originally, but parts have been recopied in the fourteenth. The text is closely allied to that of D, without being copied from it; a fact which has led Prof. Nicole, following the example of previous scholars, to enormously overrate the importance of the place which it can take in Homeric criticism. As a matter of fact an inspection of the variants which he gives in his collation only confirms the views which I have elsewhere expressed as to the critical worthlessness of D and all its kin. The scholia, with an important exception, are closely allied to those of B and T; but there seems some ground, as Prof. Nicole argues, for supposing them to have come from an earlier and better progenitor of these two collections, which they sometimes expand and elucidate. But it is hardly worth while to waste time in the arid regions of these exegetic scholia; the seventeen pages which are mentioned above contain far different matter, and so far outweigh in importance all the rest of the work as to deserve all the space which can be spared for them.

The scholia to book xxi., which occupy these few pages, are drawn from a rich source of Alexandrian learning. It must be said at once however that they do not add much to our knowledge of the work of Aristarchos. There are a good many scholia of Aristonikos, but these are generally identical with those in A. Here and there they give small additions or expansions; for instance the reading *ἰθυκτίωνα* in 169 is

ascribed to Kallistratos as well as to Zenodotos. These scholia, unlike those of A, generally have the name of Aristonikos in full at the beginning. Nikanor is entirely absent. There is very little that can be ascribed to Didymos, whose name does not occur at all. But to him is no doubt due the schol. on 452 *διχῶς ἀπέβλεψε*. This variant however cannot be right: *ἀπέβλεψε* is not admitted either by rhythm or sense as an alternative for *ἀπέπεμπε*. It is probably a corruption of *ἀπολεψέμεν*, which we know to have been read by Aristarchos in 455 in place of the vulgate *ἀποκοψέμεν*. Such a transposition and corruption would be by no means beyond the copyist's power, as will presently appear. The quotation of a new variant on 492 as being *ἐν τῇ Χίᾳ καὶ Κυπρίᾳ* also looks Didymean; and there are various other notes which may be by Didymos, so far as the evidence goes; but they lack the phrases and turns by which his work is recognised in the Venetian scholia.

Herodian on the other hand is well represented. He is quoted more at first hand than in the Venetus and his citations are often reproduced verbally. And with him are quoted also a large number of other books and authors bearing on Homer which yield the most valuable part of these excerpts. We find ourselves among a number of authors of whom nothing whatever was known before. Even in the case of those who were already known from the Venetian scholia we find our knowledge extended; sometimes they are quoted by an additional name which served to identify them in antiquity, sometimes the titles of their books are given where the Venetian epitomator was content with the bare name of the author. Thus Alexion becomes *ὁ χωλός*; Komano is *ὁ Ναυκρατίτης*. Of critics never mentioned in A we have Duris quoted twice, Phanodikos, Peisistratos of Ephesos, and another who is twice called Aridikes—a name hitherto absolutely unknown, and no doubt corrupt. A long scholion on 363 quoted from Peisistratos of Ephesos and Hermogenes *ἐν τῷ περὶ προβλημάτων* is interesting. These authors argue that the right reading is *μελδομένον* and not *μελδόμενος*, as given in the vulgate; and they explain the corruption by assuming that the original reading in the old alphabet was *μελδομενο*. But *ὁ μεταγράφων εἰς τὴν νῦν γραμματικὴν οὐκ ἐνόησεν ὅτι 'μελδομένον' ἦν*,

ἀλλ' ἄνευ τοῦ ὕ ἀναγινώσκων ἀδιανόητον ἡγεῖτο καὶ ἡμαρτημένον εἶναι, διόπερ προσέθηκε ἀντὶ τοῦ ὕ τὸ σ, 'μελδόμενος' ποιήσας.

But to the general student these few pages contain a still more interesting peculiarity in the number of quotations given from classical authors. We have here three new lines of Alkaios, two of Sophokles, one of Euphorion, four of Xenophanes; a new Homeric ἀπόρημα by Aristotle, and a law of Solon, of which only a few words were previously known from the Lexicon of Harpokration. It must be admitted that this is a rich gleaning in so small a field; it is provoking to think how much more of the same sort we might have if a freak of fortune had not limited these extracts to a single book of the Iliad. As it is, Greek lexicography is enriched by at least two new words, πρόσγονος quoted from the Λαρισσαῖοι of Sophokles in the sense of πρόγονος: and κυνάπαιδες attributed to Sophron.

Unfortunately the scholia are in many cases in a state of terrible confusion. One may suffice as a specimen; I commend it to the attention of emenders as a puzzle worth some little pains to solve, for it contains the law of Solon and a quotation from the Δαίδαλος of Sophokles. Prof. Nicole has given a solution which is ingenious, and at least in the main probably right; but I

withhold it in the hope that some readers of the *Classical Review* may arrive independently at even more satisfactory results. The MS. runs as follows: (282) ἐρχθέντα]... Κράτης "εἰλθέντ' ἐν μεγάλῳ" ἱαλεῖν γὰρ φησὶ εἶναι τὸ εἶργεν ὥστε τὴν τῆς κωλύσ δίκην ἐξ οὐλῆς εἰάν τις ἐξηλμάτων ἀντὶ δικανικῆς ἢ ὁ ποί καλεῖσθαι καὶ παρατίθεται σόλωνος ἐννεάξονι ἐξ οὐλῆς ἀνάξιον ἢ εἰς δημόσιον ὀφλανῇ καὶ τῷ ιδιώτῃ ἐκάτερος· ὁ σοφοκλῆς ἐν δαυδάλῳ ἑλλημενήσω τὸν ὀ' ἔα χαλκεντῷ πέδῃ.

It is perhaps only fair to would-be solvers to give them one hint; the letters ὁ ποι may be neglected if desirable. It is easy to see, as Prof. Nicole has pointed out, how they got into the scholion. The original of the Genevensis, like the Bankes papyrus, was in the habit of giving the name of every speaker at the beginning of his speech. When the narrative was resumed after a speech, the poet was regarded as the speaker, and a contraction of his name, ὁ ποί, was placed at the beginning of the line. The scholia were in this original evidently crowded into the margins, so that the copyist carelessly included these letters in what he was copying.

There are also two quite corrupt lines of Alkaios which may be set as a puzzle at some future date, if readers of the *Classical Review* care for more problems in emendation.

W. LEAF.

PLUMMER'S EPISTLES OF ST. JAMES AND ST. JUDE.

The General Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, by the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, D.D. (Expositor's Bible, Hodder and Stoughton. 1891.) 7s. 6d.

THIS is a book which may be commended as the product of a thoroughly cultivated mind, equally imbued with common sense, sound scholarship, and deep religious feeling. The union of these qualities is one of the most hopeful signs of the time to those who remember how often in earlier decades of the century scholarship has shown itself hard, dry, and pedantic, removed from all sympathy with life or literature; while religion appeared a mere creature of emotion, cowering under the shelter of Church authority, and suspicious of the free use of the intellect as likely to breed either heresy or atheism. In such commentaries as the present, and in those by Bishop Westcott or the much lamented Dean Plumptre, we have books addressed to the

general public which are full of instruction to scholars; and on the other hand we have learned editions of the Greek Testament, such as those by Bishop Lightfoot, which are interesting not to scholars only but to all educated readers.

In his introductory chapters Dr. Plummer discusses with much fairness the question of the authenticity of the Epistle of St. James. He comes to that which appears to me the only tenable conclusion, viz. that it was written by the president of the Church at Jerusalem, 'the brother of the Lord'; which latter phrase he interprets as meaning the son of Joseph and Mary. As to the date he considers that it could not have been written while 'the crisis as to the treatment of the Gentile converts was at its height,' but leaves it an open question whether it appeared previously to the Council at Jerusalem—say between 45 and 49 A.D.—or shortly before the author's death—say between 53

and 62. He agrees with the great majority of modern commentators in holding that there is no reference made in it to St. Paul's doctrine of Justification by Faith. As a specimen of the general tone of the notes I quote what is said on St. Jude v. 9 :—

That *The Assumption of Moses* was written before our Epistle is almost universally admitted. Philippi is almost alone in thinking that its author was a Christian and that he borrowed it from St. Jude. Ewald, Dillmann, Drummond, Schürer and Wiesler place it between B.C. 4 (the year of the war of Quintilius Varus, to which it almost certainly refers) and A.D. 6. Hilgenfeld, Merx, Fritzsche and Lucius place it at different points between A.D. 44 and 70. But the earlier date is the more probable. The large fragment in Latin which we now possess was evidently made from a Greek document, and Hilgenfeld has attempted to restore the Greek from the Latin. But this Greek document may itself have been a translation from the Aramaic. In either case St. Jude would be able to read it.

That any true tradition on the subject should have been handed down orally through fifteen centuries without leaving the slightest trace in a single passage in the Old Testament is utterly improbable. This hypothesis, and the still more violent supposition of a special revelation made to St. Jude, are devices prompted by a reverent spirit, but thoroughly uncritical and untenable, to avoid the unwelcome conclusion that an inspired writer has quoted legendary material. Have we any right to assume that inspiration raises a writer to the intellectual position of a critical historian with power to discriminate between legend and fact? St. Jude probably believed the story about the dispute between Michael and Satan to be true; but even if he knew it to be a myth, he might nevertheless use it as an illustrative argument, seeing that it was so familiar to his readers. If an inspired writer were living now, would it be quite incredible that he should make use of Dante's Purgatory, or Shakespeare's King Lear? Inspiration certainly does not preserve those who possess it from imperfect grammar, and we cannot be certain that it preserves them from other imperfections which have nothing to do with the truth that saves souls. Besides which, it may be merely our prejudices which lead us to regard the use of legendary material as an imperfection. Let us reverently examine the features which inspired writings actually present to us, not hastily determine beforehand what properties they *ought* to possess. We note unnaturally fancy that, when the Holy Spirit inspires a person to write for the spiritual instruction of men throughout all ages, He also preserves him from making mistakes as to the authenticity of writings of which he makes use, or at least would preserve him from misleading others on such points; but it does not follow that this natural expectation of ours corresponds with the actual manner of the Spirit's working. 'We follow a very unsafe method if we begin by deciding in what way it seems to us most fitting that God should guide His Church, and then try to wrest facts into conformity with our preconceptions.' (Salmon *Introd. to the N. T.* p. 528.)

I proceed to examine some passages in the notes on St. James, in which I should be inclined to differ from the view given by Dr. Plummer.

On i. 9 he adopts the explanation of ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ given by

Beyschlag after Bede, 'let the rich man, if he will, glory in his own degradation.' In his own words, 'Let the brother of low degree glory in his high estate; and the rich man—what is he to glory in?—let him glory in the only thing upon which he can count with certainty, viz. his being brought low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away.' He adds, 'Such irony is not uncommon in Scripture.' But why may not we take the passage in what is certainly its more simple and natural sense, understanding καυχᾶσθω ὁ ἀδελφός at the beginning of the verse to belong not more to the first clause ὁ ταπεινός ἐν τῷ ὑψει than to the second ὁ δὲ πλούσιος ἐν τ.τ. ? The general meaning will then be, 'Far from being δάψυχος and ἀκατάστατος, the Christian should exult in his profession: if in low estate, he should glory in the church, where all are brothers and there is no respect of persons; he should realize his own dignity as a member of Christ, a child of God, an heir of heaven; if rich, he should cease to pride himself on wealth or rank, and rejoice that he has learnt the emptiness of all worldly distinctions.' To the despised poor the lesson of Christianity is 'learn self-respect,' to the proud rich 'learn self-abasement.' While we must allow that sarcasm is not alien to the writer of ii. 19, iv. 4, v. 1—6, yet is it possible that so early in his letter, in cold blood so to speak, he could thus have anathematized the rich as a class, when we remember that Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathaea and Barnabas were included among believers? That the words of the comparison which follows do not apply exclusively to the rich, is of course self-evident, and is also expressly stated in the original passage of Isaiah, πάντα σὰρξ ὁχρὸς, though the rich may need to be reminded of the truth more than the poor. Nor can anything be inferred against this from the use of ὁ πλούσιος in the eleventh verse, 'the rich man [not 'riches'] shall fade away.' All that is meant is 'the rich man, *qua* rich, whether believer or unbeliever, is a mere passing phenomenon; in the world to come there is neither rich nor poor.'

iii. 3. Dr. Plummer here follows the majority of the editors and what seems at first sight to be the overwhelming authority of the MSS. in reading εἰ δέ. I say at first sight, for we find it supported in Tischendorf's Apparatus by the following uncials Sin. ABKL as well as by Vulg. and Corb., while ἴδε has only the uncials CP with some eastern versions on its side; but looking a little more closely we find that it is a characteristic of B 'to change εἰ into εἰ' (WH. *Introd.* p. 306),

so that in this Epistle it gives us not only *γεννώσκοντες, θλείψει, ρειπιζόμενοι*, but even *ἀνθρωπείνη, ἀτμείς*; and the same with regard to Sin, which, as Dr. Field tells us (*Ot. Norv.* on this verse), gives *εἶδον* for *ἰδοῦ* Luke xxiii. 15, *εἰδετε* for *ἰδετε* Luke xxiv. 39 and 1 John iii. 1. Nor is this all: Sin. has *εἰδεγαρ*, which if written in three words makes nonsense, but, if *εἰδε* stands for *ἰδε*, gives *ecce enim* with the Peshitto. The evidence of the MSS. being thus doubtful, let us consider which reading is best in harmony with the context, 'If a man does not stumble in word he is able to bridle his own body. And if we put bits into the horses' mouths that they may obey us,—we turn about their whole body also.' The natural apodosis to such a protasis would be 'let us also for the same purpose put a bridle in our own lips.' The present apodosis adds nothing to the clause *εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι*, and it is difficult to find any natural meaning for *δέ* at the beginning of the verse: even the *καὶ* in apodosis is out of place; it would have been natural if the protasis had run *εἰ τὸ στόμα μετάγομεν*. Lastly the *καὶ* after *ἰδοῦ* in v. 4 seems to look back to the preceding *ἰδε*. De Wette and Benschlag felt these difficulties so strongly that they included the whole verse in the protasis and explained the construction as an apodosis. Lachmann proposed to read *οὐδέ* with a question instead of *εἰ δέ*. But with *ἰδε* we get exactly the right sense. The casual use of the word *χαλιναγωγῆσαι* in v. 2 suggests the image to which *ἰδε* calls the reader's attention, just as *ἰδοῦ* introduces a simile in v. 7. The active imperative is found along with the middle in Eccl. ii. 1 *πειράσω σε ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ἰδε ἐν ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἰδοὺ καὶ γε τοῦτο ματαιότης*, in Mark iii. 32 and 34, and elsewhere. Dr. Field compares Rom. ii. 17 where the old reading *ἰδε σὺ Ἰουδαίος* has been changed to *εἰ δέ* by recent editors, misled by the spelling of the uncial MSS., as in our text, and with equally disastrous effect on the construction.

iii. 6. *ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν*. Dr. Plummer gives what I believe to be the right punctuation, and translates: 'The world of iniquity among our members is the tongue, which defileth the whole body.' I doubt however whether he is right in assigning a loose colloquial signification to the word *κόσμος*, which he explains with the Vulgate as *universitas iniquitatis* 'a boundless store of mischief.' The objection to this is that St. James elsewhere only uses the word *κόσμος* in a bad sense, and that only one example out of all Greek literature is adduced for

the meaning 'totality,' viz. Prov. xvii. 6 *τοῦ πιστοῦ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος τῶν χρημάτων, τοῦ δὲ ἀπίστου οὐδὲ ὀβολός*, which however is, I think, better understood literally of the material world, as consisting of things which can be used and enjoyed. Lastly the article seems scarcely consistent with this explanation. 'A world of cares' is a natural expression for many cares; but if we say 'the world of care' we are understood to predicate something of the world itself. And if we compare the similar expressions in Luke xvi. 8, 9, *τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας, τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας*, we are naturally led to take the sentence as meaning 'in our microcosm the tongue represents or constitutes the unrighteous world,' as it is in the 'Speculum,' *mundus iniquitatis per linguam constat in membris vestris*. The tongue represents the world because it is that member by which we are brought into communication with other men. Again I am inclined to doubt whether Dr. Plummer is right in treating *καθίσταται* as a middle: 'by its own undisciplined career it makes itself the world of iniquity, it constitutes itself among our members as that which defileth our whole body.' Out of twenty-two examples in Bruder, sixteen belong to the active voice, and two are 1st aor. passive, leaving four examples of the ambiguous *καθίσταται*, two of which are undoubtedly passive (Heb. v. 1, viii. 3), and the other two are that before us and iv. 4 below. The Vulgate here has *constituitur*, the Corbey MS. *posita est*, and this, as I believe, gives us the literal meaning, 'is set' or 'is constituted,' cf. Thuc. iv. 92, Isocr. p. 37.

Is the special force of the word *ἐριθεία* rightly traced in p. 198: 'a word which originally meant...weaving for hire, and thence any ignoble pursuit, especially political canvassing, intrigue, or factiousness'? If the word and its cognates were in commoner use we should be able to speak with more confidence, but I think its development should rather be compared with that of the Lat. *ambitio*. *Ἐρθεύεσθαι* is not 'to be a hireling' but 'to make use of hirelings,' 'to bribe,' and thus *ἐριθεία* comes to mean 'party-spirit.'

In iv. 2 Dr. Plummer seems to be unaware that he is not the first to propose the punctuation 'Ye lust and have not; ye kill.' It is given in the margin of WH., and was the subject of more than one note in this *Review* (see Vol. iii. pp. 275 f. 314.)

iv. 5. *πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ κατώκισεν ἐν ἡμῖν*. This is translated 'Even unto jealousy doth the Spirit which He made to dwell in us yearn over us,' but is there any precedent for such a use of *πρός*? We

may get almost the same meaning if we take *πρὸς φόβον* = *φθονερῶς* with the Greek commentators, and there are many parallels for this adverbial use, e.g. *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ἡδονήν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, *πρὸς χάριν*.

iv. 9 *ταλαιπωρήσατε καὶ πενήθησατε καὶ κλαύσατε*. 'The first verb refers to their inward feeling of wretchedness, the other two to the outward expression of it.' But neither in the LXX. nor in classical Greek do we find *ταλαιπωρεῖν* so used: cf. Thuc. ii. 101 ἡ στρατιὰ σῖτόν τε οὐκ εἶχεν καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει, Jerem. v. 20 *τεταλαιπώρηκε πᾶσα ἡ γῆ* ('is spoiled' R.V.). It seems best to understand it with Erasmus and Grotius *affligite ipsos vosmet jejuniis et aliis corporis σκληραγωγίαις*, especially when we consider that St. James was himself noted for his austerities.

v. 11. *πολύσπλαγχνος*. The word 'was possibly coined by St. James himself; it occurs nowhere else.' It is remarkable how many words are used apparently for the first time by St. James: it is not however correct to say that this is found nowhere else. It occurs in the writings of Hermas, that most diligent student of St. James, see *Mand.* iii. 5, *Sim.* v. 7. 4.

In one or two passages there is perhaps a tendency to press unduly the force of words. Thus in ii. 25 Rahab is introduced as a second example of faith proved by action—*ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ραῦβ ἡ πορνὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη*; on which the comment is: "The readers of the epistle might think 'Heroic acts are all very suitable for Abraham, but...we cannot imitate his acts.' 'But,' St. James replies (and he

writes *ὁμοίως δέ*, not *καὶ ὁμοίως*) 'there is Rahab ...at least you can imitate her.'" Is there however any reason to suppose that St. James meant any thing more than 'and also' by his *δὲ καί*? Dr. Plummer himself is content to translate *δέ* by 'and' in i. 13, 15, ii. 2, 3. On ii. 4 *ἰδοὺ καὶ τὰ πλοῖα* the note is: 'In order to bring out the fact that the ships are a stronger illustration than the horses we should translate 'Behold even the ships' rather than 'Behold the ships also.' First the statement of the case (ver. 2), then the illustration from the horses (ver. 3), then 'even the ships' (ver. 4), and finally the application 'so the tongue *also*' (ver. 5)." But does the Greek give any hint that *καί* is to be translated differently in the two verses? I should prefer 'also' in both cases.

v. 15. *κἂν ἁμαρτίας ἢ πεποιηκώς*. Dr. Plummer here seems to yield to the authority of Alford, Huther and others who have denied that *κἂν* can mean 'and if.' The contrary is proved by Mark xvi. 18, Luke xiii. 9 Dem. *F.L.* 411. *οὗτος ἐκτρέπεται με νῦν ἀπαντῶν, κἂν ἀναγκασθῇ πον συντυχεῖν, ἀπεπῆδησεν εὐθέως*, Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, 12, iii. 36 &c. and several instances in the newly discovered 'Constitution of Athens.'

It is to some extent a drawback to the use of the book, considered as a commentary, that some verses, and those not always the easiest or the least interesting, are passed over without remark, such as i. 19—21, 26, 27, ii. 11—13, 18. On the whole however it is one which may be most strongly commended to all educated readers.

J. B. MAYOR.

WILCKEN'S GREEK PALAEOGRAPHY.

Tafeln zur älteren Griechischen Palaeographie nach originalen des Berliner Koenigl. Museums, zum akademischen Gebrauch und zum Selbstunterricht, herausgegeben von DR. ULRICH WILCKEN. Leipzig u. Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient, 1891. 10 Mk.

PROFESSOR WILCKEN has issued what we may hope is only the beginning of a very useful work. He is already so well known as an authority on early Greek writing that a series of facsimiles, such as this, accompanied with his comments, is a very welcome contribution to Greek Palaeography. The work will appeal to a much wider circle of students than those for whom the editor

modestly designs it. Indeed he only invites beginners to learn something of early Greek documents, and more particularly of cursive hands, with a view to a better understanding of the principles of the minuscule writing of the Middle Ages; and in order to encourage them he refrains 'aus pädagogischen Gründen' from giving transcripts of more than a few lines of each document, leaving the student to puzzle out the rest for himself 'mit eigenem Kopfzerbrechen.' Now, this is all very well in a work in which the facsimiles are produced from MSS. in good condition and are therefore sufficiently legible; but here we have quite a different state of things. Papyri are seldom in perfect, or even good,

condition—from the very nature of the material, the majority are fragmentary, torn, and discoloured, and their reproduction by photography, in a manner at all satisfactory, is by no means a simple matter. Dr. Wilcken's facsimiles leave much to be desired; they could certainly have been made better; some indeed are good, but others are decided failures, as he himself admits. It is, then, cruel kindness to set such difficult pieces before the beginner and to refuse him the assistance of transcriptions. In reading an obscure original, one has the advantage of being able to turn it about to catch the light on it at favourable angles; but a photographic facsimile can only represent it in a fixed position and under only one condition of light, in which faint lines may disappear or be absorbed in the dark background of the material. But, as we have already said, Dr. Wilcken's work will be used by others besides palaeographical students. The recent discoveries of classical works and fragments in Egypt raise hopes of a resurrection of a fair number of the lost works of early Greek writers; and scholars will find it useful and even necessary to know something of the branch of palaeography which Dr. Wilcken has undertaken to illustrate. It is to be hoped therefore that in the future issues, which we are confident will be called for, he will extend the usefulness of his work by giving those aids which will obviate unnecessary 'head-breaking.'

The minuscule hand of the Middle Ages, as Dr. Wilcken observes, was not a new creation. It was nothing more than the cursive hand of the day adopted as a literary hand and written with care by skilled penmen. For the earliest form of this cursive hand we must go back as far as Greek writing exists, to the third century B.C. A few documents of this period have for years been in European libraries and have been published, but their extreme antiquity has not always been recognized. Many of them have hitherto been generally thought to belong to the Roman period; but the recent discovery by Mr. Flinders Petrie of many dated specimens of the third century B.C., a selection of which has just now been edited by Professor Mahaffy, gives the clue to their real age. It is most important to find, at this early time, a cursive hand side by side with a formal literary hand, written in a variety of styles and with the greatest freedom: an absolute proof of its existence at a still earlier period. Indeed there is no reason why the Greeks, almost as

soon as they had got their alphabet and had learnt to write, should not have used a cursive hand; on the contrary there is every reason why they should have done so. The only extant specimens of Greek writing of archaic times are a few painfully engraved inscriptions on stone or metal; and we are apt to regard these as the standard of writing of the period. But supposing that all written documents of our own day were to perish, and that some centuries hence the only surviving records of the nineteenth century were to be found in our churchyards and on one or two monuments, ought our descendants then to infer that we knew nothing of a current hand? If a party of Greek mercenaries some six hundred years B.C. had knowledge enough of writing to inscribe not only their own names but also inscriptions on the statues of Abu Simbel, it is not too much to assume that they could also use their pens with dexterity.

The first six plates of his series Dr. Wilcken devotes to specimens of uncial writing; the rest, to examples of cursive. We do not agree with him when he speaks of the attempt to date uncial writing as an idle enterprise. It is true, as he says, that this style of writing is a copyist's hand which naturally may become stereotyped; but even in formal writing there is a character of the period which may generally be recognized. As regards cursive writing his view is certainly correct that it is impossible to fix accurate dates for forms of certain letters. The same form may run on for centuries; may disappear from some documents, and may reappear in others. It is necessary, however, for palaeography to classify documents; and Dr. Wilcken's three periods, the Ptolemaic, the Roman, and the Byzantine, will appeal to all who have experience as the three main divisions under which early Greek documents seem naturally to group themselves.

The uncial specimens chiefly represent classical fragments; but the third is an exception and is interesting as having been identified, since its publication here, as a fragment of the 'Shepherd' of Hermas. The first cursives are from papyri of the second century B.C., for, although Dr. Wilcken quotes specimens of the third century B.C., none appear to have been available for his work. It is curious that the Berlin collection affords no papyrus dated in the first century after Christ, and that only a few examples of this period exist at Vienna. Dr. Wilcken therefore falls back upon ostraka to furnish material for that time;

and he follows them up with specimens of the second and third centuries from Arsinoë. As in all times, the official hand of the papyri is quite distinctive, as seen in a contract for the sale of a camel in A.D. 289 (No. xiv.), and in a curious document of the year 359, written at Askalon and relating to the purchase of a slave (No. xvi.), a certain Argutis, apparently a Gaul, who passed from one Flavius Agemundus, a Roman officer, to

Flavius Vitalianus, who held a command in the garrison of Arsinoë, where the papyrus was found. The series closes with specimens of the seventh and eighth century, the last being two of the diminutive receipts on vellum, of which a fair number have been recovered, and the writing of which is to be compared with the early minuscule literary hand.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

GRAUX'S FACSIMILES OF GREEK MANUSCRIPTS IN SPAIN.

Fac-Similés de Manuscrits Grecs d'Espagne, gravés d'après les photographies de CHARLES GRAUX, avec transcriptions et notices par M. ALBERT MARTIN. Paris: Hachette. 1891. 25 fcs.

THIS work consists of a series of plates from Greek MSS. in Spain, originally prepared by Charles Graux, whose untimely death cut short this as well as other tasks which he would have completed to the advantage of Greek Palaeography. The series has been supplemented and described by Monsieur Albert Martin. M. Graux's design was to place in the hands of students a set of facsimiles which he considered would be of the greatest practical utility; and he accordingly confined his field within the limits of the ninth century on the one side and the date of the fall of Constantinople on the other.

Of the fifty-four specimens contained in the fifteen plates which are due to M. Graux's selection, twenty-five are taken from fifteen dated MSS. ranging between the years 1100 and 1436. The undated examples are mostly from MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries. They present among them examples of the later styles of uncial writing, as found in the MS. of the Gospels in the Camarino (nos. 1, 2) or chamber of relics in the Escorial, of the ninth or tenth century, written in a large character; a volume of Homilies (nos. 3, 4), in smaller sloping letters, of the ninth century; an especially interesting MS. of glosses on the *Iliad* (nos. 5, 6) in very neat writing, both sloping uncial and minuscule, attributed to the ninth or tenth century; and a copy of the Gospels with Catena (nos. 10-14) of the same period. An attempt to reproduce a palimpsest page (no. 7) is not altogether successful; but a better effect is produced in

nos. 9, 10. The most beautiful specimens of the undated series come from an exquisite minuscule MS. of the Gospels (nos. 16, 17) assigned to the tenth century.

Of the dated MSS. the examples naturally fall into two groups of minuscule writing: the set formal hand carrying on the traditions of the ecclesiastical style of older periods; and the more cursive and untrammelled writing of natural development. The former adds to our stock of facsimiles of their kind, the most noteworthy specimens being taken from a MS. of ascetic writings (nos. 28, 29) of the year 1035, the writing of which imitates the upright characters of the two preceding centuries. The other group contains examples of the more or less intricate writing of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, taken from three paper MSS.: a lexicon of Zonaras (nos. 44, 45), of the year 1256; an Aristotle of 1286; and an *Iliad* of 1309. The text of the last is arranged in a peculiar manner, in two columns of verses, to be read across the page, the first column having the even numbers of the lines, and the second column the odd numbers (xxiv. 738-804).

To illustrate the decoration of MSS. M. Graux has included some reproductions of miniatures; but they are quite insufficient for the purpose. Had the photographs been taken recently, no doubt we should have had really good representations of the paintings, the art of photographing colours being now better understood. As they stand, the plates only serve to register the existence of the illuminated pages. One of them (no. 42), from a book of Hymns of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, is of interest as it contains Italian accessories in the ornamentation.

The three plates which are added by M. Martin contain facsimiles from the MS. of Plutarch, of the fourteenth century, which

M. Graux first brought into prominent notice for the value of its text, and specimens of the hands of certain scribes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries not represented in M. Omont's series. One may be noticed (no. 62), as an old man's hand, the work of

Constantine Lascaris, λυγρῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.

The descriptions of M. Martin are carefully minute. The absence, however, of a table of plates causes some inconvenience in reference. E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

LIEBENAM ON THE HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ROMAN COLLEGIA.

Zur Geschichte und Organisation des römischen Vereinswesens. Drei Untersuchungen von W. LIEBENAM. Leipzig. 1890. 10 Mk.

OF the monographs which were bound to follow the publication of the Berlin *Corpus*, one on the Roman collegia, both from the importance and extent of the subject, might have been expected to be among the first. It is now forty-eight years since Mommsen's *de Collegiis et Sodaliciis* laid the foundation of an investigation into this subject and, in spite of the comparative dearth and inaccessibility at the time of the epigraphical evidence, on which in fact nearly all depends, laid them so well that most of his principal assumptions will be found not inconsistent with the fuller evidence of which we are now in possession. The last twenty years have not been altogether without contributions of more or less value to our knowledge of the collegial system. Dr. Cohn (*zum römischen Vereinsrecht* 1873) has, along with a good deal that is injudicious and even paradoxical, done valuable work in clearing up the legal aspect of the question, while Dr. Hermann Maué (*der praefectus fabrum* 1887), though dealing mainly with a particular point, has nevertheless thrown a good deal of light on the history, of the imperial policy towards collegia. To historical students however both these works still left many lacunae in their knowledge, which no single publication offered the means of filling up. To a great extent they are now filled by the work whose title is placed at the head of this notice. Dr. Liebenam has already performed some useful work (noticed in the 3rd vol. of this *Review*, p. 206) in connexion with the system of Roman administration, but while he has hitherto mainly shown himself to be an accurate and industrious collector of epigraphical material, his present work is of a somewhat more constructive character, and if we cannot admit that he has entirely performed the task which he set himself in the preface of doing something to clear up

the life and position of the lower classes in the Roman empire by an investigation of the collegia which apparently formed so important a factor in their lives, at least we get from his work a very complete idea of the extent and variety of the collegia in all parts of the empire and also a better grounded theory of the relations between them and the Roman government than any previous work has laid down. Dr. Liebenam has divided his subject into three parts: (1) the historical development of the collegial system in its broad outlines, showing how what were originally free associations of workmen (for it is with the collegia opificum that he is mainly concerned) became after the time of Alexander Severus regular state-institutions or compulsory corporations subserving not their own but the public interest, so that just as the coloni were bound to the soil, so the industrial population were bound to the collegia and their liabilities; (2) a very full list depending on epigraphical evidence of the various collegia opificum throughout the Roman empire, together with an appendix in which a bird's eye view is given geographically arranged; (3) the organisation of the collegia and their relations to the Roman government. This division of the subject, though in the main a convenient one, involves a certain amount of repetition as regards the relations between the collegia and the State, concerning as they do both the historical development treated in part 1, and the organisation and legal position belonging to part 3. In the historical sketch Dr. Liebenam lays stress on the following points:—The list of original collegia given by Plutarch (*Num.* 17) he suspects of being unhistorical because it is not in harmony with what is known of the state of culture in the earliest times, the existence of *χρυσόχοι* e.g. contradicting Pliny (*h.n.* 33, 5, 14), while other industries which must have existed in early Rome are omitted. In opposition to Cohn who argued that, as every collegium had a sacral basis and the senate

had a general oversight over sacral matters, every collegium from the first needed a license from the senate, Liebenam asserts with Mommsen the complete freedom of association under the republic. This view is surely alone reconcilable with what Gaius (*Dig.* 47, 22, 4) lays down from the XII. Tables: 'his (sodalibus eiusdem collegii) potestatem facit lex pactionem quam velint sibi facere, dum ne quid ex publica lege corrumpant.' The collegia put down by the s.c. of 64 B.C. (68 according to Cohn, *vid. Ascon. in Pis.* § 8) were neither the collegia opificum, as Cohn argues, nor the compitalicia only, as Mommsen thinks, but those of whatever character which were considered dangerous. The measure of Julius Caesar (*Suet. Caes.* 42) was not a general law, but merely a pontifical edict, the substance of which was afterwards embodied in the lex Iulia. No permanent or legislative change of policy in dealing with the collegia was attempted till the lex Iulia of Augustus by which 'collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissolvit' (*Suet. Aug.* 32). This law, relating at first to the city and only gradually and at uncertain dates extending to Italy and the provinces, is rightly taken by Liebenam as the basis on which rested the imperial policy towards collegia. Under the head of *antiqua* would come (a) the original collegia opificum, (b) the ancient sacral colleges; while by *legitima* must be understood (a) retrospectively, all those which had in any way been already sanctioned by law or edict, as e.g. the Jewish associations which were specially tolerated (*Joseph. A.I.* 14, 10, 8), (b) prospectively, all those which in Rome, Italy or the senatorial provinces had the special authorisation of the senate (cf. the phrase so often found in inscriptions 'quibus ex s.c. coire licet') or in the imperial provinces the approbation of the emperor expressed by his legate. This view is no doubt consistent with most of our data; but it is well to mention in passing that we have in an imperial province 'collegia tria quibus ex s.c. coire permissum est' (*C.I.L.* v. 7881), while conversely we have an instance at Hispalis in a senatorial province of a collegium apparently founded by the emperor without any authorisation from the senate (*C.I.L.* ii. 1167). An important question and one which is entangled with many difficulties is that which relates to the action of the imperial government with respect to the *collegia illicita*. Dr. Liebenam's discussion of this seems to meet the difficulties in most respects, though he still leaves the technical meaning of *collegium illicitum* a little too un-

certain. I do not know whether he would accept the following condensed sketch as a statement of his views. It is the result to which a somewhat careful study of the literature of the subject and especially of his own work has led me. The primary object of the lex Iulia being to put an end to political danger from collegia, all existing collegia were dissolved 'praeter antiqua et legitima,' while new ones had to receive the authorisation of senate or emperor (Gaius in *Dig.* 3, 4, 1). Only those would receive this authorisation which were (1) non-political, (2) served some public utility (compare *C.I.L.* vi., 2193 ludorum causa and *Dig.* 50, 6, 6, 12 'ut necessarium operam publicis utilitatibus exhiberent'). In effect this would mean that the only licensed collegia were *collegia opificum*, whether employed as fire-brigades, like the fabri, centonarii and dendrophori, or for purposes of the corn-supply like the navicularii, caudicarii and mensores etc. Collegia so licensed were *legitima*, *licita*, 'licite coeuntia.' All collegia not included in this class were *illicita* (ἀθέμιτον δὲ σύστημα ἢ σωματείον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἀπὸ νόμου ἢ βασιλέως συστάς *Basilica* 60, 32), but were by no means all treated in the same way by the state, except in so far as none of them had any legal rights or privileges such as receiving legacies etc. (*Dig.* 34, 5, 20). It is clear however from this passage of the *Digest* that the existence of certain unlicensed collegia was tolerated ('si corpori cui licet coire legatum sit, debeatur, cui autem non licet si legetur, non valebit nisi singulis legetur: hi enim non quasi collegium, sed quasi certi homines admittentur ad legatum'). Similarly the *eranus* at Amisos was not licensed, but was left untouched out of respect to vested rights. On the other hand the toleration of these unlicensed collegia was always precarious. If any political danger was suspected, they were at once dissolved. 'Collegia si qua fuerint illicita mandatis et constitutionibus et senatus consultis dissolvuntur' (*Dig.* 57, 22, 3). Thus e.g. in consequence of disturbances at Pompeii the collegia 'quae contra leges instituerant' (i.e. hitherto tolerated *collegia illicita*) were dissolved (*Tac. Ann.* 14, 17), while Pliny owing to the factious state of Bithynia had by Trajan's order issued an edict prohibiting all *hetaeriae* or *collegia sodalicia* (*ad Trai.* 96). Later on it was found necessary to extend this prohibition to all the provinces (*Marc. in Dig.* 47, 22, 1 'mandatis principalibus praecipitur praesidibus provinciarum ne patiantur esse collegia sodalicia'). I may note here that collegia

sodalicia = ἑταίρικὰ συνδήματα = hetaeriae seem to me to be by no means necessarily political clubs, as they are generally explained, but simply collegia which are not *publicae utilitatis causa*, and so would include religious associations (the Christians at once felt themselves affected by Pliny's edict), social and funeral guilds, benefit societies and political associations. Conf. Plin. *ad Trai.* 34 where Trajan draws a sharp distinction between collegia fabrum and hetaeriae, though he fears that the former may degenerate into the latter. But whenever a collegium, whether originally licensed as a *collegium opificum* or existing unlicensed, was shown to be distinctly political, it was treated qua *illicitum*, in a much severer method, and it is to this class of *collegia illicita* exclusively, as it seems to me, that the passage of Ulpian refers 'quisquis collegium illicitum usurpaverit, ea poena tenetur qua tenentur qui hominibus armatis loca publica vel templa occupare indicati sunt' (*Dig.* 47, 22, 2), while Severus ordered that this class of persons (whether members or founders of such collegia is uncertain) should be accused before the praefectus urbi. In this way I think we get an intelligible and consistent meaning for *collegium illicitum*. Properly the word means simply 'unlicensed,' but as the most dangerous class of unlicensed collegia were political, the word had a tendency in certain connexions to be used almost in that sense (conf. especially *Dig.* 47, 22, 1 'ne sub praetextu huiusmodi illicitum collegium coeat'; 47, 22, 2 cited above, and Plin. *ad Trai.* 94 'ad illicitos coetus'). Another interesting question connected with collegia is concerned with the *collegia tenuiorum*, or as they have been called, somewhat unfortunately in my opinion, since Mommsen's monograph, *collegia funeraticia*. (On this subject see especially Schiess, *Die römischen collegia funeraticia nach den Inschriften*, 1888.) These, as appears from *Dig.* 47, 22, 1, were a subdivision of the collegia sodalicia, but as they were solely intended as institutions for the poorer classes, as funeral clubs or mutual assistance societies, they were once for all and at some date between Augustus and Hadrian exempted from the lex Iulia. So Marcian says after mentioning the prohibition of collegia sodalicia 'sed permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre, dumtamen semel in mense coeant, ne sub praetextu huiusmodi illicitum collegium coeat' (*Dig.* 47, 22, 1). Liebenam in effect, as also does Schiess, follows Mommsen in the view which he takes

of these collegia, and there is no doubt that Cohn's fantastic view cannot for a moment be seriously supported. In all probability the well-known inscription relating to the collegium Dianae et Antinoi at Lanuvium contains the preamble of the s.c. by which this exemption was granted (*Wilm.* 319). But I think there is no doubt that these collegia were not merely funeral clubs, but were often used also 'ad sustinendam tenuiorum inopiam' (Plin. *ad Trai.* 93 : conf. also Tertull. *Apol.* 39 'egenis alendis humanisque'). The legal description of these collegia was not *collegia funeraticia*, but *collegia tenuiorum, funeraticium* occurring only in inscriptions as the money granted for a funeral. Originally this exemption was confined to Rome, but Severus extended it to Italy and the provinces (*Dig.* 47, 22, 1). That it was not so extended in the time of Trajan is clear from Plin. *ad Trai.* 93 'in ceteris civitatibus quae nostro iure obstrictae sunt, res huiusmodi (i.e. the existence of an eranus) prohibenda est.' There is another point raised by Dr. Liebenam about which I hope shortly to treat more fully elsewhere, the relation between these *collegia tenuiorum* and the Christian communities. On the whole Liebenam is inclined to follow Löning in denying that the constitution of the early Christian communities was in any way derived from the collegia in the Oriental provinces. Such similarities as there were, he thinks, were of a very general kind and were such as would always be found among organised associations. To him the important question seems to be 'In what external form have the first Christian communities been able to take footing in the state at a time when all clubs and associations were subject to a severe oversight?' In considering this question he quite admits, what I do not see indeed that any one can deny, that the Christians attempted to avail themselves of the privileges granted to the *collegia tenuiorum*. With regard to the social importance of the collegia and their relation to trade traditions and trade processes Dr. Liebenam can hardly be said to have added anything to our very imperfect knowledge, but though from his preface one might have hoped for something more, our data are really not sufficient to give us the information we should like to have, and we can only say negatively with Dr. Liebenam that the importance of the collegia in these respects must not be measured by what has come down to us.

E. G. HARDY.

FREEMAN'S HISTORY OF SICILY.

The History of Sicily, by EDWARD A. FREEMAN. Vols. I. and II. Oxford. 1891. £2 2s.

It is not the first time that it has fallen to my lot to introduce this work of Prof. Freeman to the learned public. I have done so already in Germany and at greater length in a forthcoming article for the French *Revue Historique*. I do not think however that this need preclude me from acceding to the proposal of the editor of the *Classical Review*, that I should do the same for England. In writing for French and German readers it was necessary to call attention to the characteristic excellences of the book in respect to form, style and tone. Such remarks would be superfluous in the case of English readers, who do not need to be taught what a distinguished writer they possess in Prof. Freeman, and who are well acquainted with his special characteristics.

The reason doubtless why I have been asked to undertake this office is that so few persons have paid sufficient attention to the subject of the history to enable them to form a correct judgment as to its value. It seems to me that that value may be summed up under three heads. In the first place Prof. Freeman is the first person who has treated his subject from the point of view of universal history. Others have written of Sicily under the ancients, of Sicily under the Mussulmans, and of Modern Sicily, but we possess no satisfactory history embracing all three periods. Now Sicily has a great significance for the history of the world. In antiquity and in the Middle Ages it came into prominence as the scene of the struggle between the East and West. This thought has found inadequate expression in accounts of travels, and in the writings of men who were fairly acquainted with the general history of the Middle Ages, but had made no special study of antiquity. Prof. Freeman writes with equal knowledge of both periods, and is thus qualified not only to set before us in general outline the universal significance of Sicilian history, but to present us with a finished picture, exhibiting every detail in its true form and colouring. Moreover his wide knowledge of general history enables him to illustrate his special subject by parallels, hitherto unnoticed, from other histories; he gives us not merely the cycles of Sicilian history, but analogies

drawn from other nations which have passed through a similar experience.

Secondly, Prof. Freeman has made a thorough study of his own particular subject. No writer of antiquity is left unused by him, few modern works have escaped his scrutiny, so that we possess in his book a general view of all that has been written on Sicily in late years. Here there is one point on which I should wish to make a remark. In I. 146 he accepts the ordinary view that Engyon is the same as the modern Gangi. I had done the same in my *History of Sicily* (I. p. 71), because I knew no better, though at the same time I called attention to the geographical difficulties which stood in the way of this identification. The question has been again raised by Pais in his *Alcune Osservazioni sulla Storia e sull' Amministrazione della Sicilia durante il dominio Romano*, Pal. 1888. He there puts forward a suggestion (p. 127) that Engyon was more probably Troina. It is to be desired that Prof. Freeman, who has travelled in Sicily and knows it better than any other classical scholar except Prof. Schubring, would on some future visits look into this point. In my notice in the *Revue Historique* I have given some instances of Prof. Freeman's admirable description of historical sites. Troina also well deserves a visit and a description from the pen of Mr. Freeman, not only from its remarkable position, in which it resembles Eryx and Castrogiovanni (see Murray's *Handbook for Sicily* by Dennis, London, 1864, p. 286), but also because it was the scene of a notable episode in the Norman Conquest of 1084 A.D. When he writes that page, he will perhaps give us also his opinion on the ancient name of Troina.

The third point which constitutes the excellence of the book lies in the fairness and the thoroughness of the discussions in which he examines the opinions of those from whom he differs. These he has usually reserved for his Appendices. In my notice in the *Revue Historique* I have stated, in reference to his discussion of the relations of the Sikans and Sikels, that his arguments have convinced me that my identification of the two was no longer tenable. One point which deserves special praise in Prof. Freeman's work is that he is never led away by a love of novelty. He does not allow himself to be imposed upon by brilliant theories, having seen so many spring up and

pass away into obscurity, that he has no more respect for the newest than for the oldest. A proof of this may be found in his treatment of the assumed voyage of the Sikels to Egypt. Mere verbal resemblances make no impression upon him. Thus he maintains his scepticism against many of the ideas broached by Heisterbergk. As examples of sound discussion I would specify the note on the Kings in Sicily (II. App. n. 1), and that on the Temples in Ortygia (II. App. n. 4).

Of course I do not find myself always in agreement with Prof. Freeman. For instance in regard to the name Messene, later Messana, given to the town Zanklê, he says (II. p. 115): 'Anaxilas found that it suited his purposes to drive the Samian population out of the city, which he might in some sort be said to have given them. He planted Zanklê afresh with a mixed multitude of inhabitants.' 'According to one statement of the highest authority, and yet perhaps not absolutely decisive, he changed the name of the town from Zanklê to Messana. The motive assigned is a singular one. Anaxilas gave to the city the name of his remote forefathers in Peloponnesos. It is perhaps more likely that the name really belongs to a later time when it might have been bestowed on the city by settlers direct from the Peloponnesian Messênê.' Again (II. 487): 'There is really some reason to think that the city was still called Zanklê for some years after the time of Anaxilas.' In my *History of Sicily* (I. p. 412) I have stated, after Millingen, that the name Messene was given to Zanklê while the Samians were still settled there, therefore before Anaxilas had conquered it and driven out the Samians. In proof of this I have also referred to the fact that coins have been found which exhibit the Samian type, a lion's head with a calf's head on the reverse, bearing the inscription Messenion. How is this to be explained on the other supposition? Head too (*Hist. Num.* p. 134) agrees with me. Prof. Freeman refers to *Coins of Sicily* (*Cat. Brit. Mus.* pp. 100, 101) for coins with a hare upon them; but on p. 100 we find coins with lion's head and calf's head, which are usually assigned to an earlier date

than those with a hare. How does Prof. Freeman propose to escape this difficulty? From these coins it would seem that Zanklê was called Messana while the Samians still lived there. To notice some other matters of slight importance: Prof. Freeman (II, 490) expresses his surprise at a story told about Lokri in Justin. 21. 3, which is inconsistent with the fact that 'women held so great a place in Lokri.' I may remark here that in this respect Lokri occupied a unique position, as to which much has been collected in Bachofen's interesting work *Das Mutterrecht* (Stuttgart, 1861, pp. 309-334). In vol. II. p. 347 Prof. Freeman assumes that the reason why Akron chose a high place for his father's tomb was his opinion 'of his own eminence,' but this seems scarcely consistent with the words *πατρὸς ἄκρου* in the inscription.

To sum up in few words our judgment of the volumes before us: they constitute an important step in advance, because they lay the foundation for a universal history of Sicily undertaken by one who is equally familiar with the earlier and the later history of the Island; one who is able to speak with authority on its art and its literature as well as upon its political history; who knows the country from personal observation, and who writes about it without prejudice and without passion. The work as a whole is worthy of the writer, though there will of course be differences of opinion on some of the points of which it treats. Some such I have noticed here, and others are referred to in my article in the *Rev. Hist.* But the performance is a great one, and it is much to be desired that the author may be able to continue his work on the same lines and give us the history of Sicily at any rate up to the year 1250 which he has himself proposed as his goal. The subsequent period up to 1860 contains much that is full of interest. Will not Prof. Freeman give us a portrait of Garibaldi as a pendant to that of Timoleon? That however is a question for the future. We look forward now with eagerness to the next volumes, which are to bring up the history to the year 264 B.C. or thereabouts.

A. HOLM.

THE NEW EDITION OF DR. SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF ANTIQUITIES.

A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D.; and by WILLIAM WAYTE and G. E. MARINDIN, formerly Fellows of King's College, Cambridge. Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged, in Two Volumes, pp. 1053 and 1072. Murray, 1890-91. 63s.

THE publication of a new edition of this very useful book of reference will justly be regarded by English scholars as one of the noteworthy events of the past year. In the address on the progress of Hellenic studies delivered by the President of the Hellenic Society on June 22, it is appropriately commemorated in the following terms:—

This year has seen the completion of a work which may fitly receive mention here, both on account of the labours which have conspired to produce it, and on account of the wide interest which it possesses for various classes of students—I mean the third edition of Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, edited in the first volume by Mr. Wayte and in the second by Mr. Marindin. Forty-three years have elapsed since the preceding edition—the second—appeared in 1848. No one who remembers how fruitful this long interval has been in fresh materials of every kind can wonder that the new issue is almost a new book. Scarcely twenty articles remain as they originally stood; two-thirds have been largely altered and one-third has been entirely rewritten.

To the above brief statement it is necessary to add that the new edition includes about 200 fresh articles, many of considerable length and importance, and that the services of no less than forty-four scholars have been enlisted in the task of revising and supplementing the work of the eighteen contributors to the earlier editions. The initials of the original editor, Dr. Smith, are added to many articles that now appear in a revised form, and to some that are printed for the first time, e.g., those on *Clavis* and *Clavus*, both of which are, in respect to matter and illustration, excellent specimens of what such articles ought to be. Mr. Wayte, besides editing the first volume, has contributed many valuable articles, among which may be mentioned those on Greek Antiquities, under the head of *Archon*, *Areiopagus*, *Boule*, *Demus*, *Ecclesia*, *Eisphora*, *Gerousia*, *Helotes*, and *Phonos*; also the distinctly original article on *Crux*, and (among others) those on *Arvales Fratres*, *Decumae*, *Duodecim Scripta*, *Histrion*, *Latrunculi*, *Servus* and *Tormentum* (in the forensic, not the military, sense of the term). His notices of

Crypta, *Emissarium*, and *Piscina* are enriched with reminiscences of travel among the Alban Hills and by the Bay of Naples, while his description of the *Luratumiae* has gained in vividness from his visit to Syracuse.

Some of the most satisfactory articles on Greek Constitutional Antiquities are contributed by Mr. A. H. Cooke, *Metoeus* and *Rex* (Gk.), and by Professor Ridgeway (*Polemarchus*); while the revision of the articles on Attic Law, by Mr. C. R. Kennedy and others, has been mainly executed by the thoroughly competent skill of Dr. Hermann Hager. In Roman Law, the work of Mr. George Long and others is either largely revised or wholly superseded by that of Mr. Roby (*Actio*, *Adoptio*, *Agrariae Leges*), Mr. Whittuck (*Jurisdicatio*, *Jurisconsulti*, *Jus* &c.), and Dr. Moyle (*Usucapio*, *Usufructus*, *Usus* &c.), who is also the author of a very complete article on *Provincia*.

The constitutional history of Rome is ably set forth by Professor Pelham (*Princeps* and *Senatus*), Mr. Strachan Davidson (*Patricii*, *Plebiscitum*, and *Populus*), Mr. E. G. Hardy (*Tribus*) and Mr. Greenidge (*Proconsul*, *Procurator*, *Rex*, *Socii*). The scholar last named further contributes the instructive articles on *Imagines*, *Strategus* and *Tyrannus*. Returning to Roman antiquities we find *Aediles*, *Aerarii*, *Calendarium*, *Censor*, *Colonia*, *Comitia*, *Equites*, *Quaestor* and *Servus* among the many topics treated by the prolific pen of Professor Wilkins, who has also revised the late Professor W. Ramsay's notices of *Agricultura*, *Astronomia*, *Fasti* and *Vinum*. The same scholar's article on *Vestales* is adequately enlarged and brought up to date by Mr. W. W. Fowler, who writes a new and excellent article on the *Libri Sibyllini*. Mr. F. T. Richards contributes valuable notices of *Phoros*, *Portorium*, *Scriba* and other subjects.

The department of domestic Antiquities is well represented by Professor W. C. F. Anderson, who deals with Dress under the headings of *Paenula*, *Pallium*, *Toga*, *Tunica* &c., and also writes on *Phalerae*, *Sella* &c. It is to be regretted that his interesting investigation of the meaning of *Fulcrum*, contributed to the *Classical Review* in 1889 (iii. 323), and printed in abstract in the recent English edition of Seyffert's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, was apparently too late to be incorporated either in Mr. Marindin's article on *Lectus* or in his own on *Sella*. There is

much careful work in the contributions of Mr. Flather (*Amuletum, Ctesibica machina* &c.), Professor A. Goodwin, Mr. M. R. James (who writes on *Cottabos* alone), Mr. W. M. Lindsay, Mr. G. M. Rushforth and the late Mr. Onions.

A very large amount of excellent matter is supplied by the skilful editor of the second volume, Mr. Marindin. Among the many interesting articles signed by him may be mentioned those on *Oscilla*, on Games of Ball (*Pila*) and on Weaving (*Tela*). A still greater variety of themes is traversed with equal success by Mr. L. C. Purser, who writes on *Artifices* and on *Athletae*, on *Castra* and *Exercitus*, on *Signa* and *Tormenta*, on *Chorus* and *Persona*, on *Dionysia* and *Thesmophoria*, on *Orphica* and *Apotheosis*. Mr. J. R. Mozley (among other contributions) has an important article on *Oraculum*. One of the translators of Pindar, Mr. Ernest Myers, writes on the Pentathlon: Mr. J. I. Beare, on the Greek Games (*Olympia* &c.), following somewhat closely in the steps of Krause, and also on *Cursus Publicus*. His long and interesting article on the latter subject will facilitate the English reader's study of the learned researches of continental writers on the Roman Postal Service. Mr. H. A. Perry supplies a comprehensive disquisition on Roman Roads (*Viae*). The Head Master of Eton writes with freshness and interest on the Ships of the Ancients (*Ratis* and *Navis*). Dr. Greenwell, *medicorum eruditissimus*, is the author of the articles on *Chirurgia* and *Medicina*. The Provost of Oriel has revised the late Mr. W. F. Donkin's abstruse account of Ancient Music, while the Principal of Brasenose has contributed a new article on *Rhythmica*, which is one of several welcome instances in which this work gives us even more than we have a right to demand in a *Dictionary of Antiquities*. Professor Nettleship is represented by a very valuable article on the subject of *Satura*, which he has already elucidated in a well-known monograph; and Professor Jebb is the author of two elaborate treatises on *Theatrum* and *Tragoedia*, which, even apart from the importance of their subject-matter, are masterpieces of literary skill and lucid arrangement.

For the articles on the theory of numbers (*Arithmetica*) and the art of calculation (*Logistica*), and for the revision of the *Tables of Weights and Measures*, the editors have been fortunate in securing the aid of Dr. Gow. *Mensura* and *Metalum* are due to Professor Ridgeway; *Pondera* to Dr. Percy Gardner, who contributes a valuable series

of numismatical articles under the names of the various metals used for coinage (*aes*, *aurum*, *argentum*, *electrum*), and under the headings of the coins in general use. In these respects, and in almost everything connected with ancient art (though not in this department of study alone), the present edition shows a marked advance on its predecessor. Professor Middleton writes with instructive fulness of detail on matters of ancient architecture, under headings such as *Murus* and *Templum*. Some of the careful articles on cognate subjects, signed J. M., are contributed by Mr. J. Marshall, late Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose name is accidentally omitted in some of the earlier copies of the Dictionary. It is only to be regretted that the inadequately brief article on *Architectura*, which consists of only two pages, reprinted from the former edition, has not been rewritten, or at any rate revised and expanded, by a competent authority such as Professor Middleton. He has enriched Mr. Wornum's article on Pigments (s.v. *Colores*) with many additional facts derived from recent discoveries; but a comparison of Mr. Wornum's abstract of Sir Humphry Davy's paper on the 'Colours used by the Ancients' with the original in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1815, will show that that portion of the article requires still further revision to bring it into harmony with Sir H. Davy's statements. Sir Humphry did not, and indeed could not (without inaccuracy), speak of 'blue and green oxides of copper' (p. 484b and 485a). The oxides of copper (I am assured) are, one of them red and the other black.

We have excellent articles on *Ars Statuaria* by Mr. Ernest A. Gardner (as well as on *Propylaea*, *Sarcophagus* and *Stele*); on *Terracottas* by Mr. A. S. Murray; on *Pictura* (including *Mosaics*) by Mr. Cecil Smith, who (under the heading *Fictile*) gives a full and lucid description of the technical processes used in the manufacture of Vases, *Vase-paintings* being reserved for a long and elaborate article by Mr. H. Arnold Tubbs. *Gems* and *Gem-engraving* are adequately treated in two instructive articles by Mr. A. Hamilton Smith, while his brother, Mr. H. Babington Smith, is the author of two well written and well illustrated papers on *Funus* and *Sepulchrum*. The *Mausoleum* is the subject of an admirable monograph by its discoverer, Sir Charles Newton. Lastly, Mr. Warwick Wroth gives a good account of ancient mirrors under *Speculum*, and of the ornamental metal work of the Greeks and Romans under *Caelatura*.

There are more than 450 new woodcuts in this edition, but we are bound to say that some of the most important articles (as their able writers would doubtless be the first to acknowledge) are inadequately illustrated. Thus, there is not a single cut to *Caelatura* or *Pictura*, although the latter includes the subject of *Mosaics*, which lends itself readily to effective illustration. The reproductions of coins are sometimes little better than unintelligible blots on a black background; see *Danaces*: but it is fair to add that most of them are much better executed than this. Several of the most interesting cuts represent objects recently acquired by the British Museum, e.g. part of a Roman water-wheel (s.v. *Rota*), and a pepper-box (*piperatorium*) representing a negro slave clad in a *paenula*, with small holes drilled in his head. Under *Circus* a somewhat feeble copy of the statue of an *Auriga* in the Vatican is retained from the former edition, although the accomplished writer of the article in its revised form points out that the head shown in the cut does not belong to it. A better representation of the same statue, properly restored, might have been found in Schreiber's *Bilderatlas* I xxxi 7 (borrowed in the English edition of Seyffert, p. 139). Under *Coma* (i 498*b*), it is obviously the figure to the left and not the one to the right that is the head of the Niobe. Under *Corona*, a relief representing 'Homer crowned and enthroned' is described as borrowed from Bartoli's *Admiranda*, without the slightest hint that it is really part of the famous 'Apotheosis of Homer' which was found at Bovillae and is now in the British Museum. Under *Cothurnus*, where we have an excellent cut representing a tragic actor, copied from Daremberg and Saglio, we should have welcomed a reference to the beautiful reproduction of this ivory statuette in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, fig. 1637. The cut in i p. 790 s.v. *Exercitus*, representing a Roman soldier on horseback trampling on a fallen foe, is described as borrowed from 'Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*,' i.e. from the account of Roman *Kriegsalterthümer* contributed to that encyclopaedic work by Dr. Hermann Schiller. Neither there nor here are we told where the original is to be found, but (unless I am much mistaken) it is to be seen at the Museum at Mainz, and I certainly remember seeing a monument of exactly the same type (the *Dexileos* type) in the Museum at Bonn. *Hasta* is illustrated, as in the old edition, by a cut representing a 'Spear with *amentum*, from an Etruscan vase'; but the method of discharging the

javelin is better explained by a vase in the British Museum copied in Daremberg and Saglio (s.v. *amentum*), in the English edition of Seyffert, p. 262, and elsewhere. In this article a reference might perhaps have been given to Köchly's elaborate paper in the transactions of the *Philologische Versammlung in Heidelberg*, 1866. The first illustration to *Oscilla* is described as 'Offerings at a rustic festival. From an ancient engraved cup (Bötticher).' In the text it is called 'an onyx-cup in the Paris collection.' This is correct, as far as it goes; but is hardly adequate as a description of one of the most celebrated works of art in existence. This very cup is copied on a small scale and properly described by Mr. Purser, s.v. *Carchesium*, and also mentioned with due recognition of its importance by Mr. Hamilton Smith, s.v. *Sculptura*, ii 608*a*. The 'Greek house at Delos' (i 659*a*), which was brought into existence by a blunder in Guhl and Koner, has been duly demolished by Mr. Tarbell in the *Classical Review* (March 1891, p. 130). Delos is a mistake for Unidus: the only ancient house which the traveller can now see at Delos is a structure of Roman times. Those who have visited the island will have their suspicions further aroused by the 'Gate at Delos,' mentioned (s.v. *Porta*) under the head of 'Gates in ancient Greek walls'; and they will readily identify the cut as being none other than an inaccurate representation (from Reber's *Barukunst*, fig. 145, and ultimately from Blouet's *Morée* iii 11, 3) of what is commonly called the 'Cave Temple of Apollo.' It is inadequately described as a 'gate in a wall,' being really the portal of a primitive temple that fills a small ravine opening out on a terrace more than halfway up the rugged slopes of Cynthus. It is correctly figured in M. Lebégue's *Recherches sur Delos*, figs. 1 and 2 (both reproduced in Schreiber's *Bilderatlas*, I xi 1-3, and fig. 1 in Professor Jebb's admirable monograph on Delos in *J.H.S.*, i 42).

The number of misprints and slips of the pen that I have noticed in these volumes is remarkably small. In the article on *νομίματος διαφθοράς γραφή*, the second word is twice misprinted, *Diaphoras* and *διαφοράς*. Under *Phalerae*, the name of the place where certain important specimens described by Otto Jahn were discovered, appears twice as *Lanersfort* instead of *Lauersfort*; and the author of an important work on the equipment of Roman soldiers is printed *Lindenschmidt* instead of *Lindenschmit*. Again, *Aizani* (ii 815*b* and 823*a*) is not in

Cilicia, but in Phrygia, and on the former page the reference to Vitruvius (on ἡχεία) should be i 1, 9 and v 5. Lastly, in the article on φιλοβασιλείς, we are told that 'we have no information as regards their number'; and it is considered 'not unreasonable to infer' that the number was four. But, even previously to the discovery of the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, it was known, through the quotation from it in Photius, s.v. ναυκραρία, that four was the number, and a passage in Pollux (viii 111) had been corrected accordingly by altering an unintelligible δὲ into an intelligible δ, to indicate that number.

The new evidence from the Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία is added in an Appendix containing a series of supplementary articles mainly by Mr. Wayte and Dr. Hager. The greatest care has evidently been bestowed on this supplementary matter, which enables us to gain a comprehensive view of the points in which the treatise confirms or corrects our previous knowledge. The only slips I have observed are on ii p. 1068*b*, where we are told that the ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν ἰδμάτων is mentioned in Ἀθ. πολ. c. 43, whereas the title there is ὁ τῶν κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητὴς. It is added that this ἐπιμελητὴς is apparently not mentioned elsewhere, though, as a matter of fact, κρηνῶν ἐπιμεληταί are mentioned by Aristotle in the *Politics*, 1321*b* 26, in a passage where Athens is doubtless in the author's mind, though not expressly named. Again, on p. 1070*a*, it is suggested that the law referred to at the end of c. 16 originally ran as fol-

lows : ἐάν τις ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐπανιστήται ἢ συγκαθίστη τὴν τυραννίδα, ἄτιμον εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος. It is then added that 'probably in the Ἀθ. πολ.' (presumably the passage as above restored) 'the word τυραννεῖν was written above ἐπὶ τυραννίδι and a copyist inserted the phrase lower down in the text.' This apparently means that τυραννεῖν displaced ἐπὶ τυραννίδι and the latter was thereupon transferred to the next clause, thus accounting for the order of the words in the MS., τυραννεῖν in the first clause being followed by ἐπὶ τυραννίδι after ἢ in the second; but the suggestion might perhaps have been expressed with greater clearness.

These however are but trifling flaws in a work on which a vast amount of learning and labour has been lavished by some of the ablest scholars in the United Kingdom. The price of the work in its present form necessarily puts it out of the reach of many students; but it will be duly valued by scholars both at home and abroad. Its high standard of general excellence can hardly fail to ensure its finding the place which it amply deserves in every reference-library in the United Kingdom and across the Atlantic; while, on the continent, it will no longer be possible (even accidentally) to ignore its existence in future editions of the *Bibliographie der klassischen Wissenschaft*, the publication of which has laid scholars throughout the world under a new obligation to Professor Emil Hübner.

J. E. SANDYS.

Valerii Maximi Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem. Cum Iulii Paridis et Ianuarii Nepotiani Epitomis. Iterum recensuit CAROLUS KEMPF. Leipzig: Teubner. 1888.

IN the thirty-four years which have intervened between the first recension of the text by Dr. Kempf and this, his latest work, one finds comparatively few contributions to the study of Valerius Maximus. The one brilliant exception is, of course, the edition by Halm; but, this apart, there is little that is worth recalling. A few somewhat speculative suggestions by Elschen, Gelbecke, and by Kempf himself, and some emendations of the Paridian epitome by Du Rieu, are really all that any one will readily remember. Hence, in taking up the present volume, it is with the work of Halm alone that we most naturally compare it, with an interested recollection of the very pungent criticism that Kempf's earlier recension called forth from the by no means unwilling pen of the rival editor.

Halm's introduction to the text was in fact not more noteworthy for the learning and felicitous acuteness of some of his conjectures than for the very summary though courteous exploitation of the shortcomings of the earlier edition, of which, it will be remembered, he marshalled a formidable list, some

indeed—particularly those involving errors of transcription and orthography—being sufficiently obvious to have attracted the attention of a much less practised eye; and it cannot be said that Halm passed them over with a particularly gentle touch. Therefore, perhaps the most interesting feature of Kempf's final recension, and one that all who remember the controversy of 1865 will turn to with the greatest curiosity, is his reply to the strictures of Halm, now answered after that scholar's death and after the lapse of more than twenty years.

That the reply should be temperate and kindly in its tone was a thing to be expected, both from the circumstances of the case and because the old *furor grammaticus* that raged so merrily from Salmasius to Nauck has now gone out of fashion. What one might perhaps less confidently have looked for, is the very free and frank confession of the errors both of commission and omission in his former edition—errors for which he asks indulgence because due to lack of experience in manuscript collation. Students of Valerius Maximus would probably find it easy to overlook much greater slips than those for which their leniency is invoked, remembering as they do the peculiar difficulties presented by the Bern manuscript, with its numerous and exasperating erasures, its com-

plex and inconsistent corrections by the three later scribes, and the other interpolations of uncertain date and authorship. The reviser of the text, however cautious he may be, can scarcely expect to escape the animadversion of his successors. It is thus that Kempf retaliates upon Halm with an attack that is of the true *tu quoque* sort. Halm had spent much time in Bern in careful study of the codex; his friend Wilmanns had personally made for him a list of readings from the Vatican MS.; yet notwithstanding all this care, Kempf, who has been allowed to borrow the Swiss codex, finds it an easy matter to show instances of oversight on the part of Halm no less obvious, though much less numerous, than those which exposed his own recension to criticism. Some of the corrections in the present edition are worth mentioning, e.g. in the passage i. 6. 2, where Kempf's old reading from the Bern codex (*conconante seunxit*) was overlooked by Halm, who noted **elu*^{it}*, conjecturing *eluxit*, which Kempf himself has now accepted; in iv. 7. ext. 1, where Halm had, apparently in despair, adopted the conjecture of Foertsch, *et hora a Dionysio constituta veniam qui acceperat supervenit*, but where Kempf now establishes Madvig's reading *et eam qui acceperat supervenit*, i.e. *et hora supervenit et eam qui acceperat*, though for convenience of reading this is hardly as good as that of C.B. Hase, *qui eam acceperat*; and in vi. 7. 3, in which Halm incorrectly read *prosequeretur*, noting *sequeretur* from B, but ignoring the *persequeretur* of Kempf, which is from the *psqueretur* of the Bern codex (the first hand).

On the whole, however, it cannot be truly said that the corrections and additions to the work of Halm are sufficient to impair the authority of the text that scholars have now been using for two decades; and it is perhaps not too much to say that some of Kempf's alterations in his own former readings are distinctly no improvement, substituting as they occasionally do an unintelligible for a quite intelligible lection. A good instance of this is afforded by the much disputed passage (v. 3. ext. 3) which Kempf in his recension of 1854 gave in the body of the text as doubtful, but cleverly suggested the reading *vix vitalis vita hominum* from Cic. *Lael.* 6. 22 *cui potest esse vita vitalis* etc., without, however, clearing up the difficulty involved in the following *experet*, for which, it may be remarked, the Torrenian edition reads *exstat*. Halm's admirable remarks on this passage (Praef. xvi.) amounted, it may be remembered, to a demonstration, proving beyond question that the *hominum extar extollit* cited by Kempf from the Vienna codex was a pure misreading of *hominum extar et tollit* i.e. *hominum exstaret* (= esset). In the present edition, Kempf alters his own text, if anything, for the worse, and clearly sins against logic in permitting such an impossible reading to stand as *beneficii commercium sine quo vix vita hominum experet tollit*, which he himself marks with an asterisk. At times he has allowed the most unsatisfactory of his former readings to stand such as *itaque qui amara suggestionatione* of vi. 9. 12; while the best of the corrections noticeable in the new text are really those of Halm, e.g. *catenatae cervicis totius tunc fori ora clausurent* vi. 2. 3), or of Madvig, who furnishes what is perhaps the best of all the emendations, in the well-known passage over which so many editors have given way to despair (vii. 2. ext. 10), but which is now made beautifully simple by the reading *a caritate istud pater, ab usu Philippus*, etc., in place of Halm's *avis o Philippus*, as given by the Vienna codex.

H. T. PECK.

Columbia College.

D. Junii Juvenalis Satira Septima. Texte Latin, publié avec un Commentaire critique, explicatif, et historique, par J. A. HILD, Professeur à la faculté des Lettres de Poitiers. Paris, Klincksieck, 1890. 3 fres.

A gracefully written exposition, which, although offering and professing to offer little that is new, will be found useful to students and attractive to literary readers. The editor has grappled conscientiously with the difficulties of the text, and intersperses very sensible remarks on the weakness of the composition, which he justly regards as inferior to that of several other of Juvenal's pieces. One error should be mentioned. On pages 30 and 32 the *Lectiones Ausonianæ* are attributed to Julius Caesar (J. C. and C.) Scaliger insted of to Joseph Justus. H. N.

De Apulei Quae fertur Physiognomia recensenda et emendenda. Scripsit RICHARDUS FOERSTER. Leipzig, 1887. 1 Mk. 20.

THIS essay (thirty pages in length) is reprinted separately from the supplement to Jahn's *Jahrbücher*. Foerster begins by denying, quite rightly, that the *Physiognomia* edited by Valentine Rose can be the work of Apuleius of Madaura. The Latin style alone is sufficient to put this hypothesis out of court. He proceeds to discuss afresh the relations of the existing manuscripts to their lost archetype, and then gives a series of emendations, based partly on the Greek of Adamantius, partly on independent conjecture. A considerable number of these will probably be accepted. The following are suggested as possible improvements. Apuleius p. 117 l *pupillae oculorum iactantes et porrectae vanitatem delegunt*. *Iactantes* cannot be right, as some word is wanted corresponding to εἰρήνης in the Greek, and Foerster therefore proposes *late patentes*. Perhaps *lātescentes*. P. 122 8 *niger* (so Foerster rightly for *sinister*) *circulus si fuerit rubrus in unidis oculis.....magnanimum hominem et sapientem.....declarat, iuxta pucros*. Foerster proposes in *pucros dementem*. But *iuxta* in this Latin may mean 'with regard to.' Ti. Donatus on *Aen.* 4 371 *tanta mala iuxta me commissa sunt* : ib. *Aen.* 5 6 *aliquid mali.....iuxta salutem Didonis esse commissum* : Faustus Reiensis *Epist.* p. 6 *iuxta substantiam Dei.....scriptum*. The true correction may perhaps be *iuxta pucros [furiosum]* : or, if *iuxta* be an adverb, *iuxta pucrosam, pucrosam* being formed on the analogy of *virosus* and *multirosus*. H. N.

The Evagoras of Isocrates, with an introduction and notes by HENRY CLARKE, M.A. Swan Sonnenschein and Co. 2s. 6d.

THE notes in this edition are sufficiently full, and instructive and profitable both with regard to the language and subject-matter. It may be regretted that no notes are given to the 'Ἰπθόσις, an interesting piece of ancient literary criticism, possessing some interest and demanding some explanation. I note but few and unimportant omissions in the notes on the text. To the note on καὶ δὲ γὰρ in § 2 might be added a reference to § 65. On § 7 (ὑπερβάλλη) add reference for the active to § 13, for the middle to § 41. On the same section it might be noted that the agent with δουλευτέον is expressed in the accus. rather than the dative because the dative might be mistaken for the indirect object after δουλευτέον. (Similarly in the passage xvii. 56 cited in the note on § 75 we have the accusative μεμνημένος rather than the genitive, to avoid collision with the genitive τοῦ ὧν that follows it.) On § 8 a reference should be given to Dr.

H H

Thompson's *Excursus* to the *Phaedrus* "On the Philosophy of Isocrates." In the note on comparative adverbs (§ 34) the form *φιλοτιμοτέρως* at § 5 might be cited, and the statement that the forms in *-ως* are commoner than the forms in *-ον* should be limited to Isocrates. On § 47 (*ἀπολελείφθαι*) add reference to § 79. The editor follows the good practice of illustrating his author chiefly from his own writings; but it would be useful to have a list of the titles of the speeches corresponding to the Roman numerals by which they are cited; a student would hardly gather that the 'ix. 61' in this note was a reference to the work before him.

The following notes appear to contain questionable points: § 18 '*ποιήσας, not ποιῶν*, since the choice of the name preceded the foundation of the city': § 38 '*καὶ τούτου* 'on this account also,' dependent on *ἐπαινέσειαν*'; but does not *τούτου* depend on *μᾶλλον*, 'more than even Cyrus'? § 64 the note on *οἶός τε* is not clear; moreover *καὶ ὅς* in Homer is not equivalent to *ὅς τε*, and the transition from the demonstrative to the relative meaning of *ὅς* was probably independent of the influence of particles like *τε* or *καὶ*.

The number of misprints is undesirably great. I note in the text: p. 13, 11th line from bottom, *τῷ* for *τῶ*: p. 14, 8th line from top, *Εγκομιον* for *ἐγκώμιον*: p. 17, 9th line from bottom, *νομίζοντες*: 5 lines lower delete comma after *ἐκείνόν*: p. 22, 8th line from bottom, *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν*: next line, *ξηγείν*: p. 23, 7th line, *ἡκουνεν*: p. 25, line 20, *νόμῳ* for *νόμῳ*: p. 29, line 5, *μηήμην*: line 19, *ὄστερ' ἐξω*. The most important misprint in the notes is on p. 57, where § 66 is numbered § 65, and in consequence the summary of §§ 65 — 72 is put one section too late.

Mr. Clarke complains that Isocrates is too much neglected in English schools and colleges. For this no doubt we must partly blame the bluntness of our English ears, almost insensible to time and rhythm in speech, and thereby incapable of appreciating the chief beauty of Isocrates. But perhaps other causes militating against his popularity may be found in the author himself. Such are his absolute want of sense of humour and his indifference to historical truth. The resulting impression of insincerity and artificiality in his author the student can hardly escape. Was not Plato after all right in seeing something conventional and even vulgar in the man who could write (see § 40) *νῦν δ' ἅπαντες ἀν' ὁμολογήσειαν τυραννίδα καὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μέγιστον καὶ σεμνότατον καὶ περριμαχητότατον εἶναι*?

E. S. THOMPSON.

Sabrinæ Corolla. Editio Quarta. (G. Bell and Sons.) 10s. 6d.

THE three original editors of *Sabrinæ Corolla* have all passed away, but the last survivor Dr. Kennedy has not only enriched the fourth edition with numerous specimens of his own work, but, as we learn from the preface, was employed almost up to the day of his death in revising and correcting it.

Dr. Holden, who succeeded Mr. James Riddell as joint editor of the third edition, has brought out the present edition in conjunction with Mr. Archer-Hind. It is practically a new book; many of the old pieces have disappeared, those which reappear have been often emended, and the amount of fresh matter is such that, though much has been withdrawn, the new volume is at least double the size of its predecessor.

Between the second and fourth edition we have lost four scholars of the highest class all educated at Shrewsbury, Mr. Shilleto, Mr. Munro, Canon Evans and Dr. Kennedy, not to speak of Mr. Paley and Mr. W. G. Clark; and their work has been largely incorporated in the present edition.

There are 14 new pieces by Canon Evans, 15 by Mr. Shilleto, 31 by Mr. Munro and no less than 108 by Dr. Kennedy, who has however withdrawn 56 which appeared in earlier editions.

The engravings have been omitted; the opening poem 'Sabrina fair,' originally ascribed to the three Editors, is with slight alterations assigned to Dr. Kennedy.

His most ambitious contribution to the book is a translation of Gray's 'Elegy' in Hexameters, but he is far more successful in shorter pieces, especially happy in epigrams. Whether the nymph of a grotto or big fleas or a proposal to lay down gas-pipes is the subject, he is equally at home. A version of 'Ye mariners of England' in Alcaics is rather spoilt by pauses at the end of the first line of the stanza, and perhaps the British oak can hardly be the ilex. If Horace is to be our authority for Lyrics, 'senseris ævo' should not end a Sapphic stanza (the same objection by the way may be made to 'qua nisis arces veneris igneus' of Mr. Holmes, page 245). One regrets to see so great a composer lend his authority to poemum (it is true it occurs in a sacred poem) and to the use of 'quando' for 'cum' (page 21), though doubtless he would have chapter and verse for each. In this use of 'quando' he has Mr. Munro's authority at any rate, but Mr. Munro's vast reading and consummate knowledge of Latin led him into eccentricities, from which the limited study of the writers of the Augustan age would have saved a man of less erudition.

What is to be said of 'Qua, Nymphae, fueratis?' or of the use of 'hic in three several elegiac poems, or of 'suprema sequi vestigia fortis' for 'the brave man's latest steps to trace'? Is 'omnia nequiquam!' good Latin? In the translation of the well-known passage of Milton entitled here 'War in Heaven' the following passage occurs:—

'Visum excussit atrox retrorsum horrore, sed urisit terna tamen longè pejus: de margine caeli dant se præcipites: ast ira æterna flagravat ad cassum fundo post illos usque barathrum.'

The lines that follow have a rugged grandeur of their own, but those quoted though astonishingly close to the original are surely portentous, and produce the same effect on the reader as the sight of 'that spacious gap in the wasteful deep' produces on the rebel angels. When Mr. Munro avowedly imitates Lucretius he is in his element. When he aims at Virgil he is haunted by reminiscences of Lucretian rhythm and usage, and the result is a hybrid. His work is always deeply interesting and passages of rare beauty and felicity occur, but they are always marred by some jarring notes which confound the harmony. May one protest against *Δολγῆς* for Douglas?

Mr. Shilleto's new pieces are chiefly Greek and experiments in metre, but the best is the passage from the 'Merry Wives,' in which Justice Shallow enlarges on the antiquity of his coat of arms. The following epigram preserves happily the play on words:—

'Thy praise or dispraise is to me alike,
One doth not stroke me, nor the other strike.'
'Culpane dignum an laude me putas? neutram
Moramur: hæc non mulcet, illa non mulcat.'

But of past masters in the art there is no one perhaps whose new contributions are so uniformly good as those of Canon Evans, and he is equally successful in all metres. It may be doubted however whether 'plagam opimam' can mean 'a noble stroke.'

The other contributors old and new have combined to raise the standard of the work to a higher pitch of excellence than before, and many pieces of great merit have been rejected to make room for better.

One piece by W.G.C. has been retained from the 'Lotus Eaters' (page 355) which should have been sacrificed.

In Greek verse Mr Archer-Hind fully maintains the old character of his school; and is equally strong in Elegiacs and Iambics. In a fine passage (page 387), a translation of Tennyson's 'The Revenge,' are two false prints—*ἄτερμον* for *ἄτέρμον* and *ἡμιν* for *ἡμιν*. While on this subject it may be as well to note accents misprinted for breathings (pages 115 and 261) and *αὐτὸς* for *αὐτὸς* (page 159) 'caram' for 'earam' (page 305) and 'florens' for 'florens' (page 389). Is it lawful to disregard 'synaphe' in anapaests, except after the paroemiac verse? If not *τῆς πολυβούλου ἐν δε γερόντων* will be incorrect at page 87.

The first part concludes, as it began, with 'Sabrina fair' translated beautifully into Alcaics, and is followed by Carmina Sacra, most of them written by Dr. Kennedy and Canon Evans, but containing a fine elegiac copy by Mr Burn.

In conclusion the advice to be given to possessors and non-possessors of the old volume may be briefly expressed thus:—

'hunc emat qui nescit illum, quique novit hunc emat.'

E. D. S.

PROFESSOR GEORGES'S *Lexicon der Lateinischen Wortformen* was completed last year. It consists of nineteen parts, making up (with a short supplement) a volume of nearly 800 pages. For students who wish for the latest information on the forms of Latin words in a compendious form, the book, though not professing to be exhaustive, will be found extremely valuable: the more so, as the venerable lexicographer has had the assistance of several distinguished specialists.

H. N.

The Burial Customs of the Ancient Greeks.

By FRANK P. GRAVES, A.B. Pp. 17. Brooklyn (U.S.A.): Roche and Hawkins, 1891.

IN this unpretending thesis for the M.A. degree at the University School of Philosophy at Columbia College, the writer has attempted to collect the material, literary and monumental, bearing upon his subject, and to give a simple narrative based thereon. The subjects treated, in successive chapters, are: the duty of burial, burials extraordinary (criminals, suicides, etc.), preparation for burial, lying in state, outward grief, the procession, burning and inhumation, coffins, tombs, the funeral feast, sacrifices at the grave, funeral ceremonies (the *genesia*, *nekysia*, etc.). Most of the writer's data are taken at second or third hand; there is a sad lack of criticism in his treatment of his authorities, and his pages bristle with vexatious misprints. He would have done well to heed the Horatian maxim, truer even for the scholar than for the poet: he forgets that *nescit vox missa reverti*.

NOTES.

Πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι.—The circumstances under which *καὶ* is used or omitted between *πολλοί* and another adjective are familiar; but it is assumed by some that in this respect *ἄλλοι* is like other adjectives. In one of the most recent works published in America, the beginner is repeatedly directed to "say 'many and other'" in writing Greek. So in L. and S., under *πολύς* we find cited as an instance Hes. *Th.* 363 *πολλὰ γὰρ μὲν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι*. This is from Passow, who adds 'und eben so bei Hdt. und Att.' But the context shows plainly that *καὶ* here meant 'also'; and in all the examples of *πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι* that I have observed *καὶ* may have this meaning and in most cases *must* have it. The true usage, when *ἄλλοι* is not emphatic, is seen in Hes. *O. et D.* 37 *ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἰ ἀρπάζων ἐφέρεϊς*. The tendency to use *καὶ*, 'also,' before *ἄλλος* is well-known. Compare the following: Hom. *Od.* ii. 209 *Εὐρύμαχ' ἦδ' ἐ καὶ ἄλλοι*, ὅσοι μνηστῆρες ἄγαναι, i. 394 *ἄλλ' ἦτοι βασιλῆες Ἀχαιοὶ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι ἰ πολλοί*, i. 354 f. οὐ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς οἶος ἀπώλεσε νόστιμον ἦμαρ ἰ ἐν Τροίῃ, *πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι φῶτες ὕλοντο*. It is obvious that the sense in the last verse is *ἄλλοι* δὲ καὶ *ἄλλοι πολλοί*. In like manner compare *Il.* iv. 528 *πολλοὶ δὲ περὶ κτείνοντο καὶ ἄλλοι* with *Il.* xiii. 312 *νηοὶ μὲν ἐν μέσσοισιν ἀμύνειν εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι*. So with *Il.* xxi. 88 compare *Il.* xiii. 229, xviii. 106, xxii. 350, xxiv. 484. For *πολλοὶ ἄλλοι* and *ἄλλοι πολλοὶ* without *καὶ* see *Od.* i. 176 f., 337, iii. 113 (with which compare ii. 166). The usage of the Attic poets is the same, as Aesch. *Supp.* 960 *πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων*, Soph. *Ant.* 506 *πολλὰ τ' ἄλλ' εὐδαιμονεῖ*, Eur. *Andr.* 1152 *πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων*, 992

πολλοῖσιν ἄλλοις κτέ., Ar. *Equ.* 735 *ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ τε κἀγαθοί*.

Prose authors exhibit the same usage, as Hdt. i. 1 *ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα*, with which compare iii. 20 *νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς φασι...καὶ δὴ καὶ κτέ.*, and *πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμῶσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε*. Compare also iii. 15 and 125. In Thucydides there are eleven instances without *καὶ*: i. 38. 3, 139. 4, ii. 65. 7, 70. 1, iv. 50. 2, vi. 6. 3, viii. 64. 3, 74. 3, 82. 1, 86. 3, 96. 4, not counting iv. 72. 3 *ἄλλους τινὰς οὐ πολλοὺς*; and eight with *καὶ*, 'also': i. 6. 4, 20. 4, 144. 1, ii. 51. 1, iii. 56. 1, vi. 44. 1, vii. 25. 6, viii. 53. 2. In Xenophon examples without *καὶ* abound, as *An.* ii. 5. 1, *Cyrop.* iv. 3. 13, etc. Plato uses *ἄλλοι πολλοί* very often, as *Euthyphr.* 6 B, C, *Apol.* 21 C, E, 32 C, 34 A, C, *Crat.* 45 B, *Phaedo* 96 C, 98 C, 104 A, 109 B, 111 A, 112 A, *Crat.* 384 C, 392 A, 397 B, 398 B, 410 A, 414 D, 415 C, *Phaedr.* 267 (*ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, et passim*); sometimes *πολλοὶ ἄλλοι*, as *Phileb.* 55 B. Plato uses emphatic *καὶ* rather sparingly, as *Prot.* 352 E, *πολλὰ γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσιν*, with which compare *Apol.* 30 C *μέλλω γὰρ οὖν ἅττα ὁμῶν εἶρην καὶ ἄλλα*, 'also some other things.' Likewise in the orators we usually find *ἄλλοι πολλοί*, as *Andoc.* i. 140, *Lys.* xii. 48, *Isae.* iii. 22, iv. 21, *Lycurg.* 35, *Hyper.* iii. 1 (Blass, p. 35, col. 2), *Dem.* xxiii. 63, xxiv. 136; sometimes, of course, *πολλοὶ ἄλλοι*, as *Dem.* xxx. 6; and *πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι* when occasion demands, as *Lys.* x. 20, *Dem.* xxvii. 58, xxix. 50.

The usage is the same when the much rarer *ἐτεροί*

is employed, as (ἑτεροι πολλοί) Antipho vi. 24, Andoc. i. 101, Dinarch. i. 111, ii. 2, and (πολλοὶ ἑτεροι) Andoc. i. 103. I do not remember to have met with πολλοὶ καὶ ἑτεροι.

Since the Greeks said πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἑλπίς (χώρα, etc.) it may be worth while to note ἄλλην πολλὴν φλυαρίαν, Plat. *Apol.* 19 C.

The examples cited form but a small part of what I have observed, but they include all the peculiarities I noted. The list from Thucydides is exhaustive, thanks to von Essen; but the rest were picked up at random, and of course the conclusions arrived at can only be provisional. An example in Thucydides (ii. 51. 1) is the only one I have observed where one would reasonably be disposed to render πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα simply 'many other'; but when we consider the fondness of the author for brachylogy, it seems more probable that πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλείποντι ἀσπίδας means 'to omit also many other strange characteristics' in the sense of 'there being also many other strange characteristics which I omit.'

Since, then, ἄλλοι πολλοί is very common, and πολλοὶ ἄλλοι not rare, and ἄλλοι καὶ πολλοί seems not to occur, and since in πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι the sense 'also' is often demanded and (so far as observed) always appropriate, we conclude that certainly the normal, and probably the universal, usage was not to connect πολλοί with ἄλλοι or ἑτεροι, as with ordinary adjectives of quality, by means of a conjunction.

This fact seems reasonable. They said πολλοὶ καὶ καλοί, but ἄλλοι καλοί: hence they would consistently say ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καὶ καλοί and ἄλλοι πολλοί. In other words, πολὺς was coordinate with ordinary adjectives and ἄλλος was not; hence πολὺς and ἄλλος were not coordinate with each other. Sometimes the emphatic καὶ has the appearance of connecting ἄλλος with ordinary adjectives (other than πολὺς), as Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 28 (after an enumeration of things done by the enemy) οἰεσθαι δὲ δεῖ πολλὰ τε καὶ παντοδαπὰ καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς, πλὴν ἐμάχετο οὐδέ τις. But in fact the sense here is the same as it would be in ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τε καὶ παντοδαπά. The words καὶ ἄλλα, as often happens, are merely brought near the verb. Compare the following with each other: Hdt. vi. 114 τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖον πολλοὶ τε καὶ οὐνομαστοί (the verb has gone before), v. 102 καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οἱ Πέρσαι φονεύοντες ἄλλους τε οὐνομαστοὺς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Εὐαλκίδην, Thuc. i. 38. 3 πολλὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἄλλα τε ἡμαρτήκασι καὶ Ἐπιδαμον... ἐλόντες βία ἔχουσιν, Xen. *Cyrop.* ii. 3. 16 ἀνίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ συναγορεύοντες, Thuc. i. 6. 4 πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδείξει κτέ. I close with an example which well illustrates the force I ascribe to καὶ in all cases: Thuc. i. 20. 4 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστομένα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται κτέ.

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SCHOLIA ON THE 'ELECTRA' OF EURIPIDES.—During a recent visit to Florence I examined the Laurentian MS. usually called C (Library classing xxxii. 2) and noted the following marginal and inter-linear comments on the *Electra* of Euripides, which do not appear among those given by Weil in his valuable edition of the play (1879).

44. ῥσχυνεν εὐνή] Marginal note γράφεται ῥσχυν' ἐνευῆ, which should doubtless be ῥσχυν' ἐν εὐνῇ.

102. ἔως] ἥως is interlined to show that ἔως is here a substantive not a conjunction.

140. θὲς τόδε τεύχος ἐμῆς ἀπὸ κρατὸς ἐλοῦσ'] Marginal note πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τοῦτο φησὶ ἡ ἡλέκτρα ἀφελούσα.

649. ὑπηρετέτω μὲν δοῦν ὄντων τὸδε] Above the line after τόδε is the note ἤγουν τὸ τῆς τέχνης. Weil and other editors follow Tyrwhitt in reading ὅδε for τόδε.

805. Νύμφαι πετραῖαι, πολλάκις με βουθυτεῖν] δότε is written after βουθυτεῖν above the line, as an explanation of the construction, and in the margin is the note πολλὰκις λείπει τὸ δότε.

819. δωρίδ' ἄρπασας] Marginal note εἰδὸς τι μαχαίρας ἢ (sic) δωρίδ. Nauck reads δωρίδ' ἀναρπασας.

873. σὺ μὲν νυν] The MS. reads σὺ μὲν νυν with δὴ written over νυν. The μὲν is accented as if the enclitic νυν followed and the gloss δὴ points to this reading, which is moreover required both by metre and sense (assuming the distinction of meaning commonly adopted between νυν and νυν to be correct).

924. παρ' οἱ] Marginal note παρ' αὐτῶ, doubtless a mistake for παρ' αὐτῷ.

961. σφαγῆς πάροιθε μὴ εἰσὶν νεκρόν] Marginal note μὴ πρὸ τοῦ σφαγῆναι εἰσὶν τὸν τοῦ αἰγίσθου νεκρόν. Μὴ εἰσὶν given above is Barnes' correction of the MS. μ' εἰσὶν.

975. φεύξομαι] Marginal note κατηγορηθ σομαι i.e. κατηγορηθήσομαι.

976. καὶ μὴ γ' ἀμύνων] The MS. has καὶ μὴν with μὴ written above by second hand. Weil and other editors follow the conjecture of Reiske in printing καὶ μὴ, but do not indicate MS. authority for that reading.

979. ἄρ' αὐτ' ἀλάστορ] Marginal note αὐτὸ τὸ ἄλ.

The gloss συνίησις is found above the following words, 196 θεοὺς, 744 and 1234 θεῶν.

The gloss ἀντὶ μιᾶς, which means that the two syllables referred to in each case (marked thus — below) are metrically equivalent to one, occurs on 134 ἀδελφεᾶν, 445 the second ἀνὰ (it corresponds to the second syllable of ἔπαλλε in line 435), 725 χρυσέμαλλον, 726 the second τότε, 732 θεοτύρῃ, 744 θεραπείας, 1156 πῶσιν (the contraction is necessary because the MS. does not contain ἐν, which most modern editors insert before λουτροῖς in line 1148. Weil has changed the order of the words in this passage).

Σημειοῦ or σημειῶσαι, i.e. *noli bene*, is written opposite lines 80, 290, 294, 363, 422, 523, 902, 932, 954, 1013, 1131, and the word γνῶμη in the margin calls attention to the 'sententious character of lines 941, 958, 1084.

The words σημειοῦ or σημειῶσαι and γνῶμη, as well as γράφεται quoted above on line 44, appear in the MS. in contracted forms.

When the metre changes, its name is given in the margin by a later hand, in large characters, written with dark ink, as follows:—*ιαμβικοί* 1, 213, 487, 596, 751, 866, 880, 998, 1238. *ιαμβικά καὶ τροχαικά* 1165. *χοριαμβικά* 112, 432. *ἀναπαιστικά* 988, 1233, 1292. *ἀντισπαστικά* 585. *ἐντισπαστικά* 1147. *χοριαμβικά καὶ ἀναπαιστικά* 699, 859. ὅμοια τοῖς ἄνω 873 (i.e. lines 873 to 879 are same metre as 859 to 865).

ἐπὶ δὸς is written at 476 and 1163, σύστημα (referring doubtless to the preceding lines) after 865 and 879.

Neither capitals nor large letters existed in the MS. originally, either at the beginning of proper names or elsewhere, but a later hand has rewritten the first letter of important sections in a larger size. The original small letter can still, for the most part, be traced under the darker ink used by the later hand.

Proper names are often distinguished by a short line above them, thus:—*ἀγαμέμνων*. The usage however is not consistent, the same name appearing sometimes with the line, sometimes without it.

With a few exceptions (due perhaps to a later insertion) a subscript does not occur either in the text or marginal notes.

In verbal terminations the forms in η (η) are preferred to those in ϵ .

CHARLES H. KEENE.

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NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN PROPERTIUS.

III. 24 (= II. 32 Palmer).

In vv. 5, 6 perhaps after all it is unnecessary to desert the MSS. At a time so eager for religious novelties, an impetus may well have been given to a cultus of Hercules as a patron of literature, when Marcius Philippus, uncle by marriage of the Emperor, restored the temple of Hercules Musagetes, the Aedes Herculis Musarum (v. end of the *Fasti*, and cf. Theor. 24. 107). The temple at Tibur contained a good library in the days of Gellius (19, 5). As a poetess then (ii. 3, 21)—and vates is a word of religious import—Cynthia could find a flimsy pretext of religion for a visit to Tibur. She may be called *anus* in the next line just as in colloquial English a superstitious or over-scrupulous person might be called an old woman; cf. L. S. *svv.* anus, anicula, anilis and Dem. *De Cor.* 260 τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὀδῶν...ἐξαρχος...ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσ-ἀγορευόμενος. That women not literally γράδια were fond of the wilder rites we know from Aristophanes (*Lysist.* 387 sq.). 'Why,' asks Propertius, 'does the via Appia so often lead you to, see you pass over it in, superstitious rites?' The scorn implied in 'anus' would be quite in harmony with his general attitude to religion, especially in its wilder forms. The rites would be those mentioned 9—10 which are recommended by Ovid *A. A.* i. 253 for their gatherings of women.

In v. 23 the MS. authority is for *de te nostra*, which is certainly better than the vulgate and perhaps unobjectionable: cf. *Phil.* ii. 28, 69, where B. and K. read *illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit*. There would be a touch of quasi-legal formality and verbiage in describing Cynthia as 'you, my, Propertius' mistress.' Ad aures should be taken more closely with rumor than with laedit. The verbal force in rumor helps the construction. Otherwise we might read

—'nostras inlidunt aures.'

The change involved is slight palaeographically. For the (rare) construction cf. Plaut. *Stichus* 88

mihi paternae vocis sonitus aures accidit

and for the metaphor cf. the (weaker) ordinary expression verberare, tundere aures. inlidunt would imply the vehemence of the gossip about Cynthia.

III. 26 (= II. 34).

v. 45 'non tutor ibis Homero' clearly refers to the story of Homer's love of Penelope. This we find in the fragment of Hermesianax (pupil of P.'s model Philetas); and, as there Antimachus' passion is related next but one to Homer's, Propertius may have had the passage before his mind. Deos (46) might then be a reminiscence of Hermesianax' θεῶν Ὀμηρος. In the same passage the εὐρεία πατρίς which Homer abandons for Ithaca cannot be Chios; it might be Lydia, but Athens would be more appropriate to the Penelope-story and εὐρεία might, in an Alexandrian, be sufficiently explained by *Od.* vii. 80 εὐρύαρχον Ἀθήνην. In any case v. 29 in this elegy of Propertius is most easily intelligible if we understand Homer to be the 'Eretheius.' For the idea v. the well-known epigram: it was also entertained by grammarians, v. Monro, *Homeric Grammar* § 173, 2.

v. 71. The poma seem to be the apples and nuts

mea quas Amaryllis amabat, *Ecl.* ii. 52.

This cheap taste of Amaryllis seems to have caught the fancy of Virgil's contemporaries, cf. *Ov. A. A.* ii. 267, 8

Afferat aut uvae aut quas Amaryllis amabat;
At nunc castaneas non amat illa nuces.

Cf. *ib.* iii. 18, 3.

In 72 is not *et gratiae* an improvement? 'Close-fisted Tityrus may woo her and she will even be grateful': the allusion is to *Ecl.* i. 30, 'postquam nos Amaryllis habet.'

It is easier to see how the whole passage 67—76 hangs together if we suppose that already as in later days (Apuleius *de Magia*, 10) Corydoun in *Ecl.* ii. was supposed to represent Virgil himself.

IV. 3 (= III. 3).

In v. 29 ergo seems to derive sufficient force from the fact that 'museum' was the name of such a place as the two preceding lines described, v. Pliny *N. H.* 36, 42 on pumices. 'Appellantur quidem ita et erosa saxa, in aedificiis quae musea vocant, dependentia ad imaginem specus arte reddendam.'

IV. 7 (= III. 7).

v. 60. Perhaps longae manus are hands with long lines on the palms—a sign of longevity, according to Aristotle, v. Pliny *N. H.* 11, 114 and Bonitz Index s.v. *χείρ* 5. The couplet means 'Why did you destroy me in my youth? I was designed to have a long life.'

V. (IV.) 5.

v. 34. Sideris may be defended by the probability that Saturday was the only day yet known to the Romans by the name of a planet. To be able to attend the Sabbath services she would have to avoid uncleanness which lasted until the evening after concubitus, Levit. xv. 18. That many women attended at the Sabbath services we know from Ovid *A. A.* i. 76.

C. M. MULVANY.

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TISIDIMUM.—The negotiations of the winter of b.c. 109-108, which had led to the partial submission of Jugurtha, broke off when the point was reached at which his own surrender was demanded. Sallust *Jug.* 62, 8: *igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidimum vocaretur, rursus cepit flectere animum suum* &c. Hitherto the identification of Tisidimum has been given up. There can be little doubt however that Sallust means us to understand that it was the headquarters of Metellus, the place where he was wintering with part of the army (68, 2: *legionem cum qua hiemabat*) as distinguished from the winter-quarters of the rest (61, 1, 2), and therefore the scene of the *consilium* of 62, 4. If so we have a clue to its position, for from these winter-quarters of his Metellus made his dash on Vaga described in 68, 2: *legionem, cum qua hiemabat, ... pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit et postero die circiter hora tertia pervenit in quandam planitiem* (which we learn was about a mile from Vaga). The march therefore took about fifteen hours, in which time we cannot suppose that a force with work to do at the end could cover more than forty miles at the outside, probably less. We ought therefore to look for Tisidimum at a point between thirty and forty miles from Vaga.

The ruins at Krisch el Wéd (on the right bank of the Bagradas; see the map in *C.I.L.* viii.) have produced one inscription which gives the name of the town but in an imperfect form, *C.I.L.* viii. 1263, *MVNICIPES /HISIDVENSES*. On the authority

of the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Anonymus of Ravenna, who place at this point accurately enough a town which they call Chisiduo, this was restored as CHISIDVENSES. In 1887 H. de Villefosse published in the *Revue Archéologique* the following epitaph (now in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vii. 703) which there can be little doubt came from the well-known cemetery of the employés of the Fiscus at Carthage: *D.M.S. T. Aelius Augusti lib(ertus) Libycus adiut(or) tabul(arii) a[b] men(sa) Thisiduensi*. It was at once seen that Thisiduo was the real form of the name, and it has been so printed in the map attached to the seventh volume of the *Ephemeris*.

If the distance by road between Vaga and Thisiduo be measured on the map in *C.I.L.* viii. it will be found to be between thirty-five and forty miles. The Latinized form Tisidium will be no difficulty to those who are familiar with the trouble which African names always gave the Romans, especially when the country was strange to them in the early days of their occupation. (So the author of the *Bellum Africanum* calls Thydsrus, Tisdra.) It is a small confirmation that the place selected by Metellus for his headquarters should have retained sufficient importance to become one of the four local centres of the fiscal *tractus Karthaginiensis* (i.e. the *mensa Thisiduensis* of the inscription).

G. MCN. RUSHFORTH.

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THE PRONUNCIATION OF SUIDAS.—In a notice of the English edition of Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* which appears on p. 385 b of the *Classical Review* for October, the reviewer (doubtless by an accidental oversight) describes *Suidas* as an error of the press. As the part of the Dictionary in which the alleged misprint is to be found was prepared for the press by myself, I may be permitted to say that I deliberately marked the quantity of the first two syllables in the way in which they are printed. The first two vowels cannot accurately be regarded as a diphthong; the first is certainly long, and the second is probably short. Labbe in his *Catholici Indices* marks the second syllable as short, 'though commonly pronounced long, at quo privilegio nescio.' It is true that the ordinary English pronunciation of the name follows the precedent set by Pope, who makes Bentley say in the *Dunciad*, iv 228,

For Attic Phrase in Plato let them seek,
I poach in Suidas for unlicens'd Greek;

but Bentley himself was doubtless aware that the Lexicographer's name was a word of three syllables, Σουιδας, and that the disyllabic pronunciation was a popular error.

J. E. SANDYS.

SUUM CUIQUE.—It has been pointed out to me that the derivation of *non* which I suggested in the October number of the *Classical Review* has been already published by Mr. Wharton in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1888 (sec. 13), and again in his *Etyma Latina*, p. 66. I much regret that I had failed to observe this, and hereby tender my apologies to Mr. Wharton.

I take this opportunity of giving a list of the recorded forms of the I.-E. negative *ne*. They are as follows:—

I.-E.	Greek.	Italic.
1. ñ, ñu	ā-, āv	in-
2. ñ	?	an- (Osc. Umbr.)
3. ñi	—	ñi(ei)
4. ñē	νε- ?	ne (nec)
5. ñē	νη	ñē
6. ñēz	—	ñē (Osc. ñei)
7. ñō ?	—	—
8. ñō	—	no(soe) (Umbr.)
9. ñōi	—	noi(u), noe(num)
10. ñōz ?	—	—
11. ñōz	νᾱ-	nām (cf. οὐκοῦν) ?
12. ñōz	ναί	nae

Nām, however, may be an accusative or locative from a demonstrative *no-*. That Gk. *νᾱ-* represents an I.-E. ñ, either in the case of the negative or elsewhere, seems to me to be an unproved hypothesis.

F. W. THOMAS.

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THE same correction (μεγάλας for μεγάλους) which in the last number of the *Classical Review* I proposed for Plut. *Them.* xxi. must be made also in Herod. viii. 111. I overlooked this for the moment.

H. RICHARDS.

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NOTES and Emendations on Herodas have appeared in the *Athenaeum* for Sept. 5 and Sept. 12 by W. Headlam; in the *Academy* Sept. 19 by T. Tyler; Sept. 26 by E. W. B. Nicholson, F. W. Hall and A. P.; Oct. 3 by E. W. B. Nicholson; Oct. 10 by E. W. B. Nicholson, H. Richards, W. Headlam, A. E. Crawley; Oct. 17 by F. B. Jevons and W. R. Hardie.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Silchester.—Excavations have now been steadily carried on for four months, on the system of working out the site by the squares into which it was divided by the Romans. So far they have been confined to the two squares, or *insulae*, immediately to the west of the great basilica, and to the completion of the large *insula* north of the forum which was begun last year.

The northern of the two new *insulae* has yielded

very interesting results. The centre of it seems to have been chiefly open ground or gardens, with buildings ranged round the four street sides. These include the more or less perfect remains of a number of shops and houses, the latter having rooms warmed by channelled hypocausts and floored with mosaic pavements. One very perfect set of shops has been uncovered, attached to a small but complete house, with a winter room warmed by a curious composite hypocaust, and a principal room with mosaic floor

of unusual pattern. The rubbish pits scattered over the *insula* have yielded many interesting and curious objects, chief among which are fictile vessels, many more or less perfect, representing all the principal kinds of Romano-British pottery, as well as the imported pseudo-Arretine. Of minor articles in bronze, bone and glass, many interesting examples have come to light, including a beautiful little enamelled stand; also numerous coins, mostly in indifferent preservation. The pits have yielded great quantities of animal bones, among which is the almost complete skeleton of a dog. Among architectural fragments may be noticed the base of a column of good design and workmanship. A small but perfect mosaic pavement in one of the houses has been taken up for preservation.

The southern *insula* has yielded many interesting remains from its rubbish pits, including pots and vessels of all kinds, fruit-stones and fish-bones, a set of bronze bucket-handles, a bronze bowl or saucepan, fibulae, pins, and other objects. From the trenches have been unearthed part of an inscription on a Purbeck marble slab, coins, and various architectural fragments. This *insula* covered a good deal of open ground; and among other buildings is the complete ground-plan of a house, a large series of chambers of uncertain use, a remarkable pavement of hard white *opus signinum*, and remains of other houses and hypocausts. The tessellated pavements are all badly preserved. Close to the house above-mentioned is a well lined with wood.

In the *insula* north of the forum a small shrine or altar has been uncovered, and a series of chambers along the main street; of remains, a perfect bronze figure of a goat, of good workmanship, and a fragment of some rare foreign marble, used probably as a wall-lining.¹

Whiteshill, near Stroud. In the grounds of the vicarage have been found fragments of Roman pottery, calcined bones, and other remains. Like the Woodchester pavement, the first finds were but two feet below the surface, where a stratum of soft brick and cement mixed with charcoal was reached, the two former substances, laid to a regular thickness of about six inches, always constituting the *suspensurae*, or floors above the hypocaust, in Roman villas. Various coins were found, in excellent preservation, mostly of Constantine and Severus, one with the traditional wolf on the reverse.²

SWITZERLAND.

Great St. Bernard. Excavations on the site of the temple of Jupiter have brought to light a statue of Jupiter, 0.40 in. in height, of admirable workmanship, and in good preservation. A bronze lion (height 0.10 m.) and a number of medals were also recently found here.³

ITALY.

Verona. An interesting series of sculptures has been discovered here, together with other remains of little importance.

(1) A large draped female statue of Luna marble, wanting head and one foot, 2.05 metres in height. It is not unlike the Hera of Ephesos in the Vienna Academy (Overbeck, *Kunstm.* Atlas x. 30—32), which again is probably a copy of the Hera of Alkamenes; but more probably represents a Roman matron of the first century of our era.

(2) Another draped female figure, wanting head and left hand, of Greek marble, 1.65 m. in height,

including the plinth; it represents a Roman matron of the second century of the Empire.

(3) A draped female figure reclining on a couch, with feet crossed,—the right hand closed and resting on the breast; the head, left arm and shoulder, and part of the left breast are lost. The statue is of Pentelic marble, life size, and resembles the so-called Agrippina: it is of the second century of the Empire. The original is perhaps to be seen in a statue of the Museo Torlonia, and the type was created in the fourth century B.C. in a statue of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great. Compare also a statuette in the Syracuse Museum (No. 6506).

(4) Trunk of a tree, nearly cylindrical, of Pentelic marble, 0.68 m. in height, attached to a plinth 0.66 m. thick, of which only a small part remains. On the top is part of a chlamys(?), and in the middle of the trunk a circular knot, on which is inscribed in small clear letters, apparently of the third or fourth century B.C.:

ΠΡΑΞΙΤΕΛΗΣ
ΕΠΟΕΙ

If this can be attributed to either of the sculptors of this name, it must be the younger one (c. 300—280 A.D., Overbeck, *S.Q.* § 2073).

(5) A marble male head of careful workmanship, with short curly hair, short beard (such as Nero or Hadrian wears), and slight moustaches. Height 0.285 m. It is suggested that this is a copy of the head of some well known personage of the first century of the Empire, possibly the young Augustus: but the beard makes this improbable, unless it were a mourning type. Fragments of twelve other statues were also discovered. All these remains are from a public edifice of the best Roman period.⁴

Vado, near Genoa. On the site of the ancient Vada Sabatia various objects have been found in a wall of Roman construction, formed of large slabs. (1) Fictile remains: fragments of amphorae and other vases, and of a lamp stamped OPTATI in relief, also a lamp with representation of a horse running. (2) Bronze objects: a right hand, with thumb and two fingers extended, 0.145 m. in height, inscribed ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ[Ε]ΠΙΣΤΑΤΕΥΣΑ[Ε] ΔΙΟΚΑΒΑΖΙΩ[Ι], in late lettering; Sabazius must have been the eponymous deity of the place.

A similar right hand, ht. 0.10 m.; in the palm a support with a hole bored in the middle, probably for a seated statuette also found here (a male bearded deity with pileus, long tunic, and shoes, holding a pine cone in right hand, left hand resting on hip, height 0.08 m.). On the wrist is part of a bracelet, with a medallion on which is the figure of a female reclining, holding an infant to her breast; on her left is a bird. This was probably an *ex voto* of a woman after childbirth. Compare three votive bronze hands in the British Museum. A statuette of Mercury with winged petasus, purse, and other attributes. A cow walking, with tail curved over the back; height 0.07, length 0.09 m. Other bronze objects, all of good technique and style, well preserved, and with a fine patina. The style is not much later than the time of the Antonines, probably about A.D. 200. Coins of Augustus, Claudius, Severus Alexander, and Probus, were also found.⁵

Bologna. Some fine mosaic pavements have been discovered here. There are no traces of dividing

¹ *Times*, 3 October, 1891.

² *Guardian*, 30 September.

³ *Athenaeum*, 26 September.

⁴ *Notizie dei Lincei*, January 1891.

⁵ *Notizie dei Lincei*, February 1891.

walls, but a furrow 0.60 m. wide paved with large flat slabs on which is black beaten earth. This evidently formed the foundation for a wooden partition between the two chambers, which was covered with plaster.¹

Spoleto, Umbria. There exists in the Uffizi gallery at Florence a plan of a theatre purporting to be that of Spoleto, but it was never mentioned in inscriptions of the place or any other record, and consequently its existence was doubted. Excavations have, however, proved its actual existence, and the measurements agree with the plan in the Uffizi, so that it has been possible to reconstruct the whole theatre.²

S. Maria di Falleri, Tuscany. Three tombs have been found here dating about 200 B.C., in which were numerous vases, some with paintings, of Etruscan fabric, one being inscribed in Latin and Faliscan. The tombs are of rectangular form, with a large pilaster in the middle supporting the roof, and *loculi* for the cinerary urns closed with tiles, on which inscriptions are painted in red. Among the vases are two large ones of cylindrical shape with two handles and mouth widening at the top, also an oinochoe and a kantharos. Four of the tiles bear Etruscan inscriptions, others are inscribed in Latin, with the names of C. and M. Spurilius.³

Sutri, in Latium. In restoring the cathedral, fluted columns of Luna marble, of the Corinthian order, and dating from the first century of the Empire, were discovered. They had originally sustained the arches dividing the three naves of the cathedral (eight a side, 3.60 m. in height, the distance between them 2.90 m.), and are marked on a plan found in 1743, but have since been pulled down, or covered up with new work. They evidently belonged to a Roman temple or basilica, which in the time of Constantine or Theodosius was converted into a Christian church.

In renewing the pavement, a block of marble was found with a relief representing a draped bearded figure reading a papyrus held in both hands, and standing in an attitude of worship before a terminal statue; it is of very late date, probably the fifth century.⁴

Città Ducale, in Abruzzo. Remains of the ancient city of Aquae Cutiliae, in the Sabine territory, have been discovered here, consisting of stone walls of *opus reticulatum* lined with marble slabs, of the time of Hadrian. These enclosed a hall 7.50 × 7.80 m., with an entrance on the west side, and pilasters along the sides both within and without. This hall was apparently part of the *thermae*, of which other chambers have also been discovered, with masonry of *opus incertum*, and pipes of clay for hot and cold water. On the south side were found a corridor and nymphaeum, also four fountains of *opus incertum* cased with *opus signinum*, of semicircular shape, and adorned with conch-shells. At the angles are slender pilasters with ornaments of blue glass paste. The pavements were formed of squares of white and palombino marble. A staircase leading to the *caldarium* was brought to light, also the *laconicum*, in which was a basin 3.95 m. in diameter; the walls were plastered in white and red. Bronze coins of Augustus and later Emperors were found, also a votive altar dedicated by T. Flavius Iulianus Libertus to the twelve Gods, 0.75 × 0.47 × 0.42 m.⁵

Stilo, in Calabria. Dr. Orsi reports on discoveries made in constructing the new lighthouse on Cape Stilo. Besides remains of a Greek wall of large

blocks of Syracusan limestone, many archaic terracottas were found, including the torso of a female figure wearing a *calathus*, probably an Aphrodite like those found at Locri. A small Herma was likewise found, wearing a *calathus*, and several small altars either for the sacred fire or for supporting anathemata, their faces decorated with archaic reliefs of animals in combat. Remains of a small temple were discovered, dedicated to some sailors' deity, Poseidon, Taras, or the Delphic Apollo; also fragments of painted terracotta, evidently architectural, one representing Taras riding on a dolphin. The site appears to be within the boundaries of the ancient city of Caulonia; here were also found ruins of a Graeco-Roman villa and a barbarian cemetery.⁶

GREECE.

Argos. In the course of excavations under the amphitheatre M. Kouphiniotis has discovered twenty-one rows of seats at a considerable depth, and the foundations of the stage and orchestra, also numerous fragments of marble, and a stylobate, which gives hope that the remains of the buildings may be discovered. The orchestra was partly hewn out of the rock, partly covered with slabs of stone; behind it were five walls, one behind the other at short intervals. The first three are of the Roman period, the two latter belong to the *skene*-buildings of the Greek period. Among other discoveries are an aqueduct, two columns of tufa, a Roman inscription, and some coins.³

Mycenae. The beehive tomb or 'Kuppelgrab' of Abia has been more fully excavated ('Ep. Arch. 1891, p. 189 sqq.). The top has fallen in, but the doorway, and the lower courses of masonry to the height of 3.25 metres remain, also the *δρῶμος*, which is 12.85 m. long and 2.18 m. broad. The side-walls are formed of small stones built up with mortar. The *θόλος* is built of hewn stone, with small pebbles filling up the interstices, and the sill of the door is formed of three large slabs. The tomb was rifled in ancient times, and nothing has been found in it except a few fragments of gold-leaf, and two leaden figures, male and female. The male is the better preserved, is 0.12 m. high, and has a garment covering the loins, like the figures on the Vaphio drinking-cups. The female is 0.85 m. in height, and wears a close fitting garment hanging straight down, concealing the feet.⁴

Samothrace. On the site where the famous Nikè now in the Louvre was discovered, a small fragment of an inscription has come to light, which is important from seeming to have borne the name of a sculptor of Rhodes who may perhaps have been the author of that masterpiece. Unfortunately only the name of his country has been preserved, the artist's own name being almost entirely obliterated.⁵

Athenaeum, 19 September. Mr. Neilson proposes a suggestion with regard to the wall of Antoninus Pius. At intervals along the line of the wall are segmental projections, which he considers may have been used for supporting *ballistae*, especially as many stone projectiles have been found in the vicinity. Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 4) describes a machine known as the *onager* (Smith, *Dict. Ant.* II, p. 856), which threw round stones (*lapide rotundo fundae imposito*), and was not set on the wall itself as it would not stand the shock of the discharge, but on supports of sod or brick (*super congestos cespites vel latericios aggeres*). Hyginus urges the importance of erecting stands for artillery (*tormentis tribunalia*

¹ *Notizie dei Lincei*, January 1891.

² *Notizie dei Lincei*, February 1891.

³ *Athenaeum*, 10 October.

⁴ *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 19 Sept.

⁵ *Athenaeum*, 26 September.

extruere, so called because the tribunal in the Roman camp was originally formed of sods). The same thing may be seen in the wall of Hadrian (Bruce's *Handbook*, pp. 142, 145).

THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.—In the miscellaneous notes at the end of the current number of the *Athenische Mittheilungen* Dr. Dörpfeld reviews the controversy provoked by the statements of certain members of the British School at Athens about the results of their excavations in the theatre at Megalopolis.¹ His arguments are briefly these:—

The wall at the back with the three doors stands on foundations of older date, which clearly belong to the original structure; so this wall was added during some reconstruction of the theatre: and the doors are apparently of still later date—at all events in their present form. The wall and doors may therefore be neglected in investigating the original design.

As for the flight of five steps leading up to the alleged stage, the two upper steps extend round the sides while the three lower steps are confined to the front, and the two upper steps differ materially from the three lower steps in size and form. Thus, the three lower steps must have been added at a time when the orchestra was lowered. If the orchestra really was lowered, the seats of honour in the front row cannot be in their original position; and, as a matter of fact, they have been moved. The two upper steps must have belonged to a colonnade of the fourth century; for all around there are remains of columns, capitals, architrave and triglyphs of that date, and these just match the steps in size and workmanship, the columns moreover having dowel-holes that exactly fit the dowel-holes on the upper step.

The players must have acted in front of this colonnade, not on top of it; and must likewise have acted in front of the structure marked Q in the plan *J. H. S.* xi. 295, after that was built. This structure, however, was only 11 ft. 6 in. in height: and here Dr. Dörpfeld's reasoning seems somewhat hazy.

C. T.

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. March—June, 1891. Athens and Paris.

1. Clerc gives a further account of his rather fruitless excavations in 1882 on the site of Aegae near Smyrna: seven woodcuts. 2. Fougères states the results of his excavations among the ruins of the Gymnasium at Delos—plan of the building—and publishes a dozen inscriptions that he found there, incidentally reviewing all inscriptions that relate to the organization of the Epheboi at Delos. 3. Homolle publishes a Delian inscription lately found on a little island near Amorgos: it contains part of the statement of revenue and expenditure for some year shortly before 250 B.C. 4. Babelon discusses the coinage attributed to Sidon under Persian dominion, and finds new dates for certain kings of Sidon and other rulers: two plates. 5. Fougères publishes a sketch made by Conze in 1860 from a relief then at Tegea, but now lost, representing a bull in combat: woodcut. 6. Jamot and Deschamps publish two-and-twenty inscriptions from the south of Thessaly. 7. Homolle publishes nine inscriptions lately found at Athens in the new railway-cutting for the extension of the Peiræus line towards the palace: plan. These fix the site of 'the precinct of the Demos and the Charites,' indicate that the archonship of Heliodoros was probably in 217/6 B.C., and

include the only known signature of the sculptor Bryaxis. 8. Radet endeavours to fix the sites of Callatebos and Cydrara in Asia Minor. 9. Jamot describes a bronze arm, above life-size, which he found in his excavations in the sanctuary of the Muses on Helicon together with other fragments of bronze, and points out that this arm and some of the fragments would suit the group of Apollo and Hermes by Lysippos: plate and six woodcuts. 10. Legrand and Doublet publish five-and-twenty inscriptions from Euboea. 11. Couve publishes another inscription from Oreos in Euboea. 12. Lambros describes a tetradrachm of the class now attributed to Allaria instead of Sparta, remarking that it bears the name of the tyrant Nabis: woodcut. 13. Cousin publishes twenty-one inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Stratoniceia in Asia Minor. C. T.

Revue Archéologique. March—April, 1891. Paris.

1. Waille and Gauckler publish about a hundred Latin inscriptions, fragmentary and unimportant, most of them from Caesarea-Iol, now Cherchel in Algeria. 3. Vercontre suggests that the words *Malagbel* and *Eruc* in Latin inscriptions from N. Africa do not denote local deities of those names, but Baal of Malaca (now Guelma in Algeria) and the Sicilian hero Eryx. 8. Mowat publishes a military diploma of 9 October 148 A.D. from Antoninus Pius to Atta, son of Nivio, on his discharge from the cohort I. *Ulpia Pannoniorum*: two plates. It was found at Aszár near Komorn in Hungary. 9. Engel briefly notes the contents of various antiquarian collections in Spain and Portugal. 14. Cagnat reprints the principal inscriptions referring to Roman affairs published during the first quarter of the present year; forty Latin and five Greek. C. T.

The same. May—June, 1891.

1. Deloche describes four more signet-rings of the Merovingian period, including the ring of Childeric, the father of Clovis. 2. Th. Reinach describes three terra-cotta groups lately found in the Troad, and now in the Museum at Constantinople: three plates and two woodcuts. They represent (a) Aphrodite and Eros, (b) Aphrodite with Eros and Peitho or Adonis, (c) two girls dancing. He assigns them all to the third century B.C., and supposes that they were made in the Troad itself. 4. Lechat discusses the style of certain archaic statues on the Acropolis at Athens, insisting particularly upon the influence of wood-carving in the earliest sculpture in soft stone: three plates. 7. Waille describes a bronze lately found at Berroughia in Algeria: woodcut. He discusses the personification of Africa, and the elephant as its symbol; this bronze representing a female bust wearing an elephant's hide. 8. Bonsor and Engel report some small discoveries in the Roman necropolis of Carmona near Seville. 13. Cagnat reprints the principal inscriptions referring to Roman affairs published during the second quarter of the present year; sixty-two Latin and five Greek. C. T.

Gazette des Beaux-Arts. June, 1891. Paris.

2. Marcel Raymond describes a marble statue of a boy—probably a son of Niobe—found a few years ago on the site of Nero's villa near Subiaco: four views of the statue from photographs. C. T.

The same. September, 1891.

3. Maxime Collignon discusses the style of Ageladas and other Argive sculptors, recognizing this in various works now extant: seven illustrations. C. T.

¹ See *ante* pp. 238, 284, 343.

The same. October, 1891.

1. Salomon Reinach describes a figure of Dionysos in terra-cotta, and another in bronze—both belonging to private collections—and suggests that they are copies of the Dionysos of Praxiteles: three views of each. C. T.

Archäologisches Jahrbuch. 1891. Part I. Berlin.

1. Bie argues somewhat vaguely that the Greeks gradually evolved the design of the dwelling, as described by Vitruvius, from the design of the palace, as exemplified at Tiryns. 2. Sauer rearranges the sculpture in the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, mainly on technical grounds: twenty-five woodcuts. He confirms Six's opinion that the two groups of horses were being harnessed to two four-horsed chariots, three already in and the fourth coming up, *Hellenic Journal*, vol. x., plate VI., but brings the fourth horse nearer up and in front of the chariot instead of behind. He also confirms Brunn's opinion (adopted by Six) that in the central group the two women stood next to Zeus and the two men beyond. In various subordinate points he corrects all the arrangements hitherto proposed. 3. Graef publishes some fragments of a vase from the Acropolis: plate and woodcut. The vase was unquestionably painted by Hieron, and represented a procession of deities on one side, and a sacrifice on the other. It supplies early authority (probably before 480 B.C.) for the story in Apollodoros, iii. 4, 3, that the infant Dionysos was reared as a girl. 4. Fränkel emends the Delphi inscription, *B. C. H.* v. 388, transforming the envoys from Pergamon into painters sent from Pergamon about 140 B.C. by Attalos II. to make copies of the frescoes in the Lesche, and then discusses the cultivation of literature and art at Pergamon generally.

Anzeiger. Treu: removal of the Dresden collection of casts from the Zwinger to the new galleries in the former Zeughaus, and installation there. Loeschke: recent additions to the University collection of antiquities at Bonn. Treu and Schreiber: antiquities in private collections at Dresden and Leipzig. C. T.

The same. 1891. Part 2.

1. Wolters interprets a terra-cotta group from Tanagra as Tyro with her children: plate. 2. Treu replies to Sauer's article on the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, contradicting him generally, and rejecting his arrangement of the central group on the ground that the two men would be too tall for the pediment in their new places, and his arrangement of the chariot groups on the ground that the four horses must be abreast to come

within the length really available: a dozen woodcuts. 3. Furtwängler endorses Treu's condemnation of Sauer, but transposes two figures in Treu's own arrangement: woodcut. 4. Sauer advocates new opinions about certain figures in the western pediment: five woodcuts. 5. Treu contradicts Furtwängler and Sauer with regard to the eastern and western pediments respectively. Short reply from Furtwängler. Full reply from Sauer to follow. 6. Furtwängler recognizes the Cyclopes in the masks upon the handles of Greek braziers, incidentally pointing out the close connection between the Satyrs and the Cyclopes, and discussing the group of vases with paintings of these creatures striking at the head of Ge with hammers.

Anzeiger. Catalogue of about 850 photographs of Greek buildings and antiquities from negatives belonging to the Institut: copies are offered for sale, as similar views are not procurable at shops.

C. T.

Athenische Mittheilungen. 1891. Part 2. Athens.

1. Wolters discusses the statue of Athene Hygieia by Pyrron on the Acropolis at Athens: plate and two woodcuts. The extant pedestal of this statue was not built on to the Propylaea until the completion of that structure had been abandoned: so this is not the statue that Pericles dedicated to Athene Hygieia. It probably was dedicated in 429 B.C. after the plague. The story in Plutarch, Pericles, 13, is not to be connected with the story in Pliny, xxii. 43, xxxiv. 81. 2. Thumb publishes twenty unimportant inscriptions from Thera, and twenty-eight from Amorgos. 3. Sauer attacks Petersen's theory that the pedestal at Delos with the signature of Archermos carried a statue at Nike, and argues that it carried a statue of some animal: eight woodcuts. 4. Conze describes a votive relief in the British Museum representing Hermes-Kadmos and other deities: woodcut. 5. Weber describes his visit to Colossae, and suggests that Herodotos got the story about the subterranean course of the Lycos, vii. 30, by confusing the long valley and some little natural bridges: plan. 6. Brückner, in a discursive article, locates Pallene on a hill near the village of Koropi midway between Athens and Laurion, and interprets a painting of Pallas (the son of Pandion) with other heroes on a red-figured crater found on the Acropolis in the deposits made after the Persian invasion: plate with view of the landscape, map and sketch, and two woodcuts of the vase. 7. Th. Mommsen publishes a Latin inscription from Apamea Cibotos containing part of the decree for adjusting the Asiatic year to the Julian year. C. T.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

American Journal of Philology. No. 44. December 1890. (See *Classical Review* supr. p. 133.)

On the articulus infinitive in Polybius. Part ii. E. G. W. Hewlett. This paper deals with the dative of the Art. Inf., prepositions and quasi-prepositions with the gen. and dat. respectively, and prepositions with the accus. 'As in classical prose the majority of datives of the Art. Inf. are causal in sense and the instrumental use is not common.' *χαρίν* with gen. of Art. Inf. is particularly common in Polyb. occurring 176 times. Prof. Gildersleeve has a note on the article with proper names, showing that the

use is essentially a prose use, belonging to the sphere of familiar language, and so is common in Aristophanes and Plato. He refers particularly to the dissertation of C. Schmidt, *de articulo in nominibus propriis apud Atticos scriptores pedestres* (Kiel 1890). Among the books received are T. Benfey's *Kleinere Schriften* by H. Collitz, and Jebb's critical apparatus to the *Antigone* by M. W. Humphreys. Bury's *Newman Odes* of Pindar is briefly mentioned.

No 45. April 1891.

On adaptation of suffixes in congeneric classes of substantives, by M. Bloomfield. That is, 'the infusion

with some definite grammatical or lexical value, of a formal element originally either devoid of any special functional value, or possessed of a value which has faded out so completely as to make this infusion possible.' 1, The Greek nomin. *πῶς*, which is considered to be in imitation of Pan-Hellenic *ὅδους*, both being parts of the body. 2, designations of parts of the body by heteroclitic stems in *r* and *n*. 3, designation of parts of the body by other heteroclitic declensions with *n*-stems in the oblique cases. 4, designations of parts of the body in Armenian. 5, the L.E. word for 'member, limb.' 6, Gothic *fōtus* and *tunþus*. 7, excursus on words for right and left. 8, assimilation of opposites, and assimilation of congeners. 9, designations of birds, animals, and plants in Greek. 10, designations of divisions of time. 11, adaptation in other substantial categories. Lexical adaptation is not restricted to substantial categories, e.g. we have *μηκέτι* on the analogy of *ὀκέτι*, *ἡττάσθαι* a modification of *ἡττοῦσθαι* after the pattern of *νικάσθαι*, *versutus* a modification of *versatus* on the analogy of *astutus*. On *paroxytone accent in tribrach and dactylic endings*, F. G. Allinson. In opposition to Rule iv. in Wheeler's dissertation 'Der Nominal-accent' (Strassburg 1885), 'that words with dactylic ending, which were originally oxytone, change into paroxytones as a compromise between the original (I.E.) oxytonesis and the special Greek-accent,' it is maintained that the true facts are, 1. trochaic oxytones either remain oxytone or become proparoxytone; 2. in general, tribrachs and dactyls fare alike even in anastrophe; 3. in active compounds, pyrrhics (whether dactylic or tribrach) are paroxytone because the tendency to 'recession' was arrested midway by the desire to accent the last member. F. B. Tarbell has a note on the infin. after expressions of fearing in Greek, quoting the foll. exx. of pres. or aor. infin. in indirect discourse: Aesch. *Sept.* 417-21, 720 foll., Soph. *Aj.* 254-5, Eur. *Ion* 1564-5, *Med.* 1256-7, comp. Goodwin *M. and T.* §§ 372, 373. Prof. Gildersleeve shows that the rule as to the identity of tenses in the use of *λανθάνω*, *τυγχάνω* and *φθάνω* was not nearly so regular with *τυγχάνω* as with the other two, comp. Goodwin *M. and T.* §§ 144, 146. Among the books reviewed are Sonnenschein's edition of the *Rudens* by E. P. Morris, 'a good edition of a good play' and Kenyon's *Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens* by Prof. Gildersleeve who is grateful to the editor. 'If Mr. Kenyon has made worse mistakes in Greek than some of his critics, I have failed to notice them.'

Litterarisches Centralblatt. 1890.

No. 26. Heisterbergk, *Fragen der ältesten Geschichte Siziliens*. 'A series of subtle combinations reaching a probable conclusion. Commendable mastery of material and clearness of proof.'—Epping, *Astronomisches aus Babylon*. 'Epoch-making. Pleasantly written.'—Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides Herakles*. 'An extraordinary advance over all predecessors.'—*Grammatici Graeci* I. ed. Hilgard. 'To be commended.'

No. 27. *Itinerarium Antonini* herausgegeben und übersetzt von Gildemeister. 'A careful revision of the text.'—Scala, *die Studien des Polybios*. 'An interesting subject discussed with spirit. Not all the inferences are justified.'

No. 28. Neumann, *der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*. 'A delightful book, presenting a faithful picture of church history.'—Bartholomae *Indogermanisch s.c.* 'Essentially a polemic against J. Schmidt.'—Larsen, *Studia critica in Plutarchi Moralia*. 'The method is good.'—Droysen, *das Heersystem der Griechen*. 'The material is neatly worked into

shape.'—Schliess, *Collegia funeraticia*. 'An intelligent little book, but not exhaustive.'

No. 29. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*. 'The relation of Mommsen to the sources is uncertain. He grows more and more sceptical, and believes almost nothing of the accounts of early times, and yet he uses many of these invented stories for his *Staatsrecht*.'—Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zu Quintus Smyrnaeus*. 'Too prolix. Contains all sorts of *krimis-krams*.'—Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie I*. 'Roscher should call the attention of some of his associates to the fact that this lexicon is not a numismatic or epigraphic journal.'

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Leipziger Studien, vol. xiii. (1890-91). The first part contains two essays, one by Paul Fauske, on the financial officers of Athens in the fourth century B.C., the second by Armin Dittmar, on the Athenian custom of conferring crowns upon foreigners. The second part opens with a paper by Gotthold Ettig, entitled *Acheruntica*. This is a survey of the various classical myths respecting descents into the lower world. The volume is concluded by a short discussion from the hand of J. H. Lipsius, on the Athenian decree respecting Samos, passed between the battle of Aegospotami and the siege of Athens. The inscription was discovered in 1888 on the Acropolis.

H. N.

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FOREIGN BOOKS.

Abhandlungen, Breslauer philologische. Herausgegeben von R. Förster. Band VI. Heft 1 and 2. 8vo. Breslau, W. Koebner. 5 Mk.

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The myth, as will be remembered, describes the life of the world as two revolutions of the same circle, the one forward and the other backward. In the forward revolution God accompanies the world; during the latter he remains in his watch-tower (272 E). The completion of either revolution is attended by convulsions which are destructive of life, till the wheel steadies and begins to retrace its course. The change in the movement of the whole leads to a change in the movement of the parts: for example the sun which in the previous cycle rose in the west and set in the east now rises in the east and sets in the west, and creatures that were born old and grew young and vanished are now born young, grow old, and die.

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κέρδος πρὸς θεῶν θεραπείας). See also Sir G. C. Lewis's *Historical Survey of Ancient Astronomy*, p. 133, where it is shown that Oenopides also regarded the change as a lasting one. The further developments of the story are not found in Euripides, but there is an interesting trace of them in Hesiod which I have never seen explained. In the *Works and Days* (178, 179) we read: Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, εἴτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν. The iron race in which we live, says Hesiod, will be destroyed, as soon as they are hoary-headed at their birth. It is unfortunate that Professor Campbell in his edition of the *Politicus* should have mistaken the meaning of Plato in *Polit.* 273 E (τὰ δ' ἐκ γῆς νεογενῇ σώματα πολλὰ φύντα πάλιν ἀποθνήσκοντα εἰς γῆν κατήει) by taking πολλὰ φύντα to mean 'having grown grey': the words mean 'while the bodies newly sprung from the earth, which had been born with grey hairs, died and returned again to the earth.' The beings of the previous cycle were born with grey hairs, and passed through manhood into infancy before they disappeared (270 D, E): therefore as soon as beings are born with grey hairs again, our cycle will come to an end and the old cycle once more begin—and this is the explanation of the line from Hesiod. The germs of Plato's myth are therefore very old: the philosophical conception underlies it is found in Heraclitus' ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω and in *Frag.* 78 (Bywater): ἢ φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, ταῦτ' εἶναι ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκός, καὶ τὸ ἐργηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεῖδον, καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκείνα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκείνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα: death is life, sleeping is waking, old is young, because they each change to the

other. Compare Aristotle *de Caelo* I 10 p. 280^a 11—15.

There are unmistakable indications that the forward revolution of the universe in the *Politicus* means nothing more or less than the creation of the world, *i.e.* its ordering out of chaos. Thus, while the δημιουργός is accompanying the universe, it is 'acquiring life anew' τὸ ζῆν πάλιν ἐπικτώμενον (270 A): when he takes it in hand he κοσμεῖ (273 E), *i.e.* κόσμον ποιεῖ: in the cycle previous to ours, it was πολλῆς μετέχον ἀταξίας πρὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν κόσμον ἀφικέσθαι (273 B). The γηγενεῖς are also, as in early Greek speculation generally, a feature of the making of the world, and so is the abundance in which the children of the earth revelled. The speech of Aristophanes in the *Symposium* is manifestly a cosmogonical myth treated farcically, and it contains many points of resemblance with the story in the *Politicus*, notably the ἐγέννων καὶ ἐτίκτον οὐκ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀλλ' εἰς γῆν (191 C).

The parallels between the myth of the *Politicus* and the creation of the world in the *Timaeus* are numerous, and to ignore them is to leave the very foundation of Plato's physics unexplained. When the δημιουργός had completed the creation, he ἔμμενεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τρόπον ἤθει (*Tim.* 42 E): when the forward revolution was ended, οἷον πηδαλίων οἶακος ἀφέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη (*Polit.* 272 E). The moment he quits the world, the movements of the universe are reversed—the two circles, that of the Same and that of the Other, go back the way they came: see *Polit.* 272 E and 273 A. This also is in the *Timaeus* if only we rightly understand the words of 44 B: ὅταν δὲ τὸ τῆς αὔξης καὶ τροφῆς ἔλαττον ἐπὶ ρεύμα, πάλιν δὲ αἱ περίοδοι λαμβανόμεναι γαλήνης τὴν ἑαντῶν ὁδὸν ἴωσι, *i.e.* when the stream of growth and nourishment comes in less fully, and the periods, becoming calm, go back their own way (cf. *Polit.* 273 A, the

very language of which is parallel to the *Timaeus*). The circles of the Same and the Other are in the human as well as in the World-soul, and as both were created before the ἀνακύκλῃσις, they must go back together. It is astonishing that this should have escaped such critics as Böckh and Martin, especially as it solves the difficulty in *Tim.* 36 C, where we are told that the δημιουργός made the circle of the Same revolve from left to right, *i.e.* (according to Plato's own definition in the *Laws* 760 D) from west to east. The making of the world took place before the ἀνακύκλῃσις, and if the δημιουργός had not made the heavens revolve from west to east then, it would be so revolving now, but indeed it is not—unless we are all standing on our heads. Plato is often difficult, but always fair, and it is hardly fair to call east west, west east, up down, and expect us to make him out—which is what the editors think he did. Böckh recognized the difficulty (*über das Kosmische system des Platon* p. 32), but it is no explanation to say that the *Laws* are 'popular.' Well might the *Timaeus* be unpopular, if it contained such silly puzzles; but the fact is, as I have said, that right means east, and left west in the *Timaeus* as in the rest of Plato's writings.

I have only cited these out of many instances where the *Timaeus* may be cleared up from the *Politicus*, but if I add that the myth of the *Politicus* is connected by Aristotle with Plato's Number—for the τροπή of *Pol.* v p. 1316^a 17 is the μεγίστη καὶ τελεωτάτη τροπή of the *Politicus* 270 B—and if (as I have endeavoured to prove elsewhere) the Nuptial Number is to be interpreted by means of this myth, it will be admitted that Plato meant something more than a pretty story when he wrote this ἀληθινὸς λόγος.

J. ADAM.

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES.

VIII.

(Greek Aorists and Perfects in -κα.)

THE assumption which has hitherto guided my enquiries is that a much closer connexion exists between Greek and Latin than is generally allowed and that in particular the perfect forms in the two languages were

originally identical. This assumption, if applied to the problem of the Greek aorists and perfects in -κα, yields an explanation which seems to me satisfactory and instructive.

Of the four aorists in -κα, *θῆκα ἦκα δῶκα φρήκα*, the first two, *θῆκα* and *ἦκα*, admit of comparison with Latin. If we transliterate them according to the phonetic and morphological laws of the language, we at once get *feci* and *jeci*. This identification shows that *θῆκα* and *ἦκα* were the original forms and that morphologically they are perfects. *Feci* is the legitimate perfect of the root *fēc*, a lengthened form of *fē*, while *facio* represents, as it should, *f'cīo*, the *ē* passing into the weakest stage of the vowel before *īo*. This indicates that *θῆκα* is the perfect of *θηκ*, a lengthened form of *θη*, the lost present being *θέσσω* for *θ'κω*. Similarly *jeci* is the perfect of *jēc*, the long form of *jē*, and the present *jacio* stands for *j'cīo*. By inference *ἦκα* is the perfect of *ἦκ*, for *ζηκ* the long form of *ζη*.

If I have rightly explained these two forms, it follows that *φρήκα* is nothing but the perfect of *φρηκ*, the lengthened form of *φρη*. The normally shortened form of *φρη* appears in *φρές*, and of *φρηκ* in *φράσσω* for *φ'κω*.

The only obstacle to the recognition of this instructive relation has been the *prima facie* difference of meaning between *φρήκα φρήναι* etc. and *φράσσω*. But this difference is not of any weight. *Farcio*, which every one identifies with *φράσσω*, combines the two significations 'to insert' and 'to fill.' Greek has merely attached the meaning of insertion to *φρήκα* and of filling to *φράσσω*.

The Latin equivalent of *φράσσω* is, as I have said, *farcio*, standing by Mr. Wharton's law of the pretonic *ō* for *forcio* = *fr'cīo*. The analogical perfect would have been *frēci*, but this differed too widely from the present and had to give way to the later aorist *farsi*. The original root *frē* survives with a shortened vowel in *frētus*, *frētum*, which naturally meant 'something inserted.' The same participial form appears with a sonant *r* in our own *board* and *border*.

The question arises how these four forms in -κα lost their perfect meaning and passed into aorists. The occasion for the transition lies in the disappearance of the original aorists *θῆν*, *ἦν*, *δῶν* and *φρήν*, and the cause of this disappearance is not far to seek.

ῆν, *ῆς*, *ῆ* were forms too unsubstantial and too much liable to confusion to be tolerated. Even in later times, when this aorist was transformed into *ἦκα*, Attic regarded it as unfit for independent existence and only suffered it in compounds. As *ἐημι* and *τίθημι* in their conjugation shew

constant attempts at maintaining a parallelism and are morphologically twins, it is probable that *θῆν* was influenced by *ῆν*; but there was besides a desire to avoid confusion between *θην* the particle and *θῆν* the verb. In the case of *φρήν* there was a similar risk of confusion with the substantive *φρήν*, while *δῶς* and *δῶ* are plainly homonymous with other words. It is true I have not taken the difference of accentuation into account; but it was not till a comparatively recent stage of the language that monosyllabic verbs such as *ῆν* and *φρήν* received what is called the regressive circumflex.

The view that the disappearance of the singular of these four aorists arose from a desire to avoid confusion, involves the converse that, when there was no risk of confusion, the analogous forms would be retained, and the fact that this converse is true (e.g. *βᾶν*, *στᾶν* etc.) is evidence for the original statement.

When therefore these singulars were dismissed as inconvenient, the language sought a substitute in the most nearly allied tense, the perfect. But the singulars of the primitive perfects of the stems *θη*, *ῆ*, *δω* and *φρη* (as indeed of all original vowel stems) had disappeared, and *θῆκα*, *ἦκα*, *δῶκα* and *φρήκα* had taken their places. These were accordingly adopted as the substitutes for the singular of the aorists. Two reasons may be discerned for not extending this substitution to the plural.

1. There was no pressing need for the change. 2. The reduplication in the plural forms of the perfect was felt as emphasizing the special signification which in historical Greek characterizes that tense.

One among the many consequences of the transition of *θῆκα*, *ἦκα*, *δῶκα* and *φρήκα* into aorists was that the corresponding plural forms of the perfect could no longer exist, being no longer supported by a singular either in its primitive form or with the substituted -κα. Consequently the later language had to coin new perfects by analogy. I have dwelt at length on this solitary group of aorists in -κα. Their characteristic want of reduplication and their employment in an exclusively aoristic meaning render them of the highest importance in the history of the language. But that which constitutes their philological value disqualifies them from serving as a type of ordinary perfect in -κα with its reduplication and non-aoristic senses. The true prototype of the general formation must, like these four, have been

derived from a stem ending in a vowel and lengthened by κ , but, unlike these, must have followed the ordinary course of Greek perfects in extending the reduplication to the singular and in adhering exclusively to the specialized Greek meaning of the tense. To these conditions may be added two others. 1. The lengthened form of the stem must have disappeared from use in the present, or at least have been so disguised by phonetic laws as not to be felt to exist. 2. The *ablaut* or variation between the long vowel of the perfect singular and the short vowel of the perfect plural must have been not merely traditional but capable of renewing itself in the actual Greek of the time.

This last condition excludes $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$ with the traditional *ablaut* of its vowel into $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$, an *ablaut* which had ceased to have a living existence long before the tense in $-\kappa\alpha$ came into being.

So far as I can see, $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\kappa\alpha$ alone answers these conditions and is the true parent of the general κ tense. The hypothetical $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ is the natural perfect of the stem $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$, lengthened from $\beta\acute{\alpha}$, the strongest form of which is seen in $\beta\omega\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ in its weaker shape $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ is found not only in $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\rho\nu$ but in Sappho's $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\nu$ and the Homeric $\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$, which is equivalent to the later $\acute{\eta}\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$. Both $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ appear in Latin with the same specialized meanings: $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ in *baculum* ($\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\rho\nu$), and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ in *imbēcillus* ($\acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\eta}\varsigma$) with $\acute{\epsilon}$ for $\acute{\alpha}$ in composition as in *anhēlo*. The original $\beta\acute{\alpha}$ has given birth to *baeto*, the diphthong being a modification of $\acute{\alpha}$ as it is of $\acute{\epsilon}$ in *saeculum* from *sē*.

The root is evidently common to both languages. Nor is it merely Graeco-Italian, for it exists in a participial form in our own *path*. The existence in this stem of a European *b* corresponding to an Aryan g_2 is a fact of some importance. Among other things it should make us hesitate to accept the doctrine that the Latin *bōs* is a foreign importation. From the paucity of relevant examples it is difficult to ascertain the law which determined the passage of g_2 into Graeco-Italian *b*. Both in *bōs* and the stem $\beta\acute{\alpha}$ the fact that the velar guttural is followed by a long *a* or *o* may have supplied one of the required conditions.

At all events in Greek and Latin as they stand we find two distinct stems. 1. $\beta\acute{\alpha}$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}$, lengthened into $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$. 2. *Venio* and $\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omicron$, representing an earlier $g_2\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron$. $\beta\acute{\alpha}\iota\nu\omicron$ only yielded forms attached to the present, while $\beta\acute{\alpha}$ produced the aorist $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and the old perfect, of which

(as of all similar forms) the singular has disappeared, leaving only the plural, $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$ etc. For the lost singular the synonymous perfect $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$, from the lengthened $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa$, was substituted, so that the inflexion ran: $\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$, $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu$ etc., or, after the generalization of the reduplication: $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$, $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu$. By the side of $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$, $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu$, existed $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$, though, as I have said, the divergence between the vowels of the singular and plural must have rendered it useless as a type. The first stem to undergo the influence of $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$ was evidently $\sigma\tau\alpha$. The two roots $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ and $\beta\acute{\alpha}$ must from the remotest times have exercised a mutual attraction and in the earlier languages deserve the name of twins as much as $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$ and $\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$. Thus $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, after the example of $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$, developed $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$.

These two impressed their type on all other primitive stems which ended in a long vowel. Three roots in *a* and one in *ei* ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$) remained true to this assignment of the κ stem to the perfect singular and of the stem without κ to the perfect plural. Thus $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\kappa\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ continued through the classical period. The common characteristic of these four forms is that a difference of vowel quality existed between the singular and the plural. Wherever this characteristic was wanting, the language ultimately extended the κ of the singular to the plural. In this extension, if we may judge from the Homeric poems, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ led the way. The extension was made in some Ionic dialects naturally enough after the analogy of the already existing perfects from consonantal stems, and thus like $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\gamma\chi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ we find $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\alpha$ $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$. But in most dialects the κ singulars formed their plurals by borrowing the terminations of the shorter plurals that existed by their side, and $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$ was modelled after $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota$.

Curtius in his *Greek Grammar* explains at some length how the termination in $\kappa\alpha$ subsequently spread through Attic and Ionic Greek, creating the perfects which, in case of derived verbs in $\omega\omicron$, $\epsilon\omega$ or $\omicron\omega$, had never before existed, or replacing those that had been lost in the case of dental or liquid stems.

To speak generally, in Greek as we know it the perfects which existed, other than those in κ , were (1) some seventy or eighty traditional forms (2) some forty which in the consciousness of the language had a stem ending in a guttural or labial.

The second class assume a special form in later Attic and Ionic, and aspirate the final consonant. The cause of this aspiration appears to be as follows.

The Greek ear had at all times within our knowledge a dislike to three or more successive syllables beginning with a tenuis. This dislike was not strong enough to displace words or forms clearly established by analogy or tradition, but revealed itself only when the analogy or tradition was weakened by surrounding circumstances. Thus we find in Homer *τετράφαται* for *τετράπαται*. In a tense like the perfect passive the labial ending of the stem was in every person other than the third plural controlled by phonetic law, and, as far as the tense itself went, it was impossible to distinguish between *π*, *β* and *φ*. Consequently, as *τετράπαται* had no support but in the analogy of the present and possible remembrance of former usage, the speaker was free to indulge his rhythmical dislike of tenses in successive syllables. Apparently he chose as a substitute for the tenuis *φ* rather than *β* because *φ* existed close at hand in other persons of the perfect. From some such beginnings *φ* became the normal labial before the endings *αται* and *ατο*, and *χ* the normal guttural. But it appears impossible to establish a direct connexion between *τετράφαται* and *τετάχαται* on the one hand and the Attic perfects *τέτροφα* and *τέταχα* on the other. The aspirated perfect is known to have come into existence before the date of Herodotus, and *πέπομφα*, which is the first instance of the kind, had we may believe at the time no *πέπεμμαι* at its side, while the difference of vocalization is important. But the same dislike of successive tenses which had created the aspirated forms in the perfect passive was at work here also. Moreover it was supported by another force which belonged only to the perfect active in Attic and Ionic. The widespread development of the form in *κα*, which as I have said characterized Attic and Ionic, had established in these dialects an instinctive feeling that there ought to be in the stem of the perfect, as compared with that of the present, a certain plus or additional weight of sound. Both these requirements were satisfied by the aspiration of the final labial tenuis. Hence *πέπομφα* was formed instead of the more analogical *πέπομπα*. The gradual spread of this aspirated perfect went on in Attic, as Curtius shews, for the next century, and was not complete at the end of the classical period.

The close relation I have asserted to exist between the aspirated perfect and the formation in *κα* from the nature of the case does not admit of demonstration, but I submit I have rendered it probable in itself, and it is supported by three facts. (1) There is one common perfect which shews an effort after dissimilation, and at the same time wants the aspirate: *πέπραγα*. But this is found as early as Pindar, and must have come into being before the *κ* perfect had become all but universal. (2) All the Attic perfects, which were formed from gutturals or labials from the time that the formation in *κα* became predominant, exhibit the aspirate. (3) We find a later perfect equally dissimilated and unaspirated with *πέπραγα*, viz. *κεκλεβώς*. But this belongs to the Messenian dialect, in which, as in other cognate dialects, *κ* forms are, we are assured, only found sporadically.

In this discussion I have assumed that in early Greek, as in Latin, the meanings of the perfect and aorist were closely allied. From the data furnished by a combination of the two languages it seems that the perfect was in its original signification independent of time and simply expressed the action of the verb in an emphatic or intensive form. Historically it had at least four varieties of meaning, and was (1) an intensive present, as *ἔρρύγα*. This passed into (2) a simple present, as *κέκραγα*. (3) It was sometimes an intensive or emphatic past, and that either (*α*), as in Greek, emphasized as important in its consequences from the point of view of the present, or (*β*), as in the Latin 'logical perfect,' emphasized as completed before the present time. From this meaning arose (4) the simple past of narration, as habitually in Latin, and, if I am right, in prehistoric Greek also. The number of verbs in Homer perhaps falls not far short of a thousand, out of which not more than seventy or eighty are used in the perfect, and that never in a narrative sense, but only with one of the first three meanings that I have enumerated. The overwhelming majority are without a perfect. The facts of the language are in accordance with this rarity of the tense in Homer.

The observation of scholars has been long summed up in the schoolboy rule that the perfect of modern languages may ordinarily be translated by the Greek aorist, and the large mass of perfects that we find in later Attic betray their recent coinage by their very mode of formation. It is obvious that at some time or other there must have been

a widespread destruction of the inherited forms of this tense. Of this destruction I can discern no general explanation but one based on the view that originally the prevailing meaning of most perfects was much the same in Greek as in Latin and approximated very nearly to that of the aorist. The disappearance of these narrative perfects, as I may call them, is due, I think, to the combined operation of two facts. The first is the extension of the reduplication to the singular, in which, as I am going to argue, it was originally wanting. This in the feeling of the language vivified the intensive character of the tense and widened the gap between perfect and aorist.

The narrative perfects, from the character of their meaning, could not accept the reduplication and accordingly perished. The second fact is the extension in Greek of the first aorist at the expense of the second aorist, a tense which began to disappear, it would seem, at an early stage of Graeco-Italian. Thus a form stood ready to assume the functions of the vanishing perfects of narration, so that there was no necessity for their continued existence.

If this account is correct, and if in hundreds of cases first aorists have been substituted for perfects, it is no wonder if for adequate cause the language has retained as aorists some few unreduplicated singulars of the perfect, and this, I contend, has occurred with the aorists in *κα*.

The identification of *ἔθηκα* etc. as perfects entails a consequence that the singular of the Graeco-Italian perfect from a stem containing a long vowel had no reduplication. Apart from these forms and from argument there is no archaism or survival to tell us whether both singular and plural were originally reduplicated and the Latin dropped an originally existing reduplication before all medial long vowels, or whether the plural was reduplicated and not the singular, so that Greek must have extended the reduplication to the singular from the plural. One or other of these alternatives follows from the fact that Latin forbids reduplication in the case of perfects with a long penultimate vowel (*cecidi* excepted) and that early Greek in the plural at once shortens the medial vowel and reduplicates.

To take an instance, in Greek we have *πέποιθα*, *πέπυθμεν*: in Latin, *pēgi* (*pepigi*), *pepīgimus* (*pēgimus*). The Greek law that long vowels in the penultimate of the perfect singular are shortened in the plural existed from Indo-Germanic times, as we

know from the relation between *οἶδα* and *ἴσμεν*, and assures us that *pepīgimus* was the original Latin form. But, as between *pēgi* and *πέποιθα*, we are left in doubt whether *πέποιθα* has borrowed its reduplication from *πέπυθμεν* or *pēgi* stands for *pepēgi*.

The disappearance of the narrative perfects ought to count, I think, in favour of the prior alternative, that the singular was originally unreduplicated. But if *ἦκα* and *θήκα* are perfects, no doubt remains. As survivals they may be taken to represent the original form of the tense, and we may conclude that the primitive inflexion was *ποιθα*, *pēgi*, *πέπυθμεν*, *pepīgimus*.

The exceptional union of a long vowel with the reduplication in *cecidi* admits of a satisfactory explanation. *Caedo* in the instinct of the 'sermo urbanus' was felt to be the causative of *cado* and the two became what I have called twin verbs, a constant relation being maintained between their respective forms of conjugation. Had each gone on its own way, *caedo* would have produced *caesi*, and *cado* *cadui*, at least in composition. As it was, *cecidi* communicated its reduplication to *caedi*, which so became *cecidi*; and on the other hand *succidimus*, which I take as a type of the compounded perfects of *cado*, would naturally have passed into *succiduimus* in order to avoid confusion with the present, as the perfect *succinimus* for the same reason has become *succinuimus*. But *succidimus* was forced to retain its form in order that it might preserve its parallelism to *succidimus*. Nor did the mutual attraction end here. The original supine *caesum* with its cognates naturally lost the double *s* in pronunciation after the diphthong and became *caesum*. Hence the true supine of *cado*, *cassum*, changed itself into *cāsum* in order to approach as closely as it could to its correlative.

My next article will be on the origin of the Greek and Latin aorists in *s*. In the course of the argument I shall have to insist on some philological principles which I desire to illustrate beforehand; and I can do this most conveniently in a discussion of the derivation of *ἔαπ*.

The account which is always given of *ἔαπ* is that it stands for *ἔσπαρ*, and it is ordinarily derived from a root *ves* = 'to shine.' This view is open to decisive objections.

(1) *Ves* in Greek and Latin, as in Teutonic, denotes light on the wane (e.g. *ἔσπερος*, *vesper*, *west*). *Aus* is the root that applies to light in process of increase (e.g. *ἔως*, *aurora*, *east*, *Easter*).

(2) If the original form was *vesar*, it is

impossible to explain the relation between it and the Latin *ver*, *veris* and *vernus* without a violation of phonetic laws.

(3) The Attic inflexion is *ἔα*, *ῆπος*. Scholars recognize that of all the masterpieces of the Greek genius the Attic dialect of the best period is the greatest, and that it owes its perfection mainly to its obedience to law and right reason. Comparative philologists lose much by not understanding that caprice is foreign to Attic, and that not least in its apparent anomalies. Now in *ἔα* the dropped spirant cannot be a sigma, for *εσα* under all circumstances becomes *η* (e.g. *ἦ*, *τεῖχῃ*, *ἀληθείῃ*). The absence of contraction proves that a digamma once separated the vowels. The initial *ε* stands for *η*, which is normally shortened in Attic and Ionic before the succeeding *α*. Its original length is not indeed proved by *εἰαπνός*, but is indicated by a similar form *φπειάτα*, and results necessarily from the existence of *εἶαπος*. The loss of a digamma before the *ε* or *η* needs no mention. Hence the Attic *ἔα* guarantees an original *FῆFap*.

Since *α* as the final of a neuter nominative represents a sonant *ρ*, *FῆFρ* would appear in Latin as *vēver* for *vēr*.

As I have proved the vowels in *ἔα* were separated by a digamma, it follows that the *η* in *ῆπος* is not the result of the contraction of *ε* and *α*. It is certain that when in Attic there is a concurrence of *ε* and *α* owing to the loss of a digamma, contraction never takes place (e.g. *ῆδέα*). We must therefore conclude that the *η* is the original vowel of the first syllable as it existed in pre-Attic days. In other words the primitive Greek declension ran: *FῆFap*, *FῆFρ*. This was preserved in Attic except so far as phonetic laws came into play. That is to say, the initial digamma disappeared throughout: in the nominative the medial digamma

suffered the same fate, leaving no trace but the want of contraction, and the *η* was shortened before the following *α*: in the genitive also this digamma was lost after a long vowel before *ρ*, as in *νᾶρός* for *vāFρός* from *vaúω*, *vaw*. Thus we see that the Attic *ἔα*, *ῆπος* is the result of strict conformity to law.

In Latin the genitive would be originally *vēuris*. As in Greek, the *u* disappears after a long vowel before *r*, and *vēr* is the result. I see nothing to decide whether the actual nominative was formed anew from *vēr*, the old *vēr* being rejected as too disparate from the genitive, or whether Latin followed its usual course of rejecting one of two successive syllables which began with the same consonant and approached closely in sound. I incline to hold that both forces were at work.

If then the original form was *FῆFap*, *vēver*, the etymology is apparent. The word comes from the root *vē* = 'to blow,' and the suffix *Fρ* or *ῥ* (i.e. in Greek and Latin writing *Fap* and *vēr*) is the same that appears in *πῆα* and *εἶδα*. In the genial climate of Greece not much stress was laid on the winds of spring, but in Latin *ver* is often brought into connexion with Favonius. Compare Pliny's description of this wind (*N.H.* 18, 34): 'Hic ver inchoat etc.'

Much depends on the truth or falsehood of the view I have advocated. If it be true, it is a striking example that the consensus of the Sanscrit-speaking people, the Old Bulgarians, and the Lithuanians is not enough to establish that a word was used by the Greeks and Romans, and contains a warning that when morphological observations have been made in one language, it is hazardous to apply them to another, unless the connexion between the two is of the very closest.

F. W. WALKER.

BRUGMANN'S THEORY OF THE IND.-EUR. NASALIS SONANS.

THE theory is based on these assumptions:—

1. That the *a* of Skt. *sānti*, *bībhṛati*, *dvishānti*, *indhatē*, *tanvatē*, *vākas*, &c., is a connecting-vowel or represents a connecting-vowel + a nasal.

2. That the forms which the alleged *nasalis sonans* took in the various Ind.-Eur. languages were due to *svarabhakti* after sonorous consonants, which *svarabhakti* was (or its effects were) extended to cases in which the *nasalis sonans* followed mutes (Curtius' *Studien*, Vol. ix. pp. 294, 304).

3. That the *nasalis sonans* took the musical accent in Indo-European.

4. That "the Ar. ending of 1. sg. -*am* e.g. in Skr. *ās-am* 'I was' (cp. Gr. *ἦα ἦ* = **ēs-ṃ*) and that of the acc. sg. e.g. in Skr. *pād-am* 'foot' (cp. Gr. *πόδα* = **pod-ṃ*) point to -*ṃ*. Three explanations are possible. 1. There existed in prim. Indg. beside -*m* and -*ṃ* a form -*ṃm* (and -*ṃṃ*) after the manner of the phenomena discussed in §§ 312. 313. In that case Cyp. -*av* in *ἀ(ν)δριά(ν)τ-av* (Att. *ἀνδριάτρ-α*) etc. could be directly connected with the Ar. form. 2. -*ṃ* became -*ṃm*, by

a special Ar. development, when the following word began with a sonant, i.e. generated an *m* as glide, under the same conditions as *i* and *u* often made their appearance after *-i* and *-u* in various languages. 3. *-m* became *-a* in prim. Ar. (cp. Skr. *dāśa*) and this became transformed to *-am* after the analogy of forms like Skr. *ābhara-m*, *āśva-m*. The second possibility seems to deserve the preference, and the first type in consideration of *ābharam* and *āśvam* may have been generalised through the side by side existence of *āsam a-* and **āsat-, pādām a-* and **pāda-* (cp. J. Schmidt, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* xxvii. 282 f.). Cp. *sthātūr* § 285." (Brugmann, *Grundr.* § 231 Rem.)

There is a far simpler alternative theory ; that the accusative suffixes were *-am*, *-ams* ; the primary 3rd plur. suffix *-anti*, *-antai*, the pres. part. act. suffix *-ant-*, the secondary 1st pers. sing. act. suffix *-am*, &c., and that in Gk. and Skt. if they followed a vowel the *a* vanished, if they followed a consonant the *n* or *m* vanished in affected syllables, and if final in Gk., as in Skt., final *-n* is dropped from nominal stems ; cf. *dāsa*, *nāma*, *rājā*. Contrast Skt. *pādām*)(Gk. *πόδα*, and *abodhisham*)(Gk. *ἐδειξα*.¹

It is perfectly natural that the vowel should vanish after a vowel, and equally natural that the vowel + nasal after a consonant should merge into a nasal vowel.

That the *a* in question is not a connecting-vowel seems obvious in the case of *asānti* if *u* is a vowel, as it would not be wanted, and there are no connecting-vowels in the other forms of that tense. Similarly with regard

¹ Thus *ἐδειξ-α* : *abodhish-am* :: *ἐδειξ-α* : *abodhish-i-s* :: *ἐδειξ-* : *abodhish-i-t*. We cannot compare *ἐδειξ-αν* with *abodhish-us*, until more is known of the Skt. 3rd plur. *-us*.

It is highly probable that Gk. *-a* came always from *-av* and not directly from *-am*. Consequently there is no certain case of final so-called *ῆ* or *ῆm* being directly represented by a vowel, except the Lith. *matere*.

Brugmann's equation (*Grundr.* § 287) *sthātūr* :

to Skt. *dādāti*, *dādhati*, as *dad-*, *dadh-* seem to be frankly accepted as the base of the plural forms.

That the 3rd plur. suffix began with a vowel seems to be suggested by the Vedic forms *paanti*, *paānti*, *bhaanti*.

In view of Lat. *sumus* and Skt. *smas* it is superfluous to defend the prodelision which I have assumed.

My objections to the assumption that the sounds which represent the alleged *nasalis sonans* could take the accent, are supported by Gustav Meyer's remarks (Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* Vol. xxiv. pp. 253, 254). According to my own view of the Ind.-Eur. vowel-system, I should tabulate the cases in which the disputed suffixes follow a consonant as below. In this connexion the form *ukshābhis* is quoted. Whatever be the original position of the accent, the vowel *a* seems to be on the analogy of forms like *ājmaḥis*, *ācmabhis*, *āllvabhis*, not to mention such forms as *urūbhis*, *dhanūbhis*. In the last form, as G. Curtius has remarked, a nasal is obviously suppressed. This gives the proportion *i : in :: a : an*, which is awkward for the *nasalis sonans* ; so De Saussure airily suggests that forms in *-in* may be comparatively late.

The Umbrian *nerf* (= *ἄνδρας*) offers a strong testimony to the presence of a nasal consonant in the acc. plur. suffix in Ind.-Eur. and in Early Italic. The form *nerf* is <*nerf* < *nerans*, for *f* represents *-ns*, not *-s*, in Umbrian. This and the Cretan *φονίκας* (Curtius' *Studien*, Vol. ix. p. 299) are a full set-off against the purely negative evidence of the Lith. *matere*.

sthātūr = *dāsa* : *pādām* is unsound ; for the *-a* of Skt. *dāsa* is for *-an*. Gk. and Skt. also agree in retaining both vowel and nasal in the secondary 3rd plur. act. suffix *on(t)* after consonants, e.g. *āsan*, *ῆσαν*, which I therefore regard as unaccentual forms determined by old enclitic use, but the retention of the nasal consonant may be due to the analogy of strong aorists, the tense-stem of which ended in a vowel.

Compare the above paragraph of the text with the spaced paragraph, Curtius' *Studien*, Vol. ix. p. 294.

ACCENTED.	UNACCENTUAL.	AFFECTED.
Skt. <i>sānti</i> , Av. <i>hent</i> , Goth. <i>sind</i> , Gk. <i>ἐντι</i> (for <i>ἐντι</i> by analogy).	Skt. <i>santi</i> , Gk. <i>ἐαντι</i> , <i>ἐντι</i> (for <i>ἀντι</i>), Lat. <i>sunl</i> .	Skt. <i>satī</i> , Gk. <i>ἕασσα</i> .
	Skt. <i>āsan</i> , Gk. <i>ῆσαν</i> .	Skt. <i>dāsa</i> , Gk. <i>δέκα</i> .
Skt. <i>ῆānti</i> .	Gk. <i>ἱαντι</i> .	Gk. <i>λέλογχ-ασι</i> . ²
Skt. <i>kīnvānti</i> .	Gk. <i>δευκνάντι</i> .	Gk. <i>ῆσται</i> , <i>ἐλλάται</i> .
		Skt. <i>pādām</i> , Gk. <i>πόδα</i> .
		Skt. <i>vīkas</i> , Gk. <i>ῆπας</i> .

² *λελόγχ-ατι* : *λελόγχα-ντι* :: *-μεν* : *-α-μεν*.

A sonant nasal cannot be properly said to be capable of learning the musical accent. It is a hum, and there is no reason to suppose that the vocal chords are tightened so as to vibrate rhythmically any more than when a soft *s* or a soft mute is uttered, unless one hums chantly. The acute accent which Dr. Brugmann has heard in *hnein*, *ñja*, may be distinguished as a dialectical emotional chanting from the accentuation of ordinary speech with which we are concerned. It is to be observed that extant specimens of the sonant nasal in Ind.-Eur. languages are all derivative, and can generally be traced back to a real vowel followed by a nasal consonant. The sound, when once uttered, seems to be quite stable, and the notion that such a primitive sound became *a* in Skt., *a* in Gk., *en* in Lat., *un* in Goth., seems to me to present far greater difficulties than the assumption that in certain cases a true vowel followed by a nasal coalesced with the nasal under certain circumstances in Gk. and Skt. into a vowel (presumably at first nasal), while in the majority of languages we find abundant evidence for the suggested combination of a true vowel with the following consonant. The suggested explanation of Skt. *ar*, = Gk. *ap*, by a primitive *nr*, long appeared to me to be a strong point in favour of Dr. Brugmann's theory; but I have come to the conclusion—apart from my careful investigation of the Gk. *ap*, briefly set forth in §§ 12a, 14 of my paper on the Indo-European Vowel-System¹—that the collocation *nr* is a physiological impossibility, the attempt to pronounce which must inevitably result in *gnr* or in syllabic division before the *r*.

The Vedic *pīvan*, *pīvarī* = Gk. *πίων*, *πίεπα*. The form *pīvarā* is comparatively late and may be due to *pīvarī*. It can hardly be maintained that there is a nasal in *πίεπα*, and consequently we cannot safely assume that the *-a* of *pīvarī* represented a nasal. We may regard *pīvarī*, *pīvarā* as derivatives from the stem *pīva-*, cf. Gk. *πίω-ς*; while *πιap-ός* (late) is from *πιap* (*Iliad*). Dr. Brugmann's citation of Skt. *pīvarā-s*, Gk. *πιap-ός* (*Grundr.* §224), suggests the accumulation of plausible evidence, without sufficient consideration of its real worth.²

De Saussure finds one of the strong points which recommend the *nasalis sonans* the analogy of the vowel *r* in Skt. But this

analogy appears to me to be one of the strongest evidences against primitive *ṛ*. Almost invariably we find the Skt. *r* represented in Gk. by *pa* or *ap*; while the so-called vowel *ṛ* when it appears as a vowel in Skt. is indicated by *a*, and when it appears as a vowel in Gk. is indicated by *a*. Here we have a sharp contrast rather than an analogy. In the one case the trill remains in evidence persistently; in the other case the nasal element vanishes (except so far as the Skt. *a* and the Gk. *a* may have been the most nasal of the true vowels). With the other arguments which De Saussure selects I have dealt with above or in my paper on the Indo-European Vowel-System (see especially § 25). The allegation that Skt. *-ana-* by *-na-* is to be explained as *-ṇa-* (Brugmann, *Grundr.* § 227) on the analogy of *-ṛa-*, *-īa-*, are supported by late Gk. examples, and the suggested analogies are, if not unsound, at least very doubtful. The Skt. *-ira-* (Brugmann, *Grundr.* § 287) is as likely to be the ordinary schwa + *-ra-*, as *-ṛa-*; and *-īa-* (Brugmann, *Grundr.* § 120) in the *Rig-Veda*, is found either after groups of consonants or in the form *-ia-*. Two out of the few instances which Dr. Brugmann gives (*Grundr.* § 120), viz. *ā-martīya-*, *naptīya-*, are probably derivatives from bases ending in *-i-*, viz. *ṇīti-*, *napti-*. Moreover, the suffix *-ina-* only occurs in seven words, except in connexion with the suffix *-in* (once *-in*) or *-i*, viz. *aminā*, *Ālina*, *āṇinā*, *dākṣinā* (*dakṣinā*), *drāvina* (? from *dravī*), *rāspīnā*, *vṛjīnā* (*ārvjīnā*), of which words three are only found once in the *Rig-Veda*, and one only twice. On the other hand *-ana-* is a common termination of Skt. bases of all forms, so that a strong presumption is raised that before *-na-* (*-ṇa-*) the schwa in Skt. took the form *a*, perhaps owing to the analogy of nominal bases ending in *-a* + *-na-* (*-ṇa-*). It might be expected that *-a* would also be found before *m*, whereas we find *-iman*, but in the *Rig-Veda* this suffix only occurs in the case of eight words, while there are nine forms in *-iman*, so that the *i* of these instances requires further investigation.

The possessive or relational suffix *-ina-* is found in the *Rig-Veda* in four words in connexion with the suffix *-in*, as *ṣākīna*, *ṣākīnā* by *ṣākīn* = 'endowed with strength' (*ṣāka*); *vājīna* (sb. neut.) by *vājīn*, from *vāja*; *vanīnā* (neut.) *vanīn* (masc.) = 'forest-tree', from *vāna*; *māhīna*, *māhīn*, *māhī*, *māhīna* = 'great'. This suffix cannot easily be separated from the Gk. *-ivo-* in *ειap-ivός*, *ξύλ-ivo-*, and consequently it is unsafe to equate Skt. *māhī* with Gk. *πέγα*. It is also unsafe

¹ *Indo-European Vowel-System*, by C. A. M. Fennell, D. Litt., Cambridge, E. Johnson, 1891, pp. 33. Eighteenpence.

² Dr. Brugmann gives my explanation of *pīvarī*, *pīvarā* in vol. ii. § 74, pp. 182, 185, thus confirming my criticism.

to regard the Skt. suffix *-in-* as a late formation. Note that μέγας (*megān-s* and μέγα (*megān*) are regular, while μέγαν is for *μέγανα by the false proportion μέγας : μέγα : μέγαν :: αὐτός : αὐτό : αὐτόν :: πολὺς : πολύ :

πολύν. Again the neut. μέλαν (for *μέλα) follows the analogy of the stem of oblique cases, in some of which—the weak—the *a* is perhaps a schwa.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

ON THE TEXT OF THE PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF THE *PHAEDO*.

(Concluded from page 365.)

§ 6.—In several places the papyrus presents the same words with the MSS., but in a different order. Our editors account for this by supposing learned copyists to have been careful about the avoidance of hiatus.

a. Out of eight passages in which the order is changed there are three in which hiatus disappears. Let us examine them.

v. (2) l. 10 (68 B) σοὶ ἔφη τεκμήριον. P.

σοὶ τεκμήριον, ἔφη. MSS.

Here it seems to me that the later scribes have fallen into a more commonplace arrangement. That is all.

v. (4) l. 4 (68 E) στερηθῆναι ἑτέρων ἡδονῶν. P.

ἐτέρων ἡδονῶν στερηθῆναι. MSS.

Here it is the scribe of the papyrus who has dropped into a similar error. The position of ἐτέρων before ἡδονῶν is required for emphasis.

vi. (4) l. 4 (81 B) οὐ ἂν τις. P.

οὐ τις ἂν. MSS.

Here there *may* have been avoidance of hiatus, but it is equally possible that the change was accidental.

vi. (4) l. 20 (81 C) τοῦτο, ὃ φίλε? P. (See editor's note.) But *o* would be elided before *ω*. ὃ φίλε, τοῦτο. MSS.

b. In five out of the eight passages hiatus is not avoided.

v. (2) l. 7 (68 B) πολλὴ ἀλογία ἂν εἴη. P.

πολλὴ ἂν ἀλογία εἴη. MSS.

I cannot see why *a* | *a* should be more displeasing than *a* | *ε*. In either case a Londoner would insert *ρ*.

vi. (2) l. 3 (80 D) τοιοῦτον ἕτερον τόπον. P.

τοιοῦτον τόπον ἕτερον. MSS.

Here hiatus is not pleaded; but the editors say that the MS. reading is less euphonious. To me it seems less commonplace and more Platonic.

vii. (3) l. 7 (83 C) ἡσθῆναι ἢ λυπηθῆναι σφόδρα ἐπὶ τῷ. P.

ἡσθῆναι σφόδρα ἢ λυπηθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ. MSS.

There is no perceptible difference with re-

gard to hiatus, but the MS. reading seems more idiomatic.

viii. (4) l. 1 οἷα καθαρῶς εἰς Ἄιδου μηδέποτε ἀφικέσθαι. P.

οἷα μηδέποτε εἰς Ἄιδου καθαρῶς ἀφικέσθαι. MSS.

The *ε* of *μηδέποτε* is elided in either case. It is hard to say whether the postponement of this word in the papyrus is due to Platonic emphasis, or to a casual error.

Nor do I see how in viii. (4) l. 3 (83 D) hiatus is avoided by the collocation of ἀναπλέα ἐξίεναι.

In vi. (2) l. 7 I read οἱ καὶ ἂν θεὸς θέλει (*i.e.* θέλη) αὐτίκα τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ ἱτέον. This involves hyperbaton of καί.

§ 7.—The following words and phrases which appear in our MSS. and printed texts are omitted in the papyrus.

(1.) v. (16) l. 11 δὴ after πολλοί

(2.) v. (2) l. 12 μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι. So at least the editors infer from the size of the gap.

(3.) v. (2) l. 14 ὦν after τυγχάνει

(4.) v. (3) l. 6 ἔφη after ἀνάγκη

(5.) v. (3) l. 23 εἶναι. So the editors infer.

(6.) v. (4) l. 9 τῶν before ἡδονῶν

(7.) vi. (2) l. 6 καὶ φρόνιμον omitted or transposed?

(8.) vi. (3) l. 13 δὲ was at first omitted but inserted over the line.

(9.) vi. (3) l. 16 τῶν before θεῶν

(10.) vi. (4) l. 1 [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] ὑπὸ [τε]

Did the papyrus read ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἡδονῶν?

(11.) vi. (4) ll. 2, 3 [δοκεῖν εἶναι] ἀληθὲς ἄλλο ἢ for ἄλλο δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀληθὲς ἀλλ' ἢ of MSS.

(12.) vii. (2) l. 2 ἔστιν after εἰκὸς

(13.) vii. (3) l. 7 ἐκείνη before ἐπόμενοι

(14.) viii. (2) l. 2 αὐτοῖς after ἀνάγκη

(15.) viii. (2) l. 6 ἀλλ' before ἢ

(16.) viii. (2) l. 9 ὦν before ἄλλο

(17.) viii. (2) l. 10 τε after αἰσθητόν

(18.) viii. (2) l. 16 καὶ φόβων after λυπῶν

(19.) viii. (4) l. 11 ὃ Κέβη after ἔνεκα (But may not δικαίως be the word omitted here?)

(20.) viii. (4) l. 13 ἔνεκα φασὶν after πολλοὶ

(21.) vii. (4) l. 5 τὸ before θεῖον and ἀδόξαστον.

§ 8.—The papyrus adds words omitted in the Bodleian MS.

a. v. (3) l. 12 εἶναι (with Εἰ) after κακῶν

b. vi. (2) l. 4 τὸν before γενναῖον

c. vi. (5) l. 8 ω ταφ.....ασθενει.....χονται

N.B. One or two letters are lost at the beginning of the line. The ω is not certain in the facsimile. Space for five letters after ταφ, room for six or more after εἰ. MSS. οἷα παρέχονται.

d. vii. (3) l. 6 τῶι before καθαρμῶ

e. vii. (3) l. 9 λέγεις after πῶς

f. viii. (2) l. 7 τι before τῶν ὄντων

g. viii. (2) l. 18 τι before σφόδρα

§ 9.—The additions in the papyrus, although less numerous, are on the whole more worthy of attention than the omissions.

Plato's style is redundant and elliptical by turns, and it is not always easy to know where either mode is to be looked for.

The most significant of the 21 omissions (see § 7) are ἔνεκα φασὶν, already discussed in § 5, and (2) μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι, for which there does not seem to be room in the papyrus. In both places the ellipse can be easily borne, but the expansion with the second participle in μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι seems to me Platonic. The case of § 7 (7), where καὶ φρόνιμον may only have been transposed, need not be discussed.

Of the rest, μετὰ θεῶν in (9) is more idiomatic than μετὰ τῶν θεῶν, εἰκὸς in (12) than εἰκὸς ἐστίν, ἐπόμενοι in (13) than ἐκείνη ἐπόμενοι, θεῖον καὶ ἀδόξαστον in No. 21 than τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὸ ἀδόξαστον, and probably also τυγχάνει in (3) than τυγχάνει ὢν, though it is not an omission which editors would have suggested.

But on the other hand in (1) πολλοὶ δὲ is better than πολλοί, in (4) ἔφη and in (5) εἶναι can hardly be spared, in (6) the article is in place, in (16) the participle is distinctly required, in (18) καὶ φόβων, though it might be dispensed with, is in harmony with the context, and with regard to (11), when taken in connexion with vii. (2) l. 12, it would seem that Macedonian or Egyptian Greek was unfamiliar with the Attic use of ἄλλ' ἤ.

As compared with the hypothesis of modern editors, the 'accretions' proved to have accumulated in the interval of 1200 years between the papyrus and the Bodleian MS. are, so far, not considerable.

§ 10.—Of the added words (see § 8) a, b, c, f, g, will probably be accepted with-

out hesitation for the future. In d the article is of doubtful value. There remains c, a phrase which, if written by Plato, has strangely left no trace in any of the MSS., nor any felt incoherence in an important context. What was the phrase? Mr. L. C. Purser suggests τῶν οὐπὼ ταφέντων—placing τῶν οὐ |, I presume, at the end of l. 7. But why then, do the phantoms appear περὶ τοὺς τάφους? And what is to be made of [α]σθενει? I suggest as possible [ἐπὶ τῶι]τάφ[ωι, οἷα ὑπ' α]σθενει[as παρέχονται. Some will suggest that even at this early period a 'gloss' may have crept into the text. In that case the much maligned Alexandrian critics of the second century B.C. have successfully discarded the interpolation.

§ 11.—If time has gathered some dross, time also has taken away some morsels of the fine gold. But the amount both of incrustation and of decay is extremely small. Nor are the corrections of the MS. readings which the papyrus supplies of a kind which could be remedied by conjecture, as the facts have proved. Hermann's deletion of ἔνεκα φασὶν is the only exception, and this was retracted (*supra* § 5). It is observable that two of the readings which the papyrus supports are distinctly ungrammatical, and as such have been rejected by modern critics, viz. 81 A διάγονσα, which Heindorf changed to διαγούση because of the datives preceding, and 84 A μεταχειριζομένης, where Schanz following Madvig prefers the reading of E, μεταχειριζομένην. It need cause no surprise if this last should be confirmed by another papyrus in the future.

§ 12.—We may now approach the places where the papyrus substitutes a different word or phrase for one in which all the MSS. agree.

Two instances are particularly remarkable:—

(1) v. (4) l. 3 (68 E) τὴν ἀνδραποδώην σωφροσύνην for τὴν εὐήθη σωφροσύνην.

and (2) viii. (2) l. 11 (83 B) ὦι δὲ αὐτὴ προσέχει for ὃ δὲ αὐτὴ ὀρά.

The editor's note on (1) is: 'The reading of the papyrus (ἀνδραποδώην for εὐήθη) is far more vigorous and likely to be genuine. But how did the weaker version come to prevail?' The 'vigour' (or rather the forcible feebleness) of substituting for εὐήθη, in which the complacency of gentle dulness is ironically indicated, the very word which Plato brings in after clinching his proof (69 B τῷ ὄντι ἀνδραποδώης), smacks less of the master than of the disciple. And after all it may be merely the inadvertence of a

copyist who was familiar with the whole context. Such anticipation of a striking word is natural and not uncommon. The papyrus convicts the MSS. of a somewhat similar error in 82 C, where the reading οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφούντες (even if preferred for avoidance of hiatus) is probably due to a reminiscence of the same phrase in 67 E.

The case of (2) *ὡι αὐτῇ προσέχει* is not quite so simple. It was undoubtedly the reading of the papyrus. But did Plato write it? The absolute use of *προσέχω* in Classical Greek occurs in three senses: (a) 'to give heed to,' (b) 'to devote oneself to' (as a pursuit), (c) 'to land at a place' (in sailing). The last (c) is of course out of the question here. The second meaning (b) appears more than once in Herodotus (8, 128: 9, 33) and thrice at least in Plato (*Phaedr.* 272 E, *Rep.* viii. 554 B, *ib.* v. 459 A). (In both places of the *Republic*, the perfect tense is used.) The first meaning (a) is found in Demosthenes 132, 8 etc., but appears in the earlier language only in the phrase *προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ* (Aristoph. *Eccles.* 294, Xen. *Mem.* 3, 7, 9). On the other hand it is frequent in Plutarch and Polybius and is recognized by Photius p. 459, 14. One sees that it was a phrase of common parlance in Common Greek.

In the immediate context there is no valid objection to the MS. reading *ὡι αὐτῇ ὀρά*. The same contrast of earthly and spiritual vision occurs repeatedly in Plato, and particularly in the passage of the *Republic* which is most akin to this, viz. vii. 518—519. See esp. 519 B, C τῇν τῆς ψυχῆς ὄψιν...καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁξύντατα ἐώρα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἃ νῦν τέτραπται. But if the emphatic force of *αὐτῇ* were partly lost, the repetition of the same word with different significance might confuse a literal or superficial reader, and a copyist might carelessly substitute for it the familiar and prosaic *ὡι αὐτῇ προσέχει*,—to the injury of the context. For what the sense requires is a resumption of *ὅ τι ἂν νοήσῃ αὐτῇ καθ' αὐτὴν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τῶν ὄντων*. And this is given with perfect simplicity and clearness by *ὡι αὐτῇ ὀρά*,—whereas *ὡι αὐτῇ προσέχει* would rather express not the object which the mind perceives, but the act or habit of attention (or of devotion) to which the soul is brought through the liberating work of philosophy. This only comes as the *result* of the reasoning process which is here being described.

§ 13.—Enough has been said to make it clear that the readings of the papyrus are not to be accepted without question. I am myself inclined to maintain the traditional

reading of 68 E *τούτω...τὸ περὶ ταύτην* as more logical, and *περὶ ὃ ἂν* in 83 C as more subtle, against the readings of the papyrus. In the former case the phrase in 69 A *τοῦτο δ' ὁμοίον ἐστὶν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.* may have led the copyist astray. And in 81 D *εἰκότως (bis)* may safely be rejected with the infinitive following. But I should not have much hesitation in accepting on the authority of the papyrus *πορεύονται* (for *πορεύονται*) in 82 D, *ἀφικέσθαι* for *ἀφικνεῖσθαι* in 82 B, and in 82 C *φιλόσοφοι*, with E (cp. 83 E *οἱ δικαίως φιλομαθεῖς*); also *αὐτὰς* for *ταύτας* in 82 D.

In 83 C I would follow the papyrus, only reading *δὴ* for *δὲ*,—*μάλιστα δὴ εἶναι τοῦτο*, regarding the MS. reading—*τοῦτο ἐναργέστατον τε εἶναι καὶ ἀληθέστατον*—as an expansion, due to loss of the emphasis on *εἶναι*. In 81 B I should regard the alternative of *σοφίαι* (papyrus) and *φιλοσοφίαι* MSS. as doubtful.

§ 14.—Various interesting questions of orthography I leave to the consideration of those who specialize in this direction. The retention of *ει* for *η* conjoined with *οὐθέν*, *μηθέν*, *σὺν*, etc., and with the assimilation of *Ablaut*,—is especially curious. *Τὸν θάνατον*, as I have said, suggests the query, How did the scribe pronounce his Thetas?

§ 15.—It remains to call attention to some *minutiae*.

(1.) v. (2) l. 2 *τωι ὄν[τ]ι γε*: *τ* should not be bracketed. It is quite clear in the facsimile.

(2.) *ib.* l. 5. The conjecture of the Editors seems probable.

(3.) l. 8. There is room for *τον]* *θάνατον* (or *τομ?*).

(4.) l. 11. Was *τοῦτο* (whole or in part) written at the end of l. 10?

(5.) l. 12. Although there is not room for *μέλλοντα ἀποθανεῖσθαι*, five or six letters seem to be wanted to complete the line. Line 16 is also incomplete. *Qy.* *τά<γε> ἕτερα το]ύτων*.

(6.) l. 18. *ὡ συμμία* is omitted without being mentioned in the notes. The line as it stands is incomplete.

The same is true of *πάνν μὲν οὖν* in v. (3) l. 20 (68 E).

(7.) v. (3) l. 17 *[πληρ]οι φιλοσοφοι (sic)*. Was *οἱ φιλόσοφοι* ever visible? In the earlier part of this line, does not the papyrus indicate *εἰσιν ἀνδρε]οι*?

(8.) v. (4) l. 7 *ἐκείνων* (unnoticed by the Editors) is read for *ἄλλων*. The possibility of error is indicated by the word being written immediately below *ἐκείνων* in the previous line.

(9.) *ib.* l. 8. Is it certain that *τῶν* after *ὑπὸ* was omitted in the papyrus?

(10.) vi. (2) l. 7. The letters transcribed *ιδι* were surely *και*, as I have said above.

(11.) vi. (4) l. 1. Why not *τῶν ἐπιθυμῶν τε καὶ*?

(12.) *ib.* l. 7. The dash or horizontal mark following *καὶ* is not above the line (as in the transcript) and there is room for *αἰδεσ* (*i.e.* *αἰδές*).

(13.) *ib.* l. 9 *ειθισμενη*: a manifest error. But is it certain that what is read as *ι* is not

part of the *μ*. of *μισεῖν*? Compare *ib.* l. 14 *ἀλλὰ διειλημ[μένην]*.

(14.) vii. (2) l. 11. The habit of the papyrus suggests *ἀφικέσθαι ἄλλωι* in place of *ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἄλλ'*.

(15.) viii. (1) l. 20. *ἦ τῶν ἄλλων* is the reading of the papyrus against *καὶ τῶν ἄλλων* of MSS. and editions. This is rightly transcribed, but the variation is not mentioned in the notes.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

NOTE ON THE EPOCH OF HERODAS.

THE following points have not, I believe, been noticed as bearing on the question of Herodas' date.

1. The remarkable resemblance to famous lines of Vergil and Catullus:—

i. 21, 22.

πόσον τιν' ἤδη χηραίνεις
χρόνον, μόνη τρύχουσα τὴν μίαν κοίτην;

i. 37.

κατ' οὖν λήσεις
γηράσα καὶ σευ τὸ ὄριμον τέφρη κάψει;

Verg. *Aen.* iv. 32.

Solane perpetua maerens carpere iuuenta?

Her. i. 61.

ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον μοι, Μητρίχη, μίαν ταύτην
ἀμαρτίην δός.

Aen. iv. 19.

Huic uni forsani potui succumbere culpa.

Indeed, throughout, the scene between Gyllis and Metriche has a close resemblance to the scene between Anna and Dido: so close that either Vergil borrowed from Herodas, or Herodas reproduced Vergil.

Her. i. 32.

γυναικες ὀκόσους οὐ μὰ τὴν Αἴδεω κούρην
ἀστέρας ἐνεγκεῖν οὐρανὸς κεκαύχεται.

and the same comparison of an infinite number to the stars perhaps recurred vi. 98.

Catullus *twice* uses this same comparison:—

vii. 7. Aut quam sidera multa, cum
tacet nox,

Furtivos hominum vident amores.

lxi. 203, 4. Siderumque micantium
Subducatur numerum prius.

Her. vi. 94.

ποδισκῶν ὦν πόθοι τε κῆρωτες
ψαύουσιν.

Cat. xiii. 11, 12.

Nam unguentum dabo quod meae puellae
Donarunt Veneres Cupidinesque.

Cf. iii. 1, xxxvi. 3.

Here again it is quite as possible that Herodas took a colour from the world-famed poems of the Roman, as that Catullus reproduced the Greek.

2. The passage (iii. 24 *sqq.*) in which the name Μάρων is introduced has been thought—and in my opinion most naturally, not to say necessarily—to point to Vergil. There is, at least, very little force in the selection of the name, either as a mythological personage, or on other grounds. Now the name *Simon*, which the dunce Kottalos substitutes for Maron, is sometimes written in MSS. for *Sinon*, *e.g.* in the new fragments of Apollodorus (the Mythographer) recently discovered at Jerusalem and published in the *Rheinisches Museum* for this year, p. 172. Substitute Σίνωνα then for Σίμωνα in Her. iii. 24 *sqq.*

τριημέρη Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν Μάρων' ἐποίησεν
οὗτος Σίνων' ὁ χρηστός

and the reason for this combination of the two names is at once palpable. Kottalos substitutes for *Vergil* one of *Vergil's* most famous characters, the lying *Sinon*. And Metrotime plays on the word: *Sinon*, forsooth; I call myself *ἄνον* for not teaching him *ὄνους βόσκειν* rather than giving him a good education.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

APPARATUS CRITICUS AD CICERONIS LIBROS DE NATURA DEORUM.

§ 64. § 64, 34 a philosophia pellatur V^2 a philosophi (filosofi A^1 philosophy B^1) appellatur AB^1V a philosophi talis app., *sed talis del.* I, C a philosophis appellatur PV^3 philosophia (-ia M) appellatur B^2FM || 35 disputemus—immortalibus *om.* V^1 *suppl.* V^2 (*cf. posthac*) || disputemus AB^1 || dicamus—naturis] dicaliusu (-usus C^2) ignais ACP^2V die alio usu ignais V^{34} dicamus digna (indigna M^2) diis BFM , *sed F m. 1 transpos. ex dicamus diis immortalibus digna (immort. etiam BCPV^2)* (dicamus digna deo immortalis K) || 1 quid...quid (quit A^1) Z || 2 per mare] permanere C *et ut vid.* A^1 || pergentem P (pertinentem, ntem *in ras.* I, F) || 3 dece*re A^1 decedere V^1 || 4 comprehendere AP (conpreh. B^1 conpraeh. M conpraeh. V) || *sed sensus suspicione ut vid.* B^1 (*sed ne suspicione B^2CFV*) || Itaque] idque C || 5 querendum michi, *sed c. sign. transp., C* (mili quer. BF^1) || est et ut esse $ABFM^2PV$ et ut esse C esse et ut esse M^1 || sunt C || di discere possim *om.* B^1 (dii AB^2CFMPV) || 6 possum C^1 || quales CP quam qualis V^2 || esse *om.* B^1 || uis uideamus $A^1B^1V^1$ uis. uideamus (Uid. A^3CF) $A^3B^2CFMPV^2$ || § 65, 7 deorum] V^2 deorum $ABCFMPV^1$ || prudentia ACF^2MPV^1 prudentiam BF^1 || s di rebus] dii rebus C de rebus $ABFMPV^1$ rebus V^2 || 9 artitione B^1 partione CV (particione P) || 11 is A his B^1MP || 12 te *om.* M^1 || 13 sed nequaquam Z , *sed in A notis tironianis in marg. add. hic dimissum, hic perruptura (de hac nota benigne me certiore fecit doctissimus Schnitz Colonien-sis), item in B hic dimissum hic permutatum est, in neutro codice signo addito haec ad illa ipsa verba pertinere; in F iam post adsentior (v. 11), quo codicis B nota prior referri potest, reliqua columna vacua relicta est* || 14 istac ibit *ut vid.* B^1 ista cibit P is tacebit C ista ibit AB^2FM (*sed sec. i in ras.* M^2) *et V^1 al. isthaec V^2 in mg. sed h eras.* || 15 publicarem A || blandiloquenti aniobem (-tia niob. V^2) parumne AV blandiloquentia in iouem (*spscr. 2 uel niobem, m del.*) par. C blandiloquenti An iobem, *corr. 1 ex iouem vel vice versa, P* blandiloquenti aniobe (-ia niobe) parumne BFM || 17 macinari A^1 || 18 (uult utroque loco $A^3BCFMPV^3$) || esse *om.* Z || quod] qui C^1 || re A^3 || 19 qui est, *sed i est in ras. 2, C* || 20 transuersa MPV^23 || mentem B^1 || mihi (michi C) Z || 21 perm*iem A^1 permi tem (?) B^1 permiem V^1 perniciem P (pernitium A^2B^2F) || 22 dabit C || 23 memores F^1 (merores BCF^2MPV) || exitum AB^1CPV^1 || exulium C^1 || 24 nos C || § 67, 26 media $A^1B^1F^1PV$ || 27 posquam A || 28 iamque, *i in ras. 2, C* (iamque

AB^1) || conpraendatur A (conpraeh. B^1 conpraeh. B^2P compreh. CFV) || 29 obtruncat $A^1BCFMPV$ || particulatim P || 31 peraque V^1 (perquae B^1) || 32 disputatos C || arcus P || 1 ut] et P || 2 salutatem M || pararet C^2 || § 68, 3 ut] et. C || qui] defuit B^1 quidem defuit, *sed post. de spscr. 1, F* || 4 hunc C^1 || 5 miscendum est Z || s inlexe] A^1CP inlexse BF inlexae M^1 ilexe V^1 illexae V^2 inlexisse A^3 i.e. inlexisse B^1 *in mg.* || 9 uerissime $BCFP$ || adreus A^1 acreus F^1 || 10 in re in, *post. in del., C* || 11 periculum A^2BFM || quinquinari A^1 || regiam V^2 || 12 contaminari *ut vid.* B^1 || ac misceri] admisceri Z || 13 (ad id $A^1B^1MPV^1$) || 14 portentosum M^1 portentosum M^2 || scaelestem B^1V^4 caeleste P (celestem C) || pate C^1 || 15 miisit A^2 || regnis stabilimem B^1 || 17 quem clam thyestem, el et m t *corr. 2-3, A* (A^1 *vid. hab. qu. dant hyestem, cf. V*) quamdam*thiestem B^1 quendam thiestem B^2CF quem quendam dant thyestem (quendam *del.*) M quem cleanthyestem P quem dant hyestem, *em in ras. et praeced. e spscr. 2, V* || depere C || 18 aqua $A^1BCFMPV$ || in, i *in ras. 2, V* || coepit BF caepit ACM^2 || § 69, 19 esse ratione — *sed multo om.* B^1 *suppl. B^2 et primum quidem vocabulum in ras. trium litterarum* || 20 schena B^2F (scena C) || 21 maiorebus V^1 || umus V^1 || 24 saepe] semper Z || omnino] animo C || 25 data (-am 2) uinum, *om. ut, C* || 26 quia] qua F || raro* (s ?) C || 27 pernitium, ti *spscr. 2, A* perniciem P || incurre A^1 || 29 selertiam B^1 solert. B^2F || 30 est] sint A^1BFMPV^1 sit A^2CV^2 || salutaria B^2F || § 70, 31 uoluptasque M^1 || 32 iccirco C || his est BF hiis est M || is solis A^1 his s. A^2BFMP hii s. V^1 hiis. s. V^2 || 33 ulli sint esse $BCFMV$ ullis intesse A ullis interesse P || 1 perpaucio V^1 || 3 occurre B^1F *corr.* B^4 || iccirco C || optime C obtime P (obtumae A) || 6 quisquamne istuc] V^2 quisquam iuste, m et iuste *in ras.* 3, A quisquas istuc (-ud B^1) B^1PV^1 quisquam istuc, *corr. 2 ex -ie, C* quis istuc B^2FM || negata ut A^1B^1 || est *om.* B^1 || 7 dianae ira B^2FM^1 dianira M^2 || s cum ei] cui C || 9 iason is qui C iasonis qui V^{23} || gladio] gla B^1 || apperuit B^1 || sanare, are *in ras. 2, A* || 10 potuerunt V^2 || 12 si his P || idcirco his BF^1 iccirco is C (is *corr. 1 ex os A*) || § 71, 14 animo tu B^1 || id est] uel C || 15 quidem] quid est C^1 || 16 rationum B^1 || 17 bona autem C^1 || 18 non enim ut, im ut *in ras. 3, A* (fruit non em ...) non em cui P nonem u (*vel ut ?*) V^1 non ut enim C || 19 notius V || hominibus dii dedissent BFM || si is BF^1 si hiis M suis P || 20 timiditatis C || 21 siis A siis C *et, part. in ras., V^2* || media A^1BF^1MPV || 22 commemora-

batur $A^1BCFMPV$ (in P atur in *ras.* 1) corr. A^3 || hieroice (-cae 2) V || § 72, 23 leuitatis P || parumne (-nae B^1) semper in rat. $ABCFMV$ parumne in ratione semper P || 26 obseret M^1 || 27 in efebis $C^2F^2M^1$ (in synefebis ABF^1PV , in B pr. e corr. 1 ex a, in sinefebis C^1M^2) || 28 dubitet B^1 || amorem B^1 || 29 suaue] si auo C || 31 nec amet, amet in *ras.* 2, A nec m et B^1 necari et CV^1 || tui] V^1 et V^3 sui V^2 || § 73, 32 incredibilis A incredebili M || sententia A || 36 quanto, to in *ras.* ampl. 2, A || dissipis $ABFM^1PV^1$ dissipas M^2V^2 || 3 neque ut inde] M neque unde ACP neq; uitinde, sed ui incert., B^1 ne quid inde B^2F neque tinde V^1 neque quid inde V^2 || 4 commolior P || 5 omnes $A^{23}C$ || meos, o in *ras.* 2, A meus B^1V^1 mos M^1 || 6 praestringas (?) B^1 (prestigias CFV^1) || praestrixit M (prestrinxit CF) || 7 macinae A^1 (machine B^1) || praestricie que A^1 praestrigie quae A^2 praestringitaeque B^1 praestrigiaequae PV^2 praestriciaequae V^1 (prestigieque C) || s predarum C (precl. V^1) || 10 caedo AV om. C || mihi (michi C) Z || § 74, 12 forum spscr. 1 ? A || sensum C^1 sensu C^2 || ite praecor $ACMP$ ite precor BVF || 13 quid tabul. B^1 || occoltius A || 14 (ad se $ACPV$) || quintus Z || sosuis (?) A^1 || equaes (i *eras.*) B || 15 transser. B^2F (transcr., s corr. 1 ex c, A) || 1. asenus (?) B^1 lalenus CP 1. alienus V || 16 chirografum AV cyrograph. BFM cyrograf. C irograph. P || quod $M^1(2)V^1$ || nomine P || 17 tolosani PV^2 || iugurtinae (-ne BF) $BCFP$ (-thine AV^1) || 19 (peducea $BCFMV^1$) || cottidiana P || sica BFM^1 (sed M inuerso ord. uenena sica); sicæ C (*fuisse vid.* sicie) || 20 uenena Z || indie F^1 || 21 consilio, om. que, F^1 || 22 fide fidem alatat utile A et sic ut vid., sed om. pr. fide, etiam V^1 ; fide allata (abl. M) tutelae (-le B^1) BFM fide mala tutelae C fide mala at utile PV^2 || mandata A^1 || exento A || 23 ut uendito B^1 || conduto AV || 24 lege letoria ACM lege (laege B^1) laetoria $BFPV$ || euerrie., pr. e in *ras.* 2, V || 25 praetulit B^1 || 26 aquilius M || similitum M || § 75, 28 sementim, post. m in *ras.* 2, B sementem M^2PV^2 semenque M^1 || 29 malitia dederunt C || 30 facimus A^1 || nec in *ras.* F^2 ne V et fort. A^1 || 33 caesae (caese A^1BV^1 caesae CP) accidissent AB^1CPV caese (caesae F^2 caesae M) cecidissent B^2FM || abigne AB^1CPV abigne B^2F^1 abiegnae F^2 abienae M || 1 di ne ded.] ne dissent C^1 (dii ne ded. C^2V^2) || 2 ipsis C || obprimuntur BF || 3 consiliis (s?) B || 4 uidebatur M^1 || § 76, 5 urgentis C^1 || identidem AB^1 || 6 gubernatorum temp. C (ad gubern. B^1 add. nauis) || 7 et sibi quidem AC || s si] sed BFM^1PV^1 || istam A || 9 liberius disputare M || ais om. A^1 dis M^2 || dedisse B^2FM || 11 fuerit C || patrimonias pene trad. B^1 || 12 post. falli del. A^3 || potuit corr. 1 ? ex. posuit A || cum in

ras. A^3 quem M^1 quom V^1 || faethontem AV III § feth. BCF foeth. M pheth. P || 13 ippolit. BFM yppolit. CV hyppolit. P || 14 a om. C || potestam A^1 || § 77, 16 hit min B^1 hii tamen C || di in *ras.* B^2 (dii A^1CMV^2) || poeticis A potici (poticis isciissent) B^1 || perneciosa P || 17 Ut] et Z || esset] est Z || cius C || 18 is A his B^1MP || 19 posset B^2F || accerbosae AV^1 accerbos e B^2F a cerbos et ut vid. B^1 acerbo seu C || 20 scola $BFMPV$ || prossus AV^1 propus B^1 || uitio***si, s fort. m. 2, V || dissessuri C || 21 philosophorum—qui se om. C || filorum A || 22 fisofis A^1 filosof. A^2 || is ABF^1 his MP hii V || § 78, 23 adhis B^1 (a diis A^1-CV^2) || fraudam B^1 || -que om. M^1 (quae B^1) || 24 conuertunt corr. ex -it C || dari aliam quam $ACPV$ || dali hum. C^1 || 25 iussu C^1 || temeratus C^2 (meratus ABC^1FM) || 26 sumturum AC || statimque perituum om. C (-quae per. B^1) || sic uestra] si curam C || prudentia V^3 || 27 repraendenda A reprend. CMV repraehendenda B (sed den spscr. 1) et FP || is A his B^1MP || 28 ussuros AV^1 et ut vid. B^1 || § 79, 30 si est stult. B^1 || stultia (a?) A^1V^1 || 31 filoform A (phylos. V^2) || 33 quibus om. V^1 add. V^3 || nos C^1 || optime CP || 1 apertissima CP apertissime MP || conficit ut C conficitur V^1 conficit utrum V^2 || 2 neclegant B^1 || 3 current B^1 || bonis corr. ex bonus C || maliis A^1V^1 malis sit FM || 5 omnes BFV || § 80, 6 sin idemus (us per compend.) nos bonis B^1 || 7 cum C^1 || duos B^1M^2 || sippiones C^1 (scipiones corr. 1 ex -is B || s oppressit, it 2 in *ras.* quinque litt., C oppraess. A) || 9 annibal ABF || 10 Reguli—domestici pari- om. B^1 || regiuli* A^1 regulio V^1 || praeditum B^2F (preb. C) || 11 uera V^1 corr. V^3 || propria $ABFM^1V^1$ || 12 innocentissimus...doctissimus CMV || 13 drusus, d ex el corr. vid., B drusus C^1 || 15 est Q.] estque A^1C^2P estquae B^1C^1 estq; M^1V^1 || ciuitates A^1 ciues A^3 ciuitatis, ci corr. 2, B || 16 c. (g. V^2) mariusq; catulum AB^1V^1 c. marius qui cat. P c. marius catulum C || 17 praestantissime adign. $A^1B^1V^1$ praestantissima dign. CP (praestantissima d. F) || § 81, 17 di***es A || deficiet C || 18 siccommemorem AV^1 || 19 marius B aruis C^1 || septimus C septies PV^3 || 20 consul, s in *ras.* 2, B et item ut vid. A || crudelissimus $ACFP$ || 21 regnauit A^1V^1 || at (t in *ras.* 3) dedit A addedit B^1 addidit B^2FM || 22 impidireque C (-riqua AV^1) || interficeret, pr. e e corr., A interfeceret V^1 || 23 cruciatu*** B || supplicioq; ***[portun., mediis om., B^1 || supplicio quaeque (quaeq; V) uarius AV^1 supplicioque uarius M supplicioque quo uarius P || portunissimus B^1 (cf. supra) importunissimus CP inportumssumus corr. ex -mssimus V (importunissimus B^2) || 24 si] AB^1PV^1 sed B^2FM sic CV^2 || metallum A^1 || 25 puenis C (penas

§ 81. *BF* || uarium, ua *in ras.* 2, *B* || pandere *B*¹ || duodequaginta *F* || 26 dyonisius (dionys. *A* dionis. *M*) tyrannus annos *Z*, *sed V c. sign. transp.* || opulenti sumei *C*¹ opulentissimae (-me *C*²) *C*²*P* (-ssume *A*¹*B*¹*V*¹) || et beatissimae *P om.* *V*¹ (beatissime *B*¹) || § 82, 27 multas *CP* || pisistratus, si *in ras.* 2, *B* || 29 multi || multis *BF* || 30 plures *A*² || aceræ *AB*¹*V*¹ || aceruæ *P* || anxarcum *AC* anxarchum *V* (anaxarcum *M*) || 31 democritum *BFM* || cypiritanno *B*¹ cyprio tyranno, an *in ras.* 2, *V* || 32 elete, te *ut vid. in ras.*, *A* eleae, el *in ras.* 2, *B* (elaee *P*) || cuius] quius *V*¹ 33 inlaci-mare *P* || soleo platonem *B*¹*CPV*² soleo *I.* (L.) platonem (platonem *A*¹ platonem *V*¹) *AB*²*FMV*¹ || *legens *V* || 34 res, e *in ras. duar. litt.* 3, *A* || § 83, 34 dyogenas *B*¹ dyogenes *B*²*F* || 35 cyrinicus *C* || charpalum *C* || 1 felix] *BFM* filia *AC*¹*PV* (*Vc. signo corrupt.*) filica *C*² || testimonius *A*¹ tesmonium *B*¹ || fortuna bis *scr.* *C*¹ || 3 expilauisset locris *M* || seracusas *AB*¹*V*¹ sir. *B*²*FMP* || secundissimo *CP* || 4 cursu *C*¹ || ridens, r e *corr.*, *B* || ridens uidens uidetisne, uidens *del.* 1 ? *A*, || 5 sacrilegi *BF* || idque] atque *AB*¹*CPV* atqui *B*²*F* || accutus *A*¹ || 6 percipisset *B*¹ || perscrubab *M* || qui cum ad] *B*²*FMV*²⁻³ qui quod ad *A* (*sed ad corr. 1 ex a*) et *B*¹*CPV*¹ || peloponensum *Z* || 7 classum apulisset *A* || solympii, s *del.* 1, *A* (olimpia *CM*) || s ei, i *in ras.* 2, *C* || iouen *AB*¹ || onnarat *B*¹ || e manubiis is (iis *V*¹) *APV*¹ e manubiis, ema *in ras* 2 et b *corr.* 2 ex u, *B* e manubiis *C*¹ || 9 carthaginensium (cartag. *V*) *AMV*⁴ carthaginiensium *B* (*sed um e corr.*) et *F* carthaginiensium (chartag. *P* cartag. *V*) *CPV*¹ || gelu *P* || 10 aestate, aest *in ras.* 2, *B* (estate *C*) || grauem *Z* || ei qui *A*¹(?) *B*¹*V*¹ (ei quae *C*) || 11 esse ad omne anni tempus aptum diceret] *A*³, *sed aptum rursus. del.*, esse ad omne (omni *A*¹*C* anni* *B*¹) anni tempus diceret *A*¹*BCFMPV*¹ esse aptum ad o. a. t. diceret *V*² || 12 asculapi *BFV* esculapi *A*¹*M*¹ esculapii *A*³*M*² asclepii *C*¹ esculapio *C*² || ebidauri *B*¹ epidaurio *C*² || aureum *A*¹*M*¹ || demi, i *in ras.* 2, *V* || 13 fanum *A*¹ fani *B* || § 84, 14 Etiam] iam *Z* || auferi *A*¹*BV*¹ || 15 cum] quod *Z* || esse *B*¹(?) *V*¹ || uti *corr. ex iti V* || 16 bonitate eorum uellet (t *del.* 1) *M* || uic uictorias *A*¹ uictorias, *post. o corr. 1 ex a*, *C* || coronasque simul. *AM*¹*PV*¹ (-que quae s. *corr.* *V*²) coronas quae (quem *C*¹) sim. *BCFM*² || 17 porrectas *A*¹ || sustinebant *P* || 18 tolebat *BF*¹ || 19 praecamur *C* (praecaremur *ABPV*) || ab is *A* ab his *BFMP* ab hiis *V* || porrigantibus *B*¹ || 21 pecunia edixisse] *V*³ pecuniae dix. *B*¹*V*¹ pecunia dix. *AB*²*CFMP* || 22 quisque a sacris *ACMPV* || quidque] *M*² *V*² quicque *ABFV*¹ quancue *C* quaequae *M*¹ quicque *P* quodque *V*³ || fanum referet *B*¹ ferret (ref. 2) fanum *M* || 23 impletatem *A*¹*B*¹*V*¹ impletam *C* impleta temeritate *B*²*FM* (*sed M*

in ras. 1) || iniunxit *C* (adiunxit *A*) || 24 flumine *A*¹*V*¹ || 25 tabescente (?) *A*¹ || atqui *A*³*B*²*F* || 26 in typanidis (timp. *C*) roguum *ACPV* in tyrannidis roguum *BFM* || 1 nactus *B*²*FMV*² || heditatis *A*¹ || § 85, 3 adferre *om.* *C* (aff. *V*) || 4 ullo *A*¹*V*¹ || qua] quasi *C* || 5 omna *A* || ut enim, ut *in ras.* 3, *A* et enim *V*¹ et ut enim *M* || rationem *A*¹*B*¹*V*¹ || 6 dissignata *ABFM*² || facitis *A*¹*V*¹ || s ea *corr.* 2 ex eo (?) *A* || § 86, 9 at enim, t *corr.* ex d et im *in ras.* 2, *B* || nae neglegunt *C* (necl. *B*¹ neglig. *V*²) || uiticula *P* (-las *corr.* 1 ex -lis *F*) || 10 ureno *C*¹ || glando *ABFV*¹, *sed B*¹ *corr.* gr. || cuipiam] *C* quipiam *A*¹*BFM*¹*V*¹ quippiam *A*³*M*²*PV*² || ani aduert. *A*¹ aduert. *P* || 12 si enim *BF* || p. rutili (-lii *M*²) sim *B*²*FMPV*² prutilii sim, ii *corr.* ex is et sim *in ras.* 3, *A* prutili sim *B*¹*V*¹ protulissem *C* || 13 atqui *B*²*F* || omnes quidem, *add. transp.* s, *C* || 14 sic, si *in ras.* 2, *A* || segetas *A* || olueta *B*¹ || 15 fructum *A*¹*B*¹*V*¹ || denique *om.* *M* || 17 retulit *CFMP* || § 87, 17 iure] uuae *M*¹ || et uirtute, *om.* in, *B*¹ || 18 uirte *A*¹ || addeo *B*¹ || 19 heberemus *A* || aucti] auti *A*¹ uti *A*² autti *B*¹ aucti *F*¹ || 20 sumus quis fortuiti *B*¹ || fortuitu *C* || 21 nihil nostrae ads., *om.* laudi, *A*¹ laudi n. n. ads. *M* n. n. ads. laudi *P* (adsumtum *A* assumptum *CV*) || 22 at, t *in ras.* 3, *A* ad *B*¹*P*¹ aut *C*² ut *V*² *in mg.* || quod] quos *A*¹ || 23 incolumes *C*¹ incolomis *P* || iouemque —appellant *om.* *B*¹ || iouem quam, am *in ras.* 3, *A* iouemque, que *del.* 2, *V* || optimum et maximum *ACMPV* optimum et maximum *F* || ob] ab *V*¹ || 24 appellat *FM* || iustos, *pr.* s *corr.* 2, *A* || 25 sed quot *A*¹ || saluos—Herculi *om.* *B*¹ (*cf.* 26 quisquam) || incolomis *AP* incolumes *C* || § 88, 26 quisquam *om.* *BF* || decimam *C* || nouit *P* || 27 inuenisset, in *in ras.* 2 et t *corr.*, *A* || mussis *A*¹ || 28 immolasse *MP* (immolauisse *V*) || ille *om.* *C*¹ || apollini *corr.* ex oppollini *A* apollini* (m ?) *B* apollinii (*extr. i. eras.*) *F* || 29 deli *B*¹ || 30 reddeam *B*¹ || 31 quamuis, a *corr.* ex i, *A* || 32 licet *del.* *V*² || 33 ipsis ita (ipsi sita) *Z*, *sed corr.* *A*³ || spe *M*¹ || 1 prosperitate effecundae que (*ef. incert.*) *B*¹ prosperitatis secundeque *B*²*F* prosperitas sedaequae (saecundae. 2) *C* || sedarguunt *B*¹*F*¹ || 2 ut, u *spscr.*, *A* || ac potestatem *om.* *P* || § 89, 3 nonunquam bonus *C* || arripimus] *A*¹*V*¹ ascribimus *A*³*V*² || 4 samothraciam *V*² || 5 uenisset, t *in ras.* 2, *B* || quidem *A*¹*B*²*F* || amicus *om.* *A*¹ || 6 negligere *AB*¹ || none *V* || talibus *C* || 7 multis *CPV*¹ (*A*² s addere incepit *sed rursus induxit*) || temp.] potestatis *C* || portunumque *C* || s nusquam] miseria *C* || naufragia, i *spscr.*, *C* || fecerunt] sex (?) erunt *B*¹ || 9 ei] et *C* || 11 eadem *B*¹ || nauim *P* || 12 laborantes alias *add. transp. sign.* *C* al. laborantes *M* alias naues laborantis *B*¹ || is *A* his *BFMP* hiis *V*¹ || 13 crederent *B* (*B*¹ *vid. habuisse* ne hic redderent) || ut] et *B*¹ ut *spscr.* *B*² et ut *F* || § 90,

15 inquit domnia *V* || dii *supra ras. scr. V*³ (dii *etiam C*) || ne *supra ras. V*² || 16 est culpa *M* || est at, *extr. t in ras. 2*, *A* est aentem ad *B*¹ || 17 ne excus. *corr. ex nexcus. A* nec excus. *C* || uo (uos *2*) clare, *vacuo spatio ante clare rel.*, *C* || 18 cū*, —*m. 3*, *A* || 19 expoetantur *B*¹ expectantur *V*¹ expectentur *V*² || haec *P* || a nepot.] *P* ac nep. *ABCFMV* || ac posteris *B*²*F**MV*² || 21 leges *A*¹ || 22 interneconi *BC*²*F**PV*² interiectioni *C*¹ || 23 pararetur *B*²*F**M* pateretur *C*¹ || ob] aut *BF* || morte *C* || myrtili, *post. i spscr.*, *A* myrtoli *B*²*F* (mirt. *C*) || 24 poenas *M*² (paenis *C*) || luendi *M* || satietas *A*³*C**V*³ (sacias *B*¹) || supplicii *BCFV* supplitii *AM* || § 91, 25 an *om. B*¹ || autor. *A*¹ || 26 portenta—dicuntur *om. P* || dicuntur] di *C*¹ *spatio vac. rel.* || 27 enī, —*eras.*, *V* || hipponantē, h *spscr.*, *B*¹ (hypponactis *V*) || iambus, bus *in ras. 2*, *B* iambis *C* (iamb; *P*) || 28 uersu] uolsu *B*¹ || uolneratus *corr. 1 ex uuln. B* (uuln. *CFMPV*³) || 29 egisthi, sthi *in ras. 2*, *C* aegesthi *V*¹ (egisti *FM* aegisti *P*) || aut eum, e *in ras.*, *B* || paridiis *A*¹ patridis *V*¹ || 30 causa *C* || paene] poenae *B*¹*F**V*² poene *B*²*F*²*M* *om. C* || 31 salutem, s *corr. 1 ex l. A om. B*¹ || ypocrate *C*² (*C*¹ dignosci non potest) (ipp. *ABFMV* hyp. *P*) || 32 iudicio *PV*¹ || unquam quam *B*¹*M*¹ (unquam *AC*) || ab, b *in ras. 2*, *A* ab *corr. 1 ex ap B* || appolline *A*¹ (apollinae *BF*¹) || 33 potiuspartae *A*¹ (pot. sparte *B*¹*P*) || lueurgo *B*¹ lyurgo *B*²*F* lic. *CMP* || critolauus *AV*¹ || 34 carthage. *ABCFMV* charth. *P* || asdrubal *Z* || duos *V*³ || orae maritumae, mae *in ras. 2*, *B* ore maritimae *C* maritumae orae *M* (ore maritume *P*) || 35 alicui *PV*² || deum *Z* || § 92, 36 at subuen., t s *in ras. 3*, *A* ab subuen. *B*¹ || urbes *A*²*CP* || 1 tales *A*²*CPV*³ || 2 nulla] ulla *V*¹ || 3 contempnem *at vid. B*¹ || 4 figi *V* || dicitis] additis *BF* addunt *K* || 5 sedifisica, *post. s corr. 1 ex e, A* sed hic fisica

*B*¹ sed fis. (fys. *V*) *B*²*CFMV* || materia *ABC-III* § 9 *FVK* || c omnia *spscr. 1 B* || sunt *M* || totam] tam *B*¹ || flexibilem, bilem *in fine pag. add. 2*, *A* || s hanc] *V*² haec *ABCFMPV*¹*K* || 9 quecumque *B*¹ || moueatur *C*¹ || 10 nescis *C* || quod possit *A*¹ || neclegit *A* || opimum *V*¹ et, *corr. ex opinum, A* || § 93, 11 nec ciuit. *Z* || 12 ne nationes, nation *in ras. 2*, *B* non nat. *F*¹ || et sentis *A*¹*CPV* et gentes *A*² || 14 persequi qui idem *V*² || 15 hac *A*¹ || diuidi omnia *V*² (diuidis omnia *A*¹*B*¹*V*¹) || iccirco *C* || 17 uocent *V*¹ || 18 mens *om. C*¹ || 19 oculupatam *A*¹*V*¹ oculpatam *B*¹ || putabastis *M*¹ || distaentam (i) *V* || 20 cur, r *in ras. 2*, *C* || nil *P* (nichil *C*) || 21 praefecit (pref. *I*) *V* (preficit *C*) || 22 de natura deorum habui *erasis transp. signis C* || 23 non uti *BF* || eam *in ras. V*² || 24 difficiles *ACMV* || § 94, 25 Quae] quem *A*²*B*²*C*¹ *F*¹*M* que *C*²*F*² || autem] aut *F*¹ || 26 in eam] *C*²*F*²*M* in eam *A*² meam *C*¹ in eram (aeram *A*) *A*¹*BF*¹*P*¹*V*¹ in meram *V*² in istam *P*² || 27 sanctissime *BCFP* (-ssumae *V*¹) || prouidentissime *C* prudentissime *AM* prudentissime (-mae *P*) *BFP* || 28 dabis nobis cito dabis nobis diem *B*¹ || 29 enim hic tecum *P* (e. michi t. *C*) || 30 atque, t *supra ras. 2*, *A* || 31 diligentius, *om. que, P* (-quae *B*¹) || urbem, em *in ras. 2*, *F* || 32 cinctis *A*¹*V*¹ || deseriam edum (?) *A*¹ deseriam medium *B*¹ me dum quidem *in ras min. V*² || § 95, 33 retargui *B*¹ || 34 uinci] umci *M*¹ || 35 inquit *om. C*¹ || 36 miti *A* miti *BF*¹*V*¹ || ad iouem *BF*¹ a ioue *CF*² || leui *V*¹ || 37 discissimus *A*¹*V*¹ || 1 cotae *V*¹ et, t *supra ras.*, *A* (cotte *B*¹) || *M. Tullii* (Tulli *B* *T. M*) Ciceronis (*C. M*) de deorum natura liber tertius (*III B*) explicitus (explicit *M*) feliciter (feliciter feliciter *V om. M*) *ABMV* *M. T. Ciceronis* de natura deorum liber *III* explicit feliciter *F. Subscriptione carent C*¹*P* (*in C rec. man. suppl.*).

P. SCHWENKE.

WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF'S *HERAKLES*.

Euripides Herakles, von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF: Bd. I. Einleitung in die attische Tragödie (12 Mk.): Bd. II. Text und Commentar (10 Mk.): Weidmann, Berlin.

ON the 9th September 1867 Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff bade farewell to the Schulpforte, registering in his heart two vows, firstly to remain loyal to the Muses, and secondly to dedicate a book to his old school. These vows have both been kept and the result is the edition before us. The

editor's bent towards Greek Tragedy declared itself while he was still a schoolboy (vol. i. p. vii.) and was further determined on his entering the University by Jakob Bernays, who in answer to some youthful disparagement of Euripides read the beginning of the third chorus of the *Herakles*, οὐ παύσομαι τὰς χάριτας Μούσαις συγκραταμένης (vol. ii. p. 173, n.). The conversion of the Schlegelian was complete and in 1874 he published as his first important work the *Analecta Euripidea*, a book containing among much suggestive and undisciplined historical and

critical investigation a revised text of the *Supplices* and several bold emendations of the *Herakles*. Then followed a text of the *Herakles* in 1879 based on the first hand of the Laurentianus, which the editor was the first to decipher, and containing most of the emendations found in the present edition. The next five years produced the *Antigonos von Curystos* and the *Homerische Untersuchungen*, neither of which was considered worthy of dedication to the Alma Mater. At last, in May 1889, the long meditated book appeared in the shape of the edition of the *Herakles* now under consideration.

The first volume consists of six chapters, treating respectively of the life of Euripides, the nature of Attic Tragedy, the history of the Text of the Tragedians, the methods and aims of modern criticism, the legendary Herakles, and finally the Herakles of Euripides. The first chapter does not merely collect, criticise, and arrange all that is related of the facts of Euripides' life, but also aims at portraying the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in which the poet lived, showing what elements he assimilated and what he found uncongenial. The editor's judgments, always pronounced with complete confidence, frequently challenge contradiction: for instance, it seems arbitrary to deny the truth of the strong tradition that connects Euripides with Socrates merely on the ground that one was a pessimist, the other an optimist (i. p. 24). Again, the statement that Euripides had little more sympathy with natural scenery than Socrates, and that Nature's exalted aspects find no reflection in his poetry (i. 7) cannot pass unquestioned: the *Bacchae* may of course be an exception due to the influence of the poet's sudden transportation to Macedonia (p. 33): but many passages in other plays show that the sublime, especially in sea and mountain scenery, had a strong fascination for him (e.g. *Phoen.* 203-38, *Hel.* 1451-1505, *Ion* 82-120, 492-502, *Hipp.* 732-57, *Tro.* 794-9, 1066-70, *I.A.* 1036-66). Equally dogmatic and equally inaccurate is the statement that the study of painting has left no recognizable trace in Euripides' poetry (vol. i. p. 20: for the facts see Dr. Sandys' *Bacchae*, p. xiv.).

The second chapter, which raises the question 'What is an Attic Tragedy?' after warning us against judging from any absolute standpoint arrived at by any ancient or modern philosophy of aesthetic, and after showing the inadequacy of Aristotle's definition, insists on the historical method as alone able to lead us to a satis-

factory solution of the problem: accordingly we are taken through a thorough history of the origin and evolution of tragedy as regards both its external form and its subject-matter, with the result that we arrive at the following definition: 'Eine attische tragödie ist ein in sich abgeschlossenes stück der heldensage, poetisch bearbeitet in erhabenem stile für die darstellung durch einen attischen bürgerchor und zwei bis drei schauspieler, und bestimmt als teil des öffentlichen gottesdienstes im heiligtume des Dionysos aufgeführt zu werden' (p. 107). Every word of this statement is carefully chosen and the importance of every clause copiously demonstrated, but it is on the intimate connection between Tragedy and the heroic legends that the editor most strongly insists. In the main his contention seems unanswerable: but his insistence on the historical method seems to have led him to give undue emphasis to certain points: in criticizing Aristotle, for instance, he shows quite rightly that since tragedy arose from the application of the lyric method to the epic matter it was not originally dramatic: but it does not therefore follow that the dramatic was not an essential of tragedy when it had attained its full development.

The third chapter gives a broad outline of the history of the Text of Greek poets in general and tragedians in particular from the earliest times: although some of the matter may appear irrelevant we must accept the writer's own statement that he at times finds himself constrained by an impulse similar to the poetic afflatus to transgress the limits which he may have assigned to his work: we rejoice that he has failed to resist that impulse in this case: for a knowledge of the origin of our MSS. and of the characteristics of Alexandrine, Roman and Byzantine philology is indispensable and at the same time inaccessible elsewhere in so broad, clear, and concise a form. Perhaps the only important point in this chapter to which one could take exception is the opening statement that Attic Tragedies formed the first books, properly so-called, known to the Greeks.

The same almost unqualified praise may be given to the chapter on modern criticism. Italian, French, English, Dutch and German philology are rapidly reviewed, the characteristics of each are described and the excellences and faults noted with a sure and impartial hand: the paragraphs dealing with the English are profoundly interesting: full justice is done to Elmsley and Porson, while at the same time the defects of the English school are summed up in the verdict

that Porson only regarded and respected the Attic poets as masters of diction (p. 230); the German section is naturally the fullest and brings out the writer's own view of the ideal philologist; the keynote of his position is given in the sentence (p. 234), 'für alle zeiten steht es fest, dass die philologie ihre pflicht gegen die hellenischen dichter nur dann erfüllen kann, wenn sie dieselbe in goethischem sinne auffast': words to be written in gold above the Senate House at Cambridge, while Germany should take to heart the statement that the first and foremost task is to learn as much Greek as Elmsley and Porson knew (p. 253). The section which criticizes the errors of modern philology shows on the whole sound sense though its impersonal allusions to personal opponents give us a feeling of treading lightly over some still active volcano of contemporary controversy.

The fifth chapter deals with the Herakles legend and is the boldest, most brilliant, and least convincing part of the book: to understand the legend we must take a broad view of the early history of Greece: the vital fact in that history is the immigration of barbarian tribes from the North who settled in Macedonia, Epirus, Aetolia, Elis, Boeotia and Thessaly, while the most important eventually entered the Peloponnese: this last tribe was the Dorian and Herakles was its ideal, the *θεῖος ἀνὴρ* (p. 269). Herakles is not of Hellenic origin nor do the Eleans, Aetolians, or Macedonians own him; emigration indeed carried his cult into Italy, where he rose from the position of hero of a barbarian tribe to that of general champion of the Greeks (p. 275); but properly he was the hero only of the Thessalians, Boeotians, and Dorians. The different Herakles legends are then passed in review: the older are discriminated from the later; the prehistoric, such as the slaying of the lion, from those that have a distinct reference to historic events, such as the subjection to Eurystheus, a legend invented by the Dorians to legitimize their conquest of the Peloponnese. The kernel of the legends is the 'Twelve Labours,' which the editor believes to have been stereotyped in poetical form by an unknown writer of the eighth century (p. 308). Having cleared away all after-growths and got a firm grip of the genuine legend the writer gives an eloquent exposition of its meaning as summing up the unconscious metaphysics evolved by a whole people in the course of centuries.

The last chapter discusses Euripides' play itself: by the application of many tests

internal and external, subjective and formal, the date of production is fixed at somewhere between 421-415 B.C. and at the same time the position of the play in the evolution of the Euripidean tragedy is roughly determined. We then proceed to examine the poet's treatment of the Herakles legend: it is shown that the intervention of Athena cannot have been Euripides' own invention: his chief innovations are, the placing of the children's murder at the end of Herakles' career, the invention of the Lycus episode and the introduction of Theseus, which is shown to necessitate the death of Megara. The object of these innovations being demonstrated, we are led after a detailed analysis of the construction of the play to an examination of its tendency. This part of the work could hardly be overpraised: it is shown that *Amphitryon* is the connecting thread of the whole without being the centre of interest; the effect of leaving the murder of the children to be performed off the stage is well brought out; it is pointed out that the introduction of Lyssa, a departure from the usual Euripidean method, had the object and effect of reducing the popular religion to an absurdity; while nothing could be better than the remarks on the singularity and the excellence of the closing scene. The tendency of the play is to show that there is a higher ideal than the Dorian *θεῖος ἀνὴρ*: it was because he fell short of this ideal that Herakles was ruined: for all that the play cannot be reduced to a formula: Euripides had assimilated the Herakles legend in its entirety and this play gives us the effect which it had produced on his mind. Objection may be taken to the assertion that the *Herakles* inspired the *Trachiniae* as being insufficiently supported (p. 383): also it is unnecessary to assign the part of Herakles to the tritagonist (p. 380): but there is probability in the bold conjecture that Euripides had Alcibiades in mind throughout the play (p. 380): while the closing sentence cannot be emphasized too strongly 'die tragödie nur in der verbindung mit der sage verstanden und gewürdigt werden kann, ganz wie das epos.'

The second volume contains the text with critical apparatus and a copious commentary: each scene and each chorus is analyzed, the analysis in each case being followed by notes on difficult passages: these notes display considerable erudition, true poetical feeling, and a wide knowledge of modern as well as ancient literature which stimulates the reader with felicitous comparisons and contrasts.

The writer's historical method is well illustrated by the notes on *εὐδαίμων* (pp. 138-9), on *γενναῖος* (pp. 209-10, ending with the remark 'die geschichte des wortstammes ist die des adelstandes'), on *αἰθάρης* (p. 265), on the growth of the use of prepositions *ἀ* *προ* of *πατρός κεκλημένος* (p. 59). Subtlety of criticism is shown in the explanation of the tense in the phrase *Διὸς κεραυνὸν ἤρόμην* (l. 177), and of the voice in the line *τὴν θεὸν εἰσας τὰ σὰ περιστέλλον κακά* (l. 1129); and in the notes on the effect of the Aeolic forms *Οὐλυμπον* and *πεδαίρουσα* in line 872, on the particular compound and the tmesis in the phrase *διὰ μ' ἄλκυτε* (l. 1052), and on the force of *ζῶ* in *ζῶ σοι ταπεινός*; (l. 1413). Interesting notes are found on the Greek view of suicide at different times (pp. 266-7), on the wearing of *στέφανοι* (p. 181), on the Cyclopean walls (pp. 227-8), on the metaphor *στεναγμῶν νέφος* (pp. 250-1), and on confused or partial metaphors (p. 187). But the editor's power shows itself best when he deals with his author's philosophical sentiments, as in his note on the full significance of Theseus' expression *οὐ μαινεῖς θνητὸς ὢν τὰ τῶν θεῶν* (l. 1232) and the contrast he draws between Sophocles and Euripides by comparing this passage with *Antig.* 1042: or in the note on *οὐδεὶς ἀλάστωρ τοῖς φίλοις ἐκ τῶν φίλων*, where he brings out the poet's superiority to the prejudices of his compatriots.

In his treatment of the text the editor can be accused neither of conservative nor of radical bias: he regards very few lines as being interpolated: ll. 588-92 he asserts to be the only old interpolation in the play (p. 161): but he also makes out a good case against the lines 1291-3 *κεκλημένῳ δὲ φωτὶ μακαρίῳ ποτε κ.τ.λ.* as being out of harmony with the whole sentiment of the speech of Herakles, who here regards himself as *συγγενῶς δύστηνος*: for the same reason ll. 1299-1300 are expunged. Equally acceptable is the ejection of l. 496, *κακοὶ γὰρ ἐς σέ γ' οἱ τέκνα κτείνουσι σά*: that of l. 1162, *οὐδὲν κακῶσαι τοὺς ἀναίτιους θέλω*, is less probable, and the confusion of thought in l. 1108, *σαφῶς γὰρ οὐδὲν οἶδα τῶν εἰωθότων*, might conceivably be defended as natural in one who was just recovering from an attack of madness.

In about six passages the order of the lines is changed: of these, the transposition of line 87, *χρόνον δὲ μὴ κύνωμεν ὄντες ἀσθενεῖς*, to line 89 (whereby it is assigned to Amphitryon instead of to Megara), and the alteration in the arrangement of ll. 190-5, certainly give better sense than the old order. But

the arguments for placing l. 502 after l. 498 are unconvincing. The arrangement of ll. 1118-22, though perhaps better than Nauck's, seems unnecessary: there is no need for 'Αἰδου βάκχος and βακχεύσας to occur in consecutive lines: the fact that a couplet intervenes shows that the former phrase had struck Herakles, so that he naturally uses a word cognate to it instead of to the tamer *εὖ φρονεῖς*. Strong dramatic insight however is shown in the arrangement of ll. 1142-5 (see n. on 1143).

Of the emendations, the most certain seem to be l. 4 *ἔσχον* (*ἔσχεν*), l. 123 *λαβοῦ χερὸς καὶ πέπλων* (*χερῶν*), 458 *ἐτέκομεν ὑμᾶς* (*ἔτεκον μὲν*), 649 *φθονερὸν τε γῆρας* (*φόνιον*), 794 *γάμος ἐφάνη* (*γένος*), 386 *ἀργυρορρύτων Ἐβρον διεπέρασεν ὄχθων* (*ἀργυρορρύταν Ἐβρον διεπέρασ' ὄχθων*), 737 *ἐξ Ἄϊδα* (*ἐς αἶδαν*), 1351 *ἐγκαρτερήσω βίοντα* (*θάνατον*), 1367 *ὁ φύσας καὶ τεκῶν* (*καὶ οὐ τεκῶν*), 1422 *δυσκόμιστ' ἄχη* (*δυσκόμιστ' ἀχὴν*). The following are especially bold: 250 *ὅταν χάσκητε* (*πάσχητε*), 776 *χρόνου γὰρ οὕτως ῥόπαλον εἰσὶν ἔλλα* (*οὕτως ἔλλα τὸ πύλιν εἰς*), 1152 *σάρκα τὴν νεανίᾳ* (*τὴν ἐμήν*): but the last is the only one that is in the least convincing.

The excellent emendation of l. 164, *τραχεῖαν ἄλοκα τάξιν ἐμβεβῶς δορός*, is claimed by Wecklein: Wakefield's emendation *τεκόντι* for *γέροντι* in l. 575 was made independently by W.-M. as early as 1874: in l. 1177 *ἄλλ' ἄλλο πόντι* is preferred to Wecklein's *τοῖ που* (*τί που*): in 149 Wecklein's suggestion *τέκοι κοινὸν τέκνον* seems preferable to W.-M.'s *ἐκοινῶνε τέκνον*; on the other hand in 1218 *σημαίνεις φόβον* (*φόνον*) is better than Wecklein's suggestion *φυγεῖν*. In the insertion of *ἰὼν* (423) the present editor claims priority over Wecklein.

The following changes seem unsatisfactory: 157 *ὁ δ' ἔσχε δόξαν* for *ὁς ἔσχε δ*. (the editor seems to have missed the rhythm of the passage): 186 *οὐκ ἂν σέ γ' αἰνέσειε* for *σ' ἐπαινέσειε* (apparently on the insufficient ground that the pronoun cannot be elided if emphatic): 577 *κάδει* for *καὶ δεῖ*: 977 *ὁ δ' ἐξελίσσων παῖδα κίονος κυκλῶν* (*κύκλω*): 1104 *οὐ δώματ'* for *Πλούτωνά τ'*: 1161 *προσβαλῶν* for *προσλαβῶν* (giving no parallels for such use of fut. part. with *αἰσχύνομαι*): 1241 *τοίγαρ παρεσκευάσμεθ' ὥστε καὶ περὰν* (*κατθανεῖν*)—in 1877 he despaired of emending *κατθανεῖν*, the present attempt, though ingeniously translated in the notes, is too difficult: 1414 *ὁ κλεινὸς Ἡρακλῆς οὐκ εἰ νοσῶν* (*ποῦ κείνος ὢν*) gives much weaker sense than the original text.

It should be noted that the text is defended in 895 (*οὐχὶ τὰς Διονυσιάδος βοτρυῶν ἐπὶ χεύμασι λώβας*, writing however *προσ-*

φάγματ' for πρὸς αἷματ' in the previous line : in 938 ἐξὸν μίας μοι χειρὸς εὖ θέσθαι τάδε ; giving an interesting explanation of the genitive : while in 775, δύνασιν ἄδικον ἐφέλκων, the editor retains ἄδικον which he had previously agreed with Nauck in expunging : in 879 μανίαισιν—χορευθέντ' ἐναύλοισ the adj. is defended by a comparison with καταυλήσω φόβῳ in 869.

Only six lines are obelized : and in 1288 κληδουχούμενοι is marked as corrupt while in 1209 the emendation πολὺ τε δάκρυον ἐκβάλλον (for πολιόν) though introduced into the text is admitted to be unsatisfactory.

The orthography may be new to some English students in the following respects : the editor writes μέμφη, ἔρχη, etc., for the vulgar μέμφει, ἔρχει : οἰκτίρω (οἰκτεῖρω) : ἐκ-τειαίατο (ἐκτισταίατό) : ἐκκρίμνασθε (ἐκκρήμνασθε), see n. on p. 152 : γέλον (γέλων) l. 285, see n. : ὁ for ὅ demonstrative : while σὲ when emphatic is not elided, e.g. ἐς σὲ ἀφίξομαι, see n. to l. 218.

The following peculiarities are less defensible : in dialogue, the παράγραφος replaces the speaker's initials, a vexatious retrogression apparently intended, like the insertion of the marks denoting correspondence in the choruses, to give the reader an idea of the appearance of the MSS. Even more confusing to the English reader is the absence of capital letters in the German except before proper names : while the German orthography, like the Greek, is obtrusively up to date.

These however are minor matters : the only serious defect from an exegetical point of view is the absence of a translation, a defect which is remedied in the recent edition of the *Hippolytus* : while the editor's broad treatment of his subject in the first volume really marks an epoch in the method of studying Greek Tragedy.

N. WEDD.

RECENT LITERATURE ON THE Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία.

I.

Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution, translated, with introduction and notes, by F. G. KENYON. London. Bell. 4s. 6d.

Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens, translated by E. POSTE. London. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

Aristoteles Schrift vom Staatswesen der Athener, verdeutscht von GEORG KAIBEL und ADOLF KIESSLING. Strassburg. 2 Mk.

Aristotele la Costituzione degli Ateniesi Testo Greco, versione Italiana, introduzione e note per cura di C. FERRINI. Milano.

THE business-like and bald language of the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία presents, except now and then from the state of the text, no difficulties of translation. The English and foreign versions now before us would therefore hardly call for notice, if it were not for the interest attaching directly to a new Greek book and indirectly to the first translations of it. Both the English translators address themselves primarily to the general public rather than to scholars, and for the latter the chief interest consists perhaps in observing which of the many suggestions made for the improvement of the text they have adopted and how far, when translating through thick and thin, they have been able

to extract a reasonable meaning without doing violence to Greek idiom. Though Mr. Kenyon's book did not appear till July, the introduction is dated in April last. It is therefore hard to tell which suggestions he had and which he had not before him at the time of writing. He has however adopted a great many, and his translation is very different from what it would have been if he had translated his own original text. But the work of emendation is by no means over and it may safely be predicted that any translation made in a few years' time will differ almost as much again. Meanwhile he has had one advantage over Mr. Poste : by further study of the papyrus he has been able to correct his own previous readings in several places. He tells us for instance that what he printed in ch. 16 as ὥστε δια[μπε]ρὲς ἐγεωργοῦντο is now found to be ὥστε διατρέφεσθαι γεωργοῦντας, and in ch. 15 τῷ Ἀνακίῳ becomes τῷ Θησίῳ.

The translation of ch. 5 seems to be a fair specimen of his work.

Now seeing that such was the organization of the constitution, and that the many were in slavery to the few, the people rose against the upper class. The strife was

keen, and for a long time the two parties were face to face with one another, till at last, by common consent, they appointed Solon to be mediator and Archon, and committed the whole constitution to his hands. The immediate cause of his appointment was his poem, which begins with the words:—

I see, and within my heart deep sadness has
claimed its place,
As I look on the oldest home of the ancient
Ionian race :

and so he continues fighting and disputing on behalf of each party in turn against the other, and finally he advises them to come to terms and put an end to the quarrel existing between them. By birth and reputation Solon was one of the foremost men of the day, but in wealth and position he was of the middle class, as is manifest from many circumstances, and especially from his own evidence in these poems, where he exhorts the wealthy not to be grasping:—

But ye who have store of good, who are
sated and overflow,
Restrain your swelling soul, and still it and
keep it low :
Let the heart that is great within you be
trained a lowlier way ;
Ye shall not have all at your will, and we
will not for ever obey.

Indeed, he constantly ascribes the origin of the conflict to the rich ; and accordingly at the beginning of the poem he says that he fears “the love of wealth and an overweening mind,” evidently meaning that it was through these that the quarrel arose.’

‘Poem’ here is hardly exact enough for *ἐλεγεία*, and *αἰτίαν ἀνάπτει* means perhaps rather ‘imputes the blame’ ‘than ascribes the origin.’ It is surely an error to translate *ὡς ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμολογείται* ‘as is manifest from many circumstances.’ If the meaning were doubtful it would still be determined by the parallel expressions *οἱ ἄλλοι συνομολογοῦσι πάντες* and *οἱ τ’ ἄλλοι συμφωνοῦσι πάντες* at the end of ch. 6 and beginning of ch. 12, in each of which places Solon’s own verses and the witness of other people are coupled together. There are some other places in which the meaning seems to me to be missed. I mention a few of them. P. 101, l. 2, *ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν ἀπionτων οἰκίαν λαμβάνωσιν Ἐλευσίνι, συμπεῖθειν τὸν κεκτημένον* does not mean ‘the people would help them to obtain the consent of the owner’; *τινες* gives the subject of *συμπεῖθειν*, a verb which

is used in the same sense in at least two other passages of this treatise. In ch. 56, ‘at the Dionysia there is a chorus for each tribe,’ &c., Mr. Kenyon has understood of the choruses what the writer says of the choregi, with the result of throwing the expense of the chorus on the tribe instead of the choregus. In Solon’s lines (p. 32, l. 5) *ἀλκὴν πάντοθεν ποιείσθαι* cannot, I think, mean ‘took me strength from every side’ but ‘showed prowess on all sides,’ like Mezentius when he ‘partes cunctatur in omnes,’ for Solon compares himself to a wolf at bay, as Virgil compares Mezentius to a wild boar. The rendering of *ἐποίησαν διαψημισμὸν* (p. 35, l. 10) by ‘a resolution was passed’ seems to be doubly wrong, for it confuses *ποιεῖν* with *ποιείσθαι* and *διαψημισμός* with *ψήφισμα*. The expression means literally ‘caused a distinguishing vote to be taken,’ unless indeed we ought to read the middle voice. In p. 80, l. 3, *τῇ πόλει πάσῃ πατρικῶς χρωμένους* surely does not mean ‘that they acted in all their public life in a manner worthy of their ancestry’ but that they behaved like fathers (not to this or that class, but) to the whole state. Mr. Kenyon still takes *θυρίδας* in ch. 50 to mean doors, though in a note he adds ‘or possibly windows.’ There is no reason whatever to suppose that the word can be used as doors. It is true that Liddell and Scott recognize that meaning but any one who verifies their references for it will see that they are not justified. In p. 140, l. 11, *ἔπειτα χορηγοὺς τραγωδοῖς καθίστησι τρεῖς ἐξ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους*, I have suggested that *τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους* should be omitted as a gloss on the ground that this liturgy was not the most costly. This view is strengthened by the necessity Mr. Kenyon finds himself under of writing ‘three of the richest persons’ instead of ‘the three richest,’ for the Greek can only mean ‘the three richest’ and, if genuine, would imply that the three richest were appointed over and over again. When Theramenes is said (p. 80, l. 8) *πάσας προάγειν (τὰς πολιτείας)*, Mr. Kenyon translates this by the word ‘supporting,’ which, no doubt, if right, it would have to mean. But can the Greek word mean that? *προάγειν πολιτείαν* means in general what *προάγειν δημοκρατίαν, ὀλιγαρχίαν*, &c., would mean in particular, and this must be, I think, to make a democracy more democratic, an oligarchy more oligarchical, and so on. It would be almost a synonym for Aristotle’s *ἐπιτείνειν* as opposed to *ἀνιέναι*. Although the conjecture is a bold one, I still think that, as I have before

suggested, we should for *προάγειν* read *στέργειν*, which fits in admirably with the context. In ch. 24 '600 jurymen' is only a misprint for '6000 jurymen'; but M. Gennadius' conjecture of *ὀπλῖται* for *δικασταί* seems for more reasons than one extremely probable, and it may perhaps go along with my own conjecture of *ὀπλιτῶν* in p. 150, l. 2, where Mr. Kenyon prints *δ[ημο]τῶν* and where the MS. may by the same error really have had *δικαστῶν*. In the last mentioned place Mr. Kenyon writes 'the citizens': does he think *δημοτῶν* can mean that, or is he suggesting *πολιτῶν*? This however is hardly the occasion to raise questions about readings, and I will only remark on that matter that, though Mr. Kenyon usually states in a note where he is translating something different from the text of his second edition, he sometimes omits to do so. For instance, he appears to adopt the suggestion of *συμφοράν* for *διαφοράν* in p. 80, l. 14, and that of *ἐγκάουσι* for *ἀνάγουσι* in p. 122, l. 20, but there is nothing to show his readers that he is not translating his own printed text.

Mr. Poste's rendering of ch. 5 will also give a fair idea of his work in comparison with Mr. Kenyon's.

'The narrowness of the constitution and the oppression of the many by the few ended in an outbreak of war between the nobles and commons. As the disruption proved persistent, after they had been long divided into hostile camps, they concurred in a joint election of Solon to act as mediator and dictator and reconstructor plenipotentiary of the state, a work for which he had shown some fitness in the elegiac poem which begins "my eyes are opened, and I see with anguish the plight of this old Ionian land," in which poem he endeavours to calm their resentments, champions each party in turn against the other, appeals to the reason of both, and finally urges them to join in uprooting the causes of dissension. Though illustrious by birth and ancestry, in fortune and occupation Solon belonged to the middle class according to all authorities and his own testimony in the verses where he tells the wealthy not to be over-grasping—"Still, ye great, the mighty pantings within your bosom. Feed not so high the over-dieted and riotous steed, your overweening spirit: for neither my compeers nor the humblest ranks will tolerate the present yoke." He continually throws the blame of the schism on the rich, fearing, as he says in the beginning of the poem, their greed and pride as the sources

of the hatred that ranged class against class.'

It may be doubted whether 'ancestry' and 'occupations' are good words for *δόξη* and *πράγμασιν*, and whether Solon had any notion of a steed and its pantings in his mind, nor does he say anything about uprooting causes. The concluding words are so translated (or punctuated) as to make *ὡς διὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἐχθρας ἐνεστώσης* a sort of quotation from Solon, which they are not. In the last line of Solon Mr. Poste is presumably translating some new reading which is unknown to me. 'He endeavours to calm their resentments' no doubt represents his own conjecture of *ἐπράννεν* for the corrupt *ἐπήλανεν*; but, though *ἐπράννεν* is one of the first words that would occur here to the emender, it can hardly be right. In the first place we want a present tense, not an imperfect, to go with the present tenses following. In the second the word would be out of place in this part of the sentence. Solon is described as adopting first a combative and afterwards a conciliatory attitude. It is not at first that he *παραίνει καταπαύειν τὴν ἐνεστώσαν φιλονικίαν*, but only *μετὰ ταῦτα*.

In the sketch of the Draconian constitution Mr. Poste adopts an ingenious but not, I think, a legitimate way of escaping from a difficulty, when he translates *ἀπέδεδото ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς ὅπλοι παρεχομένοις* 'sovereign power was already wielded by the class of persons capable of providing its (their?) own equipment in war,' and adds in a note 'this agrees with the statement of Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 12, that Drakon made no change in the constitution. The revolution had already taken place. Drakon's task was to adjust the laws to the changed centre of political power.' But the perfect is used here, not because the change had taken place before Draco, but because he had made the change before the system here described in some detail got into working order. The imperfects that follow depict its working, not its first establishment. At the time when they *ἤροῦντο* κ.τ.λ. Draco had given power to the *ὅπλα παρεχόμενοι*. In some other places Mr. Poste's renderings seem to me still more indefensible. Such are 'dispassionate judges' for *οἱ μὴ παρέργως ἀποφαινόμενοι* (p. 80, l. 6): 'rule by consent of the governed' for *τῶν ἀρχομένων ἡττων ἀρχή* (p. 96, l. 6): 'within the precincts of the metropolis' for *ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς* (p. 125, l. 6). *κανηφορεῖν* (p. 47, l. 5) ought not to be translated 'carry the sacred basket,' as though there was only one. 'A beautiful

woman named Phue' omits the *μεγάλη*, which is as essential as the *καλή* in the account of Athena's representative (p. 40, l. 5). 'The corrupt practices of modern law courts' does not at all express *τὰ νῦν γινόμενα* in p. 27, l. 4, which only means the great power of the courts, not their corruption.

Those who are familiar with Mr. Poste's translation of the *Posterior Analytics* will be prepared to find his English at some distance from the Greek. In the translation before us this is noticeable in the modern and not unfrequently stilted language which he employs. Solon is 'interviewed': men become 'millionaires': Cleon makes speeches 'in the garb of a working-man' (*διαζωσάμενος* or *διεζωσμένος*); *οὐκ ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον* is 'he would have dissolved society': *τῆς πολιτείας μεταδίδόναι* is 'to give them a share in shaping the destinies of the nation': *παραστρατηγηθῆναι* is to be 'made the unwitting accomplice of a fraudulent scheme,' and we have already seen that *ὁδοί* are 'the precincts of the metropolis.' *ἀριστίνδην* is more than adequately translated by 'in accordance with the qualifications characteristic of an aristocratic constitution': something simpler would do. The following sentence offends in another way and requires the hand of the emender as much as any passage in the original Greek: 'what is the likelihood that a man, so just and so superior to personal interests that, when he might by bribing the support of either faction have continued (?) tyrant, he dared to offend them both, preferring to personal aggrandisement the glory of saving the state, it is credible that such a man should be tempted to cover himself with dishonour for a paltry pecuniary gain?' Another questionable practice is the habit of introducing explanatory matter into the text instead of putting it, if at all, into notes. *κύβεις*, for instance, is translated 'three-faced pyramids revolving on pivots': *Μαρωνεία* is 'Maroneia or Laurion': *κομίσασθαι τὰ χρήματα* is 'call in the capital and dispose of it at their

pleasure.' 'Geraestus' becomes 'Geraistos, the south point of Euboea,' and 'Scyllaeum' appears as 'Skullaion, the east point of Argolis.' Into ch. 43 about eight lines of astronomical matter are interpolated; of which there is not a word in the original text.

By way of comparing the two books, it may be said shortly that Mr. Kenyon keeps closer to the words of the Greek and will give perhaps a better idea of the style of the original, while Mr. Poste strays further from it and perhaps gains less often than he loses: that Mr. Poste avails himself more freely of emendations or has brought his work more thoroughly up to date, while Mr. Kenyon can tell us with authority the last readings of the MS.: that Mr. Kenyon states what readings he is translating while Mr. Poste does not: and that Mr. Kenyon furnishes in a well-written introduction and in numerous notes an amount of explanation and comment much greater than is supplied by Mr. Poste's few notes and the explanations introduced without notice into his text.

The German translation referred to above appeared very speedily after the publication of the papyrus and, though the translators used considerable freedom in dealing with the Greek and in some places would appear to have anticipated conjectures since made, it represents a text now so discredited that it must be rewritten before it calls for particular notice. For the time at which it was published it appears to be accurately and skilfully done. The value to foreigners of the Italian translation, which also seems to be accurate, consists chiefly in the greatly improved Greek text which accompanies it, embodying a large number of English and foreign emendations, and furnishing us with something far better than the Museum's second edition. But the Dutch and German editions that have since appeared render this text of comparatively little use.

H. RICHARDS.

CAMBRIDGE TEXTS AND STUDIES. VOL. I. PART I.

Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, edited by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Vol. i. No. I. *The Apology of Aristides*, edited and translated by J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, M.A. Cambridge University Press, 1891. 8s.

AN English series of publications analogous to *Texte und Untersuchungen* is very welcome, and this first instalment augurs well for its quality. It gives English students full opportunity of judging for themselves of the value of the document which was published in 1878 (*S. Aristidis, philosophi atheniensis, Sermones duo*, St. Lazare) by the

Armenians of the Lazarist monastery at Venice, as an Armenian translation of the first part of the *Apology* of Aristides. In his *Église Chrétienne*, p. vi., Renan confidently denied the authenticity of this interesting fragment. But there seems to be little doubt that he has been too hasty; and it remains to be seen whether he will retract or modify the opinion which he expressed in 1879. The present volume gives us a great deal more, viz. a Syriac translation of nearly the whole of the *Apology*, which was discovered by the editor in the convent of S. Catharine on Mt. Sinai in 1889. Till 1878 we knew little more of Aristides than the very meagre notices of him in the *Ecclesiastical History* and *Chronicon* of Eusebius, who tells us that Aristides addressed a defence of the faith to Hadrian, and that this defence had been 'preserved by many people down to the present day'; which scarcely implies that Eusebius himself had read it. At any rate he does not quote it: and it appears that he was mistaken in supposing that it was addressed to Hadrian. In the translation of what seem to be the opening words of the original we read ... 'Caesar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, Worshipful and Clement, from Marcianus Aristides, philosopher of Athens,'—words which clearly indicate Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian, who bears the name Hadrian by adoption. Either Eusebius or his informant has read the title carelessly, and scores of writers since his day have copied his statement. This independence in reference to Eusebius, the addition of the name Marcianus to Aristides, and the extreme simplicity of the *Apology* itself, are all in favour of the genuineness of the document. Another characteristic which is in favour of its antiquity is its friendliness towards Judaism: and yet, in spite of this friendliness, in the traces of a primitive creed which are found in it occurs the clause 'He was pierced by the Jews,' without the words which became common afterwards 'under Pontius Pilate.' The editor is right in comparing with this clause the words of S. Peter in Acts ii. 36, 'Whom ye crucified,' but not those of S. James in his Epistle, v. 6, where 'ye have killed the righteous one' is probably a general statement and has no direct reference to the death of Christ (comp. Wisd. ii. 10–20). But the words of S. Peter in Acts iii. 14, 15, and of S. Stephen in Acts vii. 52, might be added as parallel.

The nucleus of a creed which is found in the *Apology* runs thus: 'He was pierced by the Jews; He died and was buried; After

three days he rose again, and ascended into heaven.' It is probable that other doctrinal statements which occur in the appeal are *disjecta membra* of the same symbol; viz. that God is the Maker of heaven and earth, and that Jesus Christ is to come to judge; perhaps also that He was born of the Virgin Mary.

There is some reason for believing that Celsus had read the *Apology* of Aristides, and that some of his criticisms, as quoted by Origen, were directed against it, or at least suggested by it. The argument is a cumulative one, and (with one exception) none of the items taken singly amount to very much. The exception is this. Aristides 'expresses the remarkable opinion that the Jewish ritual is rather an adoration of angels than a worship of God. The expression is the more remarkable because Aristides affects to reason throughout as the philosopher rather than the Christian, and he forgets himself and introduces the angels without even an explanation to the emperor, as to what beings are intended. What shall we say then when we find Celsus affirming that the Jews worship angels? And Origen is so puzzled as to ask "where in the world did Celsus find in the Mosaic writings instruction in the worship of angels?" (*C. Cels.* i. 26). It is certainly curious that we find the missing link supplied by the *Apology* of Aristides.'

When the Armenian translation is compared with the Syriac in that portion which is common to both, it is seen that on the whole the latter is much the more faithful rendering. There are exceptions, but as a rule it is the Armenian translator who takes liberties in both directions, sometimes interpolating and sometimes condensing. It is he who speaks of Christ's Mother as the Theotokos, an expression which Renan pronounced to be among the things which were fatal to the authenticity of the document. In the Syriac there is no such expression, and we may be confident that it was not found in the Greek original.

In the Appendix Mr. Robinson shows that we have a third authority for determining the contents of the *Apology* of Aristides. This is contained in the Greek text of the famous romance of 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' which is printed in Migne's edition of John of Damascus, but which, although connected with his name since the eleventh century, is of much earlier origin, and is an adaptation of the Indian legend of Buddha. In the story, Josaphat, the son of an Eastern King, is converted to Chris-

tianity in spite of his father's precautions, who had been warned by astrologers at the child's birth that he would become a Christian. The father is distressed and enraged; but Barlaam, who had converted Josaphat, has disappeared. The following scheme is then laid to reconvert the prince. Nachor, an old man who resembles Barlaam, is put up to defend Christianity in open discussion and is to allow himself to be easily refuted, so that the prince may see how worthless a religion he has adopted. But Nachor is made to bless where he had intended to curse, and delivers such a speech that he himself and the king and the people become Christians. *The speech which he delivers is the Apology of Aristides*, with just such modifications as are necessary to make it fit the surroundings. So that here we seem to have the Greek original, with comparatively slight alteration; and as it is a good deal shorter than the Syriac, there is reason for believing that the latter has been freely interpolated. Those parts of the *Apology* which would not suit the story would of course be omitted; but that fact will not account for all the differences.

In marked contrast to the writings of Justin Martyr, the *Apology* of Aristides contains very few references to canonical books, although there are passages which are coloured by N. T. language, especially from the Epistle to the Romans. But some of these references may have been inserted by the author of 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' for they are either less clear in the Syriac or do not appear there at all. Beyond implying a written narrative of Christ's life the *Apology* throws no light upon the Canon. This also is in favour of its authenticity and early

date. Aristides in arguing as a philosopher would not be likely to make much use of Christian writings, and in his time many of the canonical books were not widely diffused.

Mr. Robinson is specially to be congratulated on his identification of Nachor's speech in 'Barlaam and Josaphat' with the much desired Greek text of the *Apology* of Aristides. It has been open to any scholar to make this important discovery ever since Boissonade published the Greek text of the romance in vol. iv. of his *Anecdota* in Paris, 1832; but the glory has been reserved for Cambridge and Mr. Robinson. Boissonade made very inadequate use of the materials which lay ready to his hand, confining himself to four, or indeed mainly two, out of seventeen MSS. which are in the Library at Paris: and there are others elsewhere, amounting to about sixty in all, which Zotenberg has catalogued. Boissonade's faulty text has been reprinted (with fresh blunders) in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, tom. 96, in the third vol. of John of Damascus. Mr. Robinson has now given us a newly edited text, with a large number of variants from MSS. which he has collated. As he points out, nothing has been attempted as yet in the way of a genealogical classification of the materials: but whoever undertakes that laborious work will be largely indebted to the present editor for his pioneering.

It is little exaggeration to say that the first volume of 'Texts and Studies' deserves to rank with the *Didache* and *Diatessaron* as among the most important of the many precious recoveries which have been made during the present century.

A. PLUMMER.

DYER'S STUDIES OF THE GODS IN GREECE.

Studies of the Gods in Greece, at certain Sanctuaries recently excavated. By LOUIS DYER, B.A. Oxon, late Assistant Professor at Harvard University. Macmillan & Co. 8s. 6d. net.

How did the average Greek citizen think of his relation to the gods, and what fruit had his religion in his daily life? There is nothing more difficult, even for mature students of Greek thought, than the attempt to answer such questions as these. Young scholars who have completed their course at the university may well feel wholly at a

loss when confronted with them. And no wonder. The religion of the Romans, in spite of all its obscurities, presents no such difficulties; however deeply overlaid by importations from without, it was in the main the religion of a single community, and of a people gifted neither with fancy nor speculative power, who moreover at an early period allowed it to come under the control of a powerful political priesthood. But the religion of the Greeks is like the halcyon's plumage, always changing hue in varying lights; we cannot now reduce it to a system, simply because it never was system-

atized by a priesthood like that of Rome. It varied over the whole of Hellas, and different forms of it confront us even within the walls of a single πόλις. And such material as we have to work on is extremely difficult to deal with. Records of worship in inscriptions are indeed increasing in number, but they are still few and fragmentary; literary allusions are often obscure; the mythological key is exceedingly difficult to fit into the lock.

It is true enough that in standard works like those of Schömann, Hermann, Lobeck, Preller, and Maury, a vast amount of material has been brought together, and in Roscher's *Mythological Lexicon* this material is now being sifted and made more easily accessible, and also largely increased by the results of more recent discoveries. But none of these works have ever been translated into English. Parts both of Hermann and Schömann have appeared in an English form, but not those which deal with religion. And though our younger scholars very quickly acquire a working knowledge of German, when once they are free from the trammels of examination, it must be confessed, on both sides of the Atlantic, that we are sorely in need of a really good book on this subject in our own tongue. We have valuable fragments, but nothing comprehensive. Sir Charles Newton, Professor Jebb, Mr. Pater, and several others, have contributed, and recently Miss Harrison has produced a volume of real importance. Scattered up and down Professor Freeman's new *History of Sicily* are many useful facts and suggestions bearing on the religious ideas of the Sicilian Greeks. It is possible, and most earnestly to be hoped, that a collection of representative religious inscriptions may appear ere long, compiled by the one English scholar most amply qualified to edit it. But as yet there is no comprehensive attempt to bring the Greek religion before us as a whole; and we may welcome all the more kindly any scholarly and sympathetic essay towards a better understanding of any one side of it.

The book under review is just such an essay, or series of essays. It is scholarly, because its author has Greek literature at his fingers' ends, and knows how to go to work upon it; and it is sympathetic, because he knows and loves both Greece and the Greeks. We may get the scholarship at home, but it may be doubted whether we can get the sympathy without something more than a hurried journey to Greece. Mr. Dyer was a student of the American School

at Athens, and it is impossible to read his book without feeling the immense advantages which these Schools offer to scholars, by bringing them into contact with their fellow-workers of other nationalities, as well as by giving them the chance of making themselves at home in the country whose history or thought they are studying. Such a book as Mr. Dyer's could not possibly have been written without a prolonged residence in Greece: and though it is not a product of the British School, we may venture to think that it will help to convince the British public that there is really something in the movement which that ill-supported institution represents in this country.

The book consists of eight lectures given in the United States after Mr. Dyer's return from Greece. These are addressed to students rather than to professors, and matters of research are wisely relegated to appendices, or are simply hinted at in suggestive notes. The general object of the lecturer is to inspire sympathy with one particular aspect of Greek religion, by carrying the reader to certain famous sites which have recently been the scenes of excavation. As Professor Freeman has lately made us feel at home in the Greek sites of Sicily, so Mr. Dyer takes us to Icaria, to Eleusis, to Delphi, Epidaurus, and Delos, and compels us to share the enthusiasm which he drew from the scenery and the classical remains which excavators have brought to light. His enthusiasm is genuine and delightful, and the language in which he expresses it is full of a certain honest fervour, which, in spite of an occasional tendency to be rhetorical, seems exactly to answer its purpose of rousing interest and sympathy. It is clear that Mr. Dyer's mind is naturally rather poetical than critical; it may even be said that his feeling occasionally gets a little the better of his reasoning. But it is exactly feeling that we want just now, in an age when we are almost overwhelmed with critical detail in every department of antiquity. It is a real pleasure to put the critical spirit clean away for once, and to drink full draughts of exhilarating Greek air from each successive chapter of this book.

The aspect of Greek religion to which Mr. Dyer has almost entirely confined himself is one about which most of us have a very scanty knowledge. The ideas of immortality, of the mystery of suffering, of holiness, of purification in a spiritual as well as in a ritualistic sense, of comfort in trouble—bodily and mental—coming from a divine source, are all il-

illustrated in the worship of the deities whom he selects for study. The reader is made sensible of the force of a certain under-current of Greek religious feeling, which had its source partly in a primitive nature-worship, partly in the later feeling of kinship or unity with nature. This force was one acting rather on the people than on the aristocracy, and it therefore does not make itself felt either in literature or politics until comparatively late. There is little trace of it in Homer. The fierce Homeric deities, of whom Mr. Gladstone complains that they were all behind Eumæus in goodness, were not those who really ruled the hearts of the mass of Greek 'folk.' 'The quality of Greek deities,' says Mr. Dyer, 'was that of *mercy*'; and in order to understand this we must leave Homer, and see what can be learnt from Demeter and Dionysus, Apollo and his son (or double) Aesculapius, and even Aphrodite herself, at the shrines where they ministered some strange and unfathomable comfort, not only to the rich and noble, but to all who sought their help.

This leading idea, that the Greeks conceived of their gods as merciful, and as a consequence that they had a religion not so far removed from our own as we are apt to fancy it, is enunciated in the introductory lecture and worked out in the others. The reader should therefore, when he has finished the book, go back to the first chapter, and consider whether the illustrations have confirmed the thesis. He will probably come to the conclusion that they have done so in great measure, and that the most famous shrines in Greece were seats of something approaching to pure and undefiled religion; and he may also conclude that relics of savage custom, such as Mr. Lang delights to discover in Greece, had no more really to do with the religious ideas of the later Greek, than the survivals of Paganism in the Roman Catholic Church have to do with the Christianity it represents.

Mr. Dyer naturally starts with the Eleusinian deities. With Demeter he has a comparatively easy task. He wishes to show that she was a tender, loving, homely deity, the friend of all women who have had sorrow like her own; he therefore puts Homer aside, analyses the Homeric hymn (after Wegener), and passes thence to the Cnidian statues discovered by Sir C. Newton. The exposition of the hymn is perhaps a little wanting in clearness, for Mr. Dyer's power clearly does not lie so much in treating mythological difficulties, as in enforcing his own impressions. But the value of the

chapter lies in the lessons drawn from the statues. Here, as throughout the book, the power of the Greek to purify and ennoble rude ideas is brought out with skill, and with that touch of imagination which illumines the whole book. The scientific critic may possibly deride; but if we are to learn anything from archaeology about the Greeks as human beings, we must have teachers of imagination as well as knowledge. This lecture, taken in this light, is a most useful commentary on the article in Roscher's *Lexicon*.

Before we pay a visit to the most famous site of Demeter's worship we are taken to Icaria, the earliest scene of the cult of Dionysus in Attica, which has been investigated by the American School. Mr. Dyer does not tell us much of what was found there (though he has placed the beautiful ivy-wreath on the cover of his book), but he draws inspiration from the scene. We follow Dionysus from Thrace to Icaria, and from Icaria to Eleusis, and mark how he undergoes 'a triple probation,' never indeed losing his wildest traits altogether, yet gradually becoming changed under the magic influence of the Greek into the 'god-head of the widest and best worship known to the best spirits in the best days of the best community in Hellas.' Naturally enough the details of this transformation are as baffling to Mr. Dyer as to every one else. Dionysus would not explain himself to the Greek, much less can he be explained by the modern. The Thracian god of the nether-world, where alone existence is real, becomes the god of all *real* things (p. 96), *i.e.* wine, water, fire, and flashing gold; and so he passes to Greece as a fluid deity of many sides, such as rhythmic motion, poetry, prophecy, and inspiration. But when Mr. Dyer thus tries to trace a single current in the growth of this bewildering god, he does so with an obvious feeling that he is trying to solve the insoluble. But he so far becomes possessed of the god, that he contrives in his very struggles to impress us with some real sense of his extraordinary nature. And this impression he fixes by an elaborate and most instructive analysis of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, at the end of his fourth lecture; not forgetting his main thesis, but showing how amid all the wild frenzy of the Bacchic worship, there is still an element of mercy and humanity in the god, and how it was even possible for a Christian poet (Nonnus) to find in his worship a foreshadowing of 'the mysteries of faithful sorrowing.'

While still upon the cult of Dionysus, Mr. Dyer incidentally touches on a point of great historical interest. In a useful note (p. 125) he has put together the heads of evidence for the connexion of Pisistratus with the organized Bacchic worship at Athens, improving on a paper by Otto Ribbeck, which appeared as far back as 1869. Pisistratus had a special connexion with the hill-men of Attica, among whom the worship of Dionysus first took root; if therefore it can be shown that the organization of the Dionysiac festivals was his work, we may look on it as a victory of the religion of the people over that of the aristocratic clan. The point needs more ample working out than Mr. Dyer had space for; the religious history of Attica in the sixth century, when the *Demos*, aided by the *τύραννος*, was gradually breaking down the exclusiveness of the old gentile associations, has never been adequately investigated. Even the genius of De Coulanges has missed the point here. One thing at least seems certain—that the century in which Epimenides, Solon, and Pisistratus worked for Athens, saw some re-construction of the religious system; and as in Greece religious and political development everywhere go hand in hand, we need not be surprised to find that this change consisted of the admission into the state calendar of popular worships of an individualistic type, as distinguished from the strictly local worships which were the property of aristocratic families. An obvious parallel may be found at Rome in the development of plebeian worships in the third and fourth centuries.

Mr. Dyer's last three lectures are perhaps hardly so interesting as the earlier ones; they deal with three distinct deities and sites, instead of with a group of deities eventually brought together at a single site (Eleusis), and especially in the last, on Apollo and Delos, we finish the chapter with a great desire for more on the same subject. We may hope that more will ere long be given us; for Mr. Dyer manifestly has the power of making us understand what are really the fruits of work such as that of M. Homolle at Delphi and Delos. Even as they stand, these chapters are of real educational value, so greatly do we need some one to tell our young scholars what archaeologists are really doing. And in each of them Mr. Dyer continues to enforce

his main thesis, that the religion of the Greeks was real, and that their gods were merciful. In that on Aesculapius, which takes us for a too brief visit to the health-giving site above Epidaurus, he endeavours to show that religion and the science of medicine worked hand in hand. In that on Aphrodite, the epithet *Sosandra* is insisted on, as representing a beneficent aspect of the goddess which has not been sufficiently noticed. This last indeed seems to us the weakest of all the lectures, for the author is of course embarrassed about the vexed question of the origin of the goddess, and we are glad when he returns at the end to show how the Eastern conception of her, be it Phœnician or Hittite, became purified and ennobled in the mind of the wonderful Greek. This chapter is followed by three appendices, the third at least of which shows that Mr. Dyer can undertake a difficult piece of research with success, and can bring to bear on it a vast amount of reading both ancient and modern.

We conclude with a single note on the view of Greek religion which the book enforces. Mr. Dyer earnestly entreats us in his first chapter to banish from our minds all modern religious ideas, if we would understand those of the Greeks. Truly the advice is good, for how, for example, can we otherwise ever hope to reconcile the Dionysus of the Mysteries with the Dionysus whom Aristophanes' audience delighted to see made an object of sublime ridicule? Yet one may ask how far Mr. Dyer's own views of the 'piety' of the Greeks (the word is his own) are not reflections from our modern sunlight. We can only see in the light which is given us. But if the attempt to rid ourselves of modern notions is a hopeless one, it is at least consoling to reflect that there is a certain unity in the history of religion, as in all other history; and that the Greeks *sought* at least, at certain times and places, to get from their religion something not far removed from that comfort and consolation which we expect from ours. *Seekers* they were essentially, as Adolf Holm so truly says in the preface to his *History of Greece*; and as St. Paul himself recognized this fact at Athens, we perhaps need not too hastily conclude that their world of religious thought was wholly different from our own.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

KEIL'S EDITION OF VARRO'S *RES RUSTICAE*.

M. Porci Catonis De Agri Cultura Liber.
M. Terenti Varronis Rerum Rusticarum
Libri Tres, ex recensione HENRICI KEILII.
 Vol. II. Fasc. ii. *Commentarius in Varronis*
Rerum Rusticarum Libros Tres. Leipzig.
 Teubner: 1891. 8 Mk.

THIS volume completes the edition of Varro's *Res Rusticae*, the first instalment of which was the text published by Keil in 1884. We have now before us the commentary, in which the readings adopted in the text are justified, and a number of observations added on Varronian usage. The commentary on Cato is as yet unpublished.

It is well known to scholars that there is now no ancient manuscript of the *Res Rusticae* in existence, but that one now lost (the Florentine) was used by Victorius and Politian. Politian left notes of its readings in his copy of the *editio princeps* (1472), and Victorius based upon it his edition published at Lyon in 1541. All the surviving manuscripts of the *Res Rusticae* are copies of the lost Florentine; and an editor's first business is therefore to ascertain as far as possible, by an examination of Politian's notes and of the fifteenth century MSS., the readings of the lost original.

All praise is due to Keil for the careful and conscientious way in which he has performed this important duty. It must be added that he shows singular prudence and judgment in his treatment of passages really or apparently corrupt, and that his method is, in the best sense of the word, conservative. He has contributed, indeed, a considerable number of new emendations; but in no case, apparently, do his alterations imply any violent dislocation of the MS. text. One brilliant and certain correction, not printed in the first volume, but now proposed for the first time, is to be found in the table of contents to the first book (p. 113 20). The Florentine MS. had *de numero rusticorum, quotiens operis quisque agri modus coli possit*. For *quotiens* Keil now reads *quotenis*, citing from the heading of c. 28 *quotenos dies habeat quodque tempus*.

Another remarkable merit of the book lies in the careful study which it evinces of Varronian usage. The curious style of Varro, a mixture of simplicity and cumbrousness, requires a thorough mastery on the part of an editor before he puts his hand to the task of emendation. As ex-

cellent instances of Keil's qualifications in this respect may be mentioned his notes upon anacoluthon (p. 134); on the loose combination of indicative and subjunctive (pp. 16, 265); on the accusative in the first part of a clause instead of a nominative in the second (p. 13); and on double negatives (p. 21). New light, too, is thrown upon the forms of Latin words: for instance, in the notes on *quoad* and *quoad* (p. 5): on *cocescere*, *coctus*, *colescere* for *coacescere*, *coactus*, *coalescere* (p. 128): on *alvarium* and *alvare* (p. 228).

The commentary does not profess to deal, to any great extent, with the subject of the book. To discuss thoroughly the whole question of ancient Italian agriculture and Latin agricultural treatises requires not only a rare combination of gifts, but an amount of leisure such as can hardly fall to the lot of a scholar who pays due attention to the first problem of all, the restoration of the text. No one who is not content with second-hand work will, nowadays, refuse to recognize the width and the difficulty of this task.

The mention of the text suggests a question. Is not the text of Varro's *Res Rusticae*, as Gesner thought, more disfigured with glosses than Keil will allow? I am disposed to think this is the case in 1 2 9, *C. Licinium Stolonem et Cn. Trebellium video venire, unum, cuius maiores de modo agri legem tulerunt (nam Stolonis illa lex, quae vetat plus D iugera habere civem Romanum)*. The words *nam Stolonis—Romanum* are surely inept, if regarded as part of the genuine text. 1 2 27 *terra pestem teneto, salus hic maneto in meis pedibus*. Was not Gesner right in expunging *in meis pedibus*? The same suspicion attaches to 1 30, *segetes runcari, herbam e segetibus expurgari*; 3 9 7 *gallinarius, curator earum*, where *runcari* and *gallinarius* seem to have been explained by an interpreter. For *runcari* comp. Isidore Orig. 17 2 5 *runcatio est a terra herbas evellere*. Add 1 49 2 *sicilienda prata, id est falcibus consecranda*; 2 1 20 *qui appellantur subrumi id est sub mamma*, on which see Festus, p. 306, s.v. *subrumari*: Paulus, p. 271, *mamma enim rumis dicitur*. 2 4 17 *dicuntur nefrendes ab eo quod nondum fabam frendere possunt, id est frangere*; see Paulus, p. 91, *frendere est frangere*. 2 9 11 *tum enim dicuntur catulire, id est ostendere velle se maritari*; Nonius, p. 90, *catulire, surire vel libidinari*. The fact that in four

cases the interpretation in the text of Varro is virtually identical with that given by late lexicographers is, at any rate, worth mentioning; and may possibly point to the fact of an early interpolation of glosses in the *Res Rusticae*.

In l 4 5, *inmissis fenestris novis aquilone et obstructis pestilentibus*, I propose to read *ab aquilone*: Georg. 4 298 *quattuor addunt*,

Quattuor a ventis, obliqua luce fenestras. In 3 17 2, *cum piscinarum genera sunt duo, ... alterum apud plebem et sine fructu... illae autem... piscinae nobilium... magis ad oculos pertinent*, Gesner restored sense by reading *et non sine fructu*. Reading *apud plebem, nec sine fructu*, we get the same sense without violating the MS. tradition.

H. NETTLESHIP.

FRIEDRICH'S EDITION OF CICERO'S *OPERA RHETORICA*. VOL. II.

M. Tullii Ciceronis Opera Rhetorica recognovit GULIELMUS FRIEDRICH. Vol. II. Lipsiae, in aedibus B. G. Teubneri. pp. lxxviii. 449.

THE publication of the second volume of Friedrich's edition of the *Opera Rhetorica* completes the much needed new text of Cicero's works in the Teubner series, and fills up one of the most serious gaps in that collection. No statement has as yet been made, so far as I am aware, as to whether the edition of the letters by Wesenberg is to be replaced by one for which C. F. W. Müller will make himself responsible, as for the rest of the works. This would be welcome, for in spite of the service which Wesenberg did to the text, his erroneous not to say perverse judgment as to the relative importance of the primary MSS. makes his text far from trustworthy. But the need is not so imperative here as in those parts for which Klotz's text was the only one issued by Teubner: and we may rest content for the time with what we now have.

Dr. Friedrich had made known by previous programmes and articles the principles on which he would edit the rhetorical works. He is a thorough-going champion of the text of the older (mutilated) MSS. and has no belief whatever in the soundness of the smoother readings of the vulgate. More especially he is altogether unable to accept the view that the fifteenth century Italian MSS. may be taken as faithful transcripts of the lost and legendary *Laudensis*: 'quorum quae adfinitas huiusce ipsius libri vetustissimi sit hodie in tenebris latet et opinor semper latebit.' He has examined 22 of this class in the Vatican library, in addition to as many known to us from Ellendt, or rather from Lagomarsini, and has collated throughout the Palatinus 1469 and Ottobonianus 2057, which have been claimed as the direct and faithful representatives of the

Laudensis. But he no more allows this claim than he recognizes the value lately assigned to them. Keeping to the lines on which the best critics have proceeded since the time of Kayser, he has taken as his guides the four early authorities, the Harleianus 2736, the Abrincensis 238, the Erlangensis 848, and the extracts made by Hadoardus in the Vat. Regin. 1762. Of these he has very accurate collations, the first made by Luchs and Rühl, the excellence of which I can vouch for, having done the work independently myself, the second by v. Leutsch and Heerdegen, who have added something to the good collation by Schneide-win, and quite superseded the authority used by Orelli, the third by Stangl and Stroebel, both of whom have done good service in this field. Of the later mutilated MSS. Friedrich uses Lag. 32 as now better known through the labours of Vassis, Gud. 2 collated by Sorof, the Erlangensis alter, evidently a copy of A, and one Leyden MS. and one Ottobonian, examined by himself. But he rightly attaches quite secondary importance to these. At the same time a little familiarity with the older MSS. shows how impossible it is to trust them with any confidence. They literally teem with corruptions and omissions. In the matter of the order of the words alone do they furnish us with guidance which can be accepted with little hesitation. For the rest every page of the Harleian and the Avranches MSS. abounds in forms and phrases which show the most entire ignorance and carelessness on the part of the copyist. All that can be said is that there is no sign of deliberate interpolation or correction: the genuine tradition is obscured only by the common blunders, the nature and range of which are tolerably familiar. But it does not necessarily follow that the conjectural corrections, if we are to regard them as such, in the later MSS., are erroneous;

and especially as regards the filling up of omissions, it seems quite clear that they have preserved an independent tradition. Hence even among those who agree in his general principles many will hesitate to accept Friedrich's defence through thick and thin of the reading of the *codices mutili*. Of his own conjectures on the *De Oratore* the following seem specially noteworthy: i 4, 13, for *spe uberiore*, where *M* have *liberiores*, he suggests *specie liberiores* with doubtful sense; i 13, 58, for *legibus tuendis*, *legibus inventis*; in i. 25, 115, he prints the reading of *M et quae bona sint, fieri meliora posse doctrina et quae optima non*; in the same section *dati* is based upon the *electi* of *M*, and is probably better than *ficti* of the vulgate; in i. 35, 161 *atque id vidisse* is good for *atque invidisse* of *M*; in i. 59, 251 *Nomionem* is, retained probably on the strength of Vassiss' explanation; in ii. 13, 54 *locorum* is well defended against the attractive *colorum*, but in § 58 *ipsa compositione verborum non incompositus* seems very doubtful, as against the reading of *L*

impositus, and in § 60 even Friedrich cannot defend *longis* against *conciis*: in ii. 31, 134, he reads *ne pertineant*, rejecting *nihil decii*: in ii. 56, 223, he defends the defective text of *M* by a strained interpretation, and in § 236 he would use *intuendis* for the senseless *coniungendis* of *M*, rejecting the excellent *conlocandis* of *L*. In iii. 23, 4, *ita fit ut agitatio ne rerum sit infinita* is a harsh reading due to the same reverence for the letter of *M*. These may serve as instances of excessive zeal in maintaining a sound principle. But there are also many cases when a good reading is restored; and on the whole we may accept this text as making a distinct advance. It is to be regretted that the critical apparatus is prefixed in the most compressed form to the whole volume, as in Müller's share of the work, and not placed at the foot of each page: but so far as I have been able to test it, it is extremely accurate, and much more satisfactory than anything hitherto accessible.

A. S. WILKINS.

The Iliad of Homer, Book xxiii. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by G. M. EDWARDS, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Pitt Press, 1891. 2s.

It is hard to see any excuse but one for publishing the tenth or twentieth part of a single poem in a separate edition. The unfortunate editor at any rate is reduced to an awkward dilemma; either he must repeat the same notes in one book after another, or he must be referring to his editions of other books which the schoolboy will generally not possess and which he will certainly not look up. And then too there is something *επαχθές* about the latter course; so here on the first page of his notes Mr. Edwards has to write: 'See my note on *Od.* x. 337,' and 'On the etymology of this word see note on xxii. 430.' This is simply useless and has a bad effect, but fortunately the first page is no fair example. (There are several references also to other works, where the passage referred to should have been quoted in full.)

Mr. Edwards however is presumably guiltless of choosing of his own will to bring out a stray limb of the *Iliad* in this disjunct manner. Let us turn to his execution of the task. The best part is the introduction on Homeric forms and the appendices on the article and the moods. These are reprinted from his earlier editions of other books of Homer, having gained somewhat by judicious compression since their first appearance. They are excellently clear and form an admirable introduction to the linguistic study of Homer. In the remark on the comparative termination in § 8 *λαρώτατος* should not be quoted as irregular, for the true form is *λαερώτατος*.

But there is a very strange statement in § 1, which Mr. Edwards has now made in one edition after another. 'The text of Homer which we now possess was formed by the labours of the great Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus'. Again in § 3 he thinks it best

'to adhere generally to the text of Aristarchus.' Now the number of places in this book where the reading of Aristarchus is handed down is about 44, of which at least half are simply the MS. reading, and yet Mr. Edwards differs from him in fourteen places! The conclusion is forced upon us that by the 'text of Aristarchus' Mr. Edwards means nothing but the Alexandrine vulgate or ordinary MS. text, and that he has not the least idea of the relation of the two texts to one another. As a matter of fact 'our text' was fixed *before* Aristarchus and his attempt to improve it had next door to no effect at all. A similar confusion is apparent in the note on 63: 'ἥδυμος'. The other reading *νήδυμος*, said to mean 'deep', is probably an old mistake, older even than Aristarchus'. Why, all the mistakes in our text, *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*, are older than Aristarchus, and in this case the 'other reading' is the only one with any support at all. I should be the last person to doubt the wisdom of changing *νήδυμος*, but why is the vulgate to be changed here, while we keep *ἐπρόφηνεν* in 84, *ἦμος δ' ἑωςφώρος* in 226, *γυναικα ἀγεσθαι* in 263? It is a great deal more certain that these three lines are wrong, for they cannot be said to scan, than that *νήδυμος* is wrong. It is true however that in this case Mr. Edwards may hide himself behind Dr. Leaf, as Teucer did behind the shield of Ajax. He clings as close to him for the most part in his notes, though occasionally preferring a view taken by Mr. Monro. The notes are clear and good as a rule, though now and then the attempt at brevity leads to obscurity; so the point of writing on 257: '*κλον* must be an imperf.' will certainly not be obvious to the boy who finds in his dictionary that *κλον* is always imperfect. Indeed *κλον* is not really imperfect even here, for Dr. Leaf is certainly right in supposing that originally the poem went straight from here to xxiv. 3, so that *κλον* was aorist. On 246 the note would suggest, I think, that *τοῖον* is neuter as an adverb, whereas it is masculine. (*Od.*

xi. 135, xxiii. 282). On 526 κ' is rightly explained as καί, but in the text is printed as an enclitic. The translations are not very happy always; 'his counsel is *thin*' smacks of slang, and what shall we say to: 'whichever of *them twain* is the first to reach the other's fair flesh and to touch the *inwards* through the armour and dark blood'? The explanation of ἀλλὰ in 892 seems right and an improvement on Leaf.

Despite these blemishes the edition will be very useful for schools, as it contains a great amount of information in a very short space, and the notes must enable any one to master the difficult passages.

ARTHUR PLATT.

Herodotos, erklärt von HEINRICH STEIN. Vierter Band. Buch vii. Mit drei Kärtchen von H. KIEPERT. Fünfte verbesserte Auflage. Berlin. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1889.

It is unnecessary to dilate on the merits of Stein's well-known edition of Herodotus; it will be more useful to point out the extent to which the last edition of the seventh book, here under review, shows an advance on its predecessors. Taking the third edition (1874) as the object for comparison, it will be seen that the fifth edition is a considerable contrast and improvement. Both the text and the notes show the results of careful and constant revision. An Appendix gives upwards of a hundred references in which the readings of this edition differ from the editor's text of 1884. A collation of the notes in this edition with those of the third edition (1874) reveals upwards of three hundred changes of one kind or another in the Commentary. Some of the changes are slight; e.g. words are spelt with a *k* now which fifteen years ago were spelt with a *c*. Others, and in particular sundry omissions, are consequential on altered readings in the text (e.g. c. 7, 3 the reading στρατηγὸν has got rid of a note: so too c. 8, γ. 1 τούτων μὲν τῶν, *et al. sim.*). Some textual alterations have led to the modification of the notes; an interesting example may be found in the bracketing of Ἀμφικτυόνων c. 213, 8. The later notes contain also many additional references, in illustration of the Herodotean idioms. Specially interesting readings may be found in 123, 12 Ἀῖσα for Ἀισα on the authority of the 'Tribute lists' (against the MSS.); and 134, 14 τείσαι, where the earlier editions above mentioned have τίσαι. Where the notes touch on the *Realien* they have undergone equally careful revision: of which the notes on Xerxes' pedigree, c. 11, and on the bridges over the Hellespont, c. 36, 10, may be taken as examples. The latter case is the more notable, as it appears that Stein now completes τῆς ἐτέρας by understanding γεφύρας—an interpretation which he once rejected. The former case is due to recent additions to our sources. Another instance in which Stein has changed his view of the right interpretation of a passage is supplied by the note on τὸ πολιτικὸν c. 103, 6. Naturally Stein has made use of Busolt's work, as may be seen in the revised note on the eclipses, 37, 8 ff. and in other chronological references. A long note on 89, 7 ff. concerning the 'Phœnician' tradition of the original seat of the race, passed on Movers, has disappeared; and the same authority has been abandoned elsewhere. These are but a few illustrations of the thorough revision to which the edition has been subject: they are made silently, and without adding to the bulk of the work, and might escape a casual comparison. Even such a comparison would show that in externals this edition is an improvement on the former. The text is better paragraphed (e.g. the break between cc. 14, 15).

NO. XLVII. VOL. V.

Still more obvious is the improvement effected by printing the notes in double column: the type is also clearer. Enough has been said to show that possessors of the earlier editions cannot dispense with the latest; fortunately the price is moderate (2 Mark, 10 Pf.). It is not in a German edition that one would expect to find the great Boeckh robbed of his due (122, 3 Boeckh. [*sic*]), but this printer's error is reproved by the note 186, 5f. where the name is literally correct. On the whole such slips are conspicuous by their absence: and *sinnstörende Druckfehler* there are not any.

R. W. MACAN.

Xenophon's Memorabilia, erklärt von L. BREITENBACH. Sechste Auflage bearbeitet von DR. RUDOLF MÜCKE. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1889.

BREITENBACH's edition of the *Memorabilia* is such a very old acquaintance that the appearance of it for the sixth time would hardly require notice save for the fact that the revision on the present occasion has been undertaken by another scholar. There is no very marked characteristic about the edition to distinguish it from others of the same series. An introduction divided into numbered paragraphs gives the information about Socrates and about Xenophon which is required to understand the work. A long Excursus in which Breitenbach collected all that was known about the δαίμωνιον of Socrates and in which he attempted to show that after all this monitor was only the voice of conscience is retained by the new editor, although he states in a footnote that he disagrees with the conclusions contained in it.

Of the book otherwise there is little to remark. The notes are of the usual type, but on the whole more elementary than in most books of the Weidmann Series. The note on μῆ followed by μῆ (i. 2, 7) is not so lucid as could be wished, and accents have been lost here and there as in the note on εἶπα (p. 113).

It need hardly be added about a German book that it fell to pieces when the leaves were cut.

P. G.

Xenophon, Memorabilia, edited for the use of Schools with Introduction, Notes, etc., by J. MARSHALL, LL.D. Edin., M.A. Oxon. Clarendon Press.

THE numerous school editions of the *Memorabilia* which have appeared in Germany present a strong contrast to the dearth of such in England. The *Memorabilia* under proper supervision and selection may be an excellent school-book, and Dr. Marshall has supplied a real want. His introduction (pp. xxi.) is thoughtful and full of useful suggestions, but I fear will be found somewhat hard by the average schoolboy, though helpful to his teacher. The notes are brief, but contain a great deal of trustworthy information admirably compressed and terse, with plentiful references to Goodwin's *Greek Grammar* on every kind of grammatical usage, regular as well as anomalous. This is a capital point in a school-book; boys need much more to have fully impressed upon them the ordinary principles of Syntax than the occasional divergences, and the very necessity of having their grammar at hand in using the notes is a good thing. There is an index of proper names—in which it seems rather useless to place Socrates with three references only after his name, and one of them a wrong one. The index to the notes is almost entirely confined to points of grammar; a more liberal one would have been acceptable. The text is clearly printed and each chapter has an English heading

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which is helpful. The editor has been generally conservative as to the text, and has only altered when it was positively necessary, following for the most part the excellent text of W. Gilbert in the Teubner series. There are no critical notes indicating what changes he has made. I may notice that the mistake made by myself in a former article in the spelling of Dr. Hartman's name, and properly corrected by Dr. Holden, is also perpetrated both by Gilbert and Dr. Marshall.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

The Cyropaedia of Xenophon, Books VI. VII. VIII. With Notes by the Rev. HUBERT A. HOLDEN, M.A., LL.D. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1890.

HOLDEN'S edition of the *Cyropaedia*, of which Books I.—II. were published in 1887 and Books III.—V. in 1888, is completed with the volume before us. The second instalment of the work was noticed in a former number of the *Classical Review* (Vol. iii. p. 403), and was received with hearty welcome and commendation; the concluding volume shows the same excellences that distinguish the other two. The Preface of the work reminded us that no complete edition of the *Cyropaedia* with English notes had appeared for more than thirty years; indeed the excellent, though antiquated, American edition of Dr. Owen was issued so long ago as 1846. Such long-continued neglect of what has been pronounced 'the most elegant production of Xenophon's genius' seems very strange; the more so, when one considers the 'needless frequency' with which more or less completely annotated editions of the 'Anabasis' of Xenophon have appeared within the same length of time.

The noticeable features of Holden's *Cyropaedia* are:—

(1) An approved text. Though Arnold Hug (Teubner 1883) has been the editor's chief dependence in this matter, the principal readings peculiar to both Dindorf and Sauppe have also been given in the critical Appendix.¹ Great care seems to have been exercised in the redaction also, and the student will often find that difficulties which are met in reading from other texts disappear in the judicious punctuation of Holden's edition. While, of course, the work may not be absolutely free from errors² or misprints, it is characterized by remarkable typographical accuracy and beauty.

(2) Explanation and illustration have been lavishly furnished; in accordance with a belief that unless a great deal be done in the editing of Greek authors, as well as in the method of instruction in the language, to facilitate the reading of Greek, 'the unconditioned use of "cribs" must deprive the study of Greek of its long-heralded value as a means of mental discipline.' The successive portions of the Greek text have been provided with indented titles, as it were; while at appropriate intervals in the notes admirable summaries of the subject-matter of the text involved precede the commentary on the same. Dr. Holden has anticipated that there may be those who will criticize unfavourably this feature of his work; and we are ourselves of the opinion that, so far as these summaries are concerned, he too

often robs the reader of the pleasurable satisfaction of discovering the sense of the original for himself.

The notes are, however, models of their kind. Besides elucidating obscure and difficult passages in the Greek, they offer the student examples of felicitous rendering into English which are in the highest degree worthy of his appreciation and imitation. The handling of Greek particles is especially skilful and noteworthy.

(3) The value of the commentary has been greatly enhanced by 'heavy contributions' from Duncker, Rawlinson and Mure; thus both the Greek itself and the subject-matter thereof have been illuminated with side-light from historical studies.

(4) This last volume, like those which preceded it, ends with two copious and elaborate indexes, the one embracing points of grammar, proper names, etc., the other a lexical index. The grammatical references of the entire work are to the grammars of Goodwin and Hadley—those most commonly used in the Schools and Colleges of England as well as of the United States.

Though Dr. Holden has issued his edition of the *Cyropaedia* in three sections, each section may be used independently. In fact, the writer can assure his fellow-teachers, on the basis of his own experience, that they will find Books VII.—VIII. an exceedingly enjoyable and serviceable relief from the dreary intellectual barrenness of Xenophon's 'Anabasis.'

EDWARD G. COR.

Phillips Academy, Mass.

Xenophon's Anabasis, Book IV. Edited for the use of Schools, by the Rev E. D. STONE, M.A. Macmillan & Co. (Elementary Classics.)

MR. STONE has expanded a book of extracts from the fourth book of the *Anabasis* into an edition of the whole book. There is a serviceable map, an excellent vocabulary, and an appendix on the syntax of final and consecutive clauses, indirect statement and questions, and other rules, with some information as to the use of *εἰ*, *ὅτι*, *μή*, *ὅτι* and the like, the use of the prepositions, and a list of irregular verbs—altogether amounting to a short but clear syntax with examples from Xenophon. The notes are brief but give the sort of help boys want, of which no one is a better or more instructed judge than Mr. Stone. 'The Fourth book,' as he says, 'contains a greater variety of interesting matter than any of the others; it has also a dramatic unity,' and this is certainly a very useful edition of it for young boys. Perhaps some analysis with the text would have been acceptable.

E. S. SHUCKBURGH.

Xenophon's Hellenica, Book I. With Analysis, and Notes. By the Rev. LAUNCELOT D. DOWDALL. Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co. 1890.

THIS is a companion volume to the edition of the *Hellenica* Book ii. already published by the same Editor. The 'Commentary' is mainly intended to meet the difficulties encountered by the junior student, though I trust the mature scholar may also find them (*sic*) helpful. The notes are full of illustrative matter, philological, historical, and geographical, and no difficulty appears to be passed over. It is a question, however, whether the junior student, for whom these notes are mainly intended, will not find them rather too concentrated, and filled with references to authorities about whom he knows nothing. What, for instance, is the junior student to make out of this note (VI. 1); 'Πύρρα (MS. Πίρρος, Steph. Πύρρον; but cf. I. 29; II. 1, 10; Ages. 8, 3 Καλλέα), cf. II. 3, 10; the chronological data seem interpolated; cf. 2, 1; II. 1, 10; Breit. Einl. 42 (n.); Brückner de

¹ The more correct spelling *θηήσκω*, *μυμήσκω* was adopted in books VI.—VIII. for the traditional *θηήσκω*, etc., of books I.—VI.

² In the note on VII. v. 31 the oratio recta of *οὗς λαμβάνουσι* is given as *εἰ τις ληφθήσεται* instead of *οὗς ἂν λαμβάνητε*.

notationibus an. Hist. G. Xen.? or this (VI. 21); ἡγουργον... Breit. inserts γάρ and adopts Güller's conj. ἐπειγόμενοι (for ἐγείρ.), taking εἰσβάτες &c. as an epianalepsis of ὡς ἐκ. ἡν. (cf. § 4, ἀπείρους). Zuborg conj. ἐπύρχανον for ἡν. For ἐγείρ. Madv. conj. ἐνεργόμενοι. Blass would read οἱ δὲ τυχόντες . εἰσβ. ἐδίωκ. Peter makes ὡς ἐκ. a single phrase (Thuc. 1. 15), taking τε=copulative καί? To the master or the lecturer preparing the book for his class, the edition appears likely to be most useful: as a school-book it needs thorough revision and simplification.

A. H. COOKE.

The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes, with Introduction and Explanatory Notes. An Essay which obtained the Hare Prize in the year 1889. By A. C. PEARSON, M.A., late scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. London: C. J. Clay and Sons. 1891.

ZELLER, in his *Philosophie der Griechen*, treats the Stoa as a whole, not attempting, except incidentally, to distinguish the teachings of Zeno from those of his successors. This method of treatment gives us a comprehensive view of the Stoic doctrine as it appeared to those writers to whom we owe most of our information, and enables us to understand the influence exercised by the later Stoa upon the thoughts and conduct of its followers and opponents alike. But no account of a school of philosophy can be considered complete or even satisfactory which does not describe the historical development of the school from its beginnings. This can, of course, be done only when the original doctrines of the school (in this case, that is, the doctrines of Zeno) are clearly distinguished from later accretions and changes. In other words, the historical development of the Stoa can be traced only by means of collections of fragments of the writings of Zeno and his successors, in order that the teachings of each individual may be distinguished from those of the school as a whole. Every student of Greek philosophy will therefore gladly welcome the book before us, which combines and supplements the collections published by Wellmann and Wachsmuth.

The fragments of Zeno here collected number 202, those of Cleanthes 115, to which are added 57 apophthegmata of Zeno and 22 of Cleanthes. The work of collection appears to have been carefully done, and as the previous collections were available to serve as check-lists, there is every reason to believe that little or nothing will have to be added, and that we have now all, or virtually all, the extant writings and sayings of the two first heads of the Stoic school. So far as Cleanthes is concerned we may also take it for granted that little or nothing is falsely attributed to him; for Cleanthes, although he was the head of the Stoa, was in after times so overshadowed by Zeno on the one hand and Chrysippus on the other that his teachings were likely to be merged anonymously in the doctrines of the Stoa, and certainly the teachings of others were not likely to be attached to his name. With Zeno the case is different. He was the great founder of the Stoa, and the Stoic philosophers were his disciples. As it is easier to say or to write *Zήνων* than *οἱ ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος*, so it is easier to ascribe any well-known doctrine to the founder of a school (whether of philosophy or religion) than to his followers. Several of the fragments here given are characterized by Mr. Pearson as doubtful (e.g. 133, 150, 152, 153, and 155, all from Cic. *Mur.*) and his scepticism might be extended to others, but it is far better in the present state of our knowledge to have all the documents at hand, even the spurious ones, rather than to run the risk of missing anything that may be

genuine. It is, however, rather a pity that confessedly doubtful fragments should be printed among those regarded as genuine with no distinction of type or numbering. It would also have been well to give references to the numbers of the fragments in previous collections.

The printing of the book is excellent, but the use of different kinds of type is not skilful. The notes are printed in large full type (small pica), the same used for the Latin fragments. The Greek fragments are generally followed by critical and exegetical notes, when a Greek lemma is printed in small black-faced type and the note in the Latin large type. The result is to make the fragments seem almost like remarks inserted among the notes. This not only diminishes the attractiveness of the book, but is really confusing to one whose eye is accustomed to a different arrangement. The large type of the notes cannot be due to a desire to spare the reader's eyes, for the introduction is printed in smaller type and is much more likely to be read and re-read than any given portion of the notes. The skilful employment of types may seem to be a small matter, but it affects the usefulness of a book as it makes it more or less convenient to use.

In the preface Mr. Pearson says: 'No attempt has been made to disentangle in every case the words of the writer from the body of the citation in which they appear. Although this is practicable in some cases, in others it is mere guess-work, and a uniform system has therefore been adopted.' When an editor can add anything to our knowledge of his author we are grateful, whether his system is uniform or not. We are hardly grateful for a note like that on *fr.* 148: 'It is a matter of doubt how much of this extract [*Stob. Eccl.* II. vii. 118, p. 99, 3] can be reasonably regarded as derived from Zeno, but if the whole of it is to be traced to a single source, that source may be Zeno, as there is some evidence for connecting him with the statements appearing at the end of the passage.' The passage is one in which all possible excellences are attributed to the good, and their opposites to the bad. The evidence connecting Zeno 'with the statements appearing at the end of the passage' is given in the fragments immediately following, and is sufficiently strong. At any rate, if there is any detail of the passage that cannot be ascribed to Zeno, the editor should point it out; and if it remains a matter of opinion he might fairly be expected to tell us what his own opinion is. Why the entire passage in question is not Zeno's does not appear, unless the opening words ἀρέσκει γὰρ τῷ τε Ζήνωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Στωκοῖς φιλοσόφοις are enough to destroy the specifically Zenonian character of the whole, and if this is the case (as it appears to me to be), it should be clearly stated that this passage doubtless expresses Zeno's opinions but is probably derived only indirectly from him.

In the note on *frag.* 94 (*Tertullian de Anima*, c. 14 *dividitur autem in partes nunc in duas a Platone, nunc in tres a Zenone*) the rather useless attempt is made to reconcile Tertullian with Nemesius (*de Nat. Hom.* p. 96), who attributes to Zeno a division of the soul into eight parts. The passage of Tertullian with its context contains several errors (cf. Fowler *Panaetii et Hecatonis lib. frag.*, p. 15 *sqq.*) due to the carelessness or ignorance of the author, and deserves little serious attention. If, however, it is worth while to try to connect the triple division here ascribed to Zeno with his division into eight parts, the divisions of the nature of living beings mentioned by Nemesius (p. 115) might be used to explain the confusion of Tertullian.

Mr. Pearson seems to be unacquainted with Kemke's

edition of Philodemus *de Musica* (Leipsic, Teubner, 1884), for in transcribing Cleanthes *frag.* 49 he makes no use of Kemke's reading, which seems to me in some unimportant particulars better than that given by Mr Pearson, and omits Kemke p. 56 *frag.* 2A where we read Κλεαν, doubtless Cleanthes. This fragment is so mutilated as to be unintelligible, but should be mentioned for the sake of completeness.

Besides the fragments and notes the volume before us contains an introduction of 53 pages, and three indices (*fontium, nominum, and verborum*), for all of which users of the book will be grateful. The introduction treats of the life, teachings and writings first of Zeno, then of Cleanthes. Zeller (and now also Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 50) follows the authority of Demetrius of Magnesia in saying that Zeno had Socratic books at Citium and was by his study of them induced to go to Athens. This story hardly receives from Mr. Pearson the attention it deserves. On pp. 4 and 5 Mr. Pearson speaks of the decree in honour of Zeno (Diog. L. vii. 10-12) as if it were undoubtedly genuine. This can hardly be the case as the greater part of the decree refers to the living Zeno, though part provides for his burial (see Droysen *Hermes* xvi. 1881, p. 291 ff., Unger *Münchener Sitzungsber.* 1887, i. b. 101 ff., and Susemihl *Gesch. d. gr. Lit., etc.*, p. 57 n. 186). Perhaps, as Droysen suggests, the 'decree' of Diog. L.

is made up of two genuine ones; perhaps it is, like the story that the Athenians offered Zeno the keys of the city (Diog. L. vii. 6), an invention.

In discussing the doctrines of Zeno Mr. Pearson is hampered by the fact that he is writing an introduction—at least, such appears to be the case. Some elementary facts are stated as if a general discussion of Stoic philosophy were to follow, but the natural limitations of an introduction force the writer to return to details. Inasmuch as a collection of philosophical fragments appeals naturally to none but special students of Greek philosophy, it might have been as well had the introduction been confined exclusively to the discussion of details.

The life of Cleanthes is briefly given according to the best authorities. In the discussion of the doctrines of Cleanthes, Mr. Pearson seems inclined to magnify as much as possible the importance of that philosopher, but this may easily be pardoned, for Cleanthes has, no doubt, as Mr. Pearson says, failed to obtain the recognition really due to him. Taken as a whole, the introduction shows careful study and good judgment in the treatment of ancient source and of modern investigations alike, and is a welcome contribution to the history of the early Stoa.

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NOTES.

ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS OF HERODAS.

THE following is the text of the detached fragments of the MS. of Herodas referred to on p. 6 of the Introduction to the British Museum edition. A reproduction of them will be included in the facsimile of the whole MS. which is now in course of preparation. The text of them has also been printed on a sheet uniform with the published volume, which can be obtained by the possessors of the latter on application to the British Museum. It will be inserted in future copies of the volume.

It will be seen that the fragments afford evidence of 114 additional lines of the verse of Herodas, though the remains are for the most part of the smallest and it is impossible to be absolutely certain that detached portions of the same line have not sometimes been reckoned separately. The most interesting of the fragments is the sixth, which, in addition to the title of another poem, Ἀπονησσιζόμεναι, contains, at the end of the preceding poem, a mutilated passage of apparently autobiographic character, in which the name of Hipponax is introduced. The first fragment, which is the largest, preserves in addition to the *corpus* of Greek proverbs, in the phrase Λάτμιον κνώσσειν, and the

words ἀναυλος (1 l. 4, apparently derived from αὐλή), ἀρνευτήρ (2 l. 3), Ξουθῖδαι (6 l. 4), and γλήχων (7 l. 5) are sufficiently rare to deserve notice. A dot under a letter signifies that it is doubtful; and where it is possible to estimate the size of a lacuna each dot indicates a letter.

(1) Fragment (fitted together from several pieces) containing the greater part of a column, complete in height ($4\frac{3}{4}$ in.) and $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in greatest width. The character of the contents suggest that it may belong to the poem entitled Ἐνύπνιον, with which the continuous portion of the MS. concludes. It may even be the column which immediately follows that which contains the first three lines of that poem, in which case [ανστηθ]ι may be restored in l. 3.

. . . . υσον εσδus κws δ ατρυτε κου καμνις
. . . . ευρα κνωσσους αι δε νυκτες εννεωροι
. . . . ι φημι και αψον ει θελις λυχρον
. . . . ην αναυλον χοιρον es νομην πεμψ . .
5 θρυζε και κνω μεχρις ευ παραστα . .
. μα τωι σκιπωνι μαλθακον θωμα[ι]
. εαλλι κα[ι] συ λατμιον κνωσσις
. ασε τρυχ[ου] σιν αλλα μην στεμμ[α]
. ιζομε[σθ]α βα. ις ονχ ημιν
10 ηι ετμα μοσιρων διλη
. ουτεμοσ ει θελις ανη
. ον φρενας βοσκις

..... τι^{ηθ} αρα^{ηθ} τοσ^{ηθ} ωι ομ^{ηθ} ..
 σο ντεκευκε^{ηθ} ρως
 15 ην .. της βησσης
 μεν κα[ι] γαρ εσσωμαι
 ισαι χ[ειρ]ες αιπολοι
 πλε ..
 νηπα .. ρων τε ποιευ ..

3. αψον: at first written αστησον, but the 2nd, 4th, and 5th letters are dotted, and the τ is corrected to ψ.

13. At the end of the line the letters ηθ are written above the line, apparently as correction to ομ.

15—18. The earlier letters of these lines are on a detached fragment of papyrus, which appears from its texture to belong to this place.

(2) Fragment containing the top of a column, with the beginnings of lines: measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., a large part being margin. The rare Homeric word ἀρνευτήρ is noticeable in l. 3. Schol. *Il.* xii. 385 uses the same word ῥίπτεσθαι to describe the actions of these persons.

ωσπερ τελευμεν εγ
 χοι μεν μετωποις ε
 εκοπτον αρνευτηρ
 οι δ υπτι ερριπτουντ
 σ
 5 ει εν γελωσ τε καν ιη. . . .
 καγω δοκεον δισημ
 ναλεσθαι κη
 στη
 5. εισεν: the σ is added above the line.

(3) Fragment measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{1}{4}$ (for the greater part only $\frac{3}{4}$ in.), with middles of lines.

..... ηγω ουκ εσυλενν
 ν αλλης δρνος
 δαμ. . ι καρτα
 να ποιουν
 5 σιον με
 αιμαλ
 κροκωτ
 λεπτησα
 σδενεβ
 10 νκυπα
 αμφικν
 [κο]θορνου[s]
 μεν το
 ωρηνημ
 15 (ῶ)λωπο
 σσεωσ(ῶ)
 (4) Fragment with beginnings of lines,
 $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ 1 in.

.....
 αν
 ιαμ.
 ιωσι

5 . κα
 σα
 θι

(5) Two small contiguous fragments, measuring together about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{1}{4}$ in., from the middle of a column.

..... μαι δε τ[η]ν νεην
 μφωτ νδορεα
 ονελη .. το ενδυ
 ωδε των αρωδι
 5 ναι τα της φ
 λον δω
 πολοιμ
 τελευ

(6) Fragment from the top of a column, measuring 3 in. $\times$ $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., containing the end of one poem and the beginning of another, with the title Ἀπονηστιζόμεναι. The end of the preceding poem is interesting, as it appears to have been of an autobiographical character and contains an allusion to Hipponax, the predecessor of Herodas in choliambic verse, together with the name Ξουθιδαι, which is given by Hesychius as equivalent to Ἰωνες.

..... κλεος ναι μουσαν η μ επεα κ
 . εγ εξ ιαμβων η με δευτερη γν
 [η]μας μεθ Ιππωνακτα τον παλα[ι]
 [τα κυλλ αιδιν Ξουθιδαις επιουσι]ν]

5 Απονηστιζομεναι
 [ε]ξεσθε πασαι κου το παιδιον δοξ
 . αιπ. ος ενεταιραν [κ]αι γλυκην
 αιδρη την ετοιμον ο
 ισμησε .. ισματων
 10 να νυτο
 ης πεπο
 εσκο

4. After κυλλ a dot is placed, to indicate the true division of the words.

(7) Small fragment from the bottom of a column, 2 in. $\times$ $\frac{3}{4}$ in., containing beginnings of lines, only remarkable as preserving another instance of the Ionic form γλῆχων.

. ερ
 εντη
 εντ
 τιθεσ
 5 γληχ[ω]

(8) Two fragments, measuring respectively $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., containing beginnings of lines; the evidence for their belonging to the same column lies in the texture of the perpendicular fibres of papyrus on the verso. The exact number of lines missing cannot be determined, but both beginning and end of column are preserved, and 18 is the usual number of lines in a column.

τα δαινα
 ερρ εκ προ

ολη κατι
 κηγω μ
 θανευμ
 μαρτυρ
 ο δ ιπεν
 και του τι
 . . ναδ
 10

 . . νοσα
 τα μελεα
 15 τιλευσιν ε . . .
 το μη να
 πολλων τ
 κη τωι γ

(9) Apparently beginnings of lines. The fragment measures $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ 1 in., the margin stretching $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the first line of which any letter is preserved. There is some irregularity of writing and surface which make it possible that some letters have been obliterated to the left of the letters here given along the whole strip of papyrus.

βρεγ
 λημ
 τα εργ
 πира δ
 5 τη οικι
 στηθι
 λουσον
 αγον
 ακρη
 10 ιδεδ
 . . σφα

(10) Fragment from the top of a column, $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. $\times$ $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The texture and appearance of the papyrus suggest that it belongs to the same part of the MS. as fragments 2 and 3, but its exact place cannot be identified.

. ωσεχ
 αδη
 εζον

(11) Ends of lines, 2 in. $\times$ $\frac{1}{2}$ in. After l. 5 there is a blank space which may indicate the beginning of a new poem; but it may also be accounted for by the next line being a short one. There is a short space of blank papyrus also below the last line, which may be due either to this being the bottom of a column or to a couple of short lines.

. λκον
 υ
 ευντο
 νυντο
 5 οχθους

 νος
 ησαν
 τι

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The following additional and corrected readings of the papyrus (except that in IV. 49) are reprinted from the *Academy* for October 31.

It will easily be understood that in the more mutilated or defaced portions of the MS. conjecture must precede decipherment, and it is possible that this list may be extended hereafter. Meanwhile, I believe it represents all the cases in which the MS. can be stated to give decisive testimony in favour of conjectures which have already been made, either in the *Academy* or elsewhere. With conjectures which involve a departure from the MS. text I have here nothing to do.

- I. 3. Punctuate after *θυρην* and *συ*.
4. Punctuate after *προσελθιν*.
6. The *ε* of *αγγελιον* is dotted.
25. The ascript is *κυσης*, altered to *κυλικος*, the latter five letters being written above the last three of *κυσης*.
35. The letter before *ναι* is *η*, and the letter before that may be *θ*.
46. ν ημεων.
48. *συνεγγυς*.
50. A *χ* is written over the *κ* of *Ματακ'νης*.
57. *τα σπλαγχν ερωπι*.
80. *χηκτημορους τρεις*.
- II. 3. *την νην* (see note).
13. *τ[ου η]λιου*.
17. *λιμον* probably.
73. *Φιλι...*
- III. 19. The letters above the line may be *ελι*, so that the MS. has *δαι* corrected to *δε λι*.
97. *αι ποτνιαι*.
- IV. 36. Probably *βεβη[κεν]*.
47. Apparently *δι σ εγκισαι*.
49. *καις*.
51. The *σ* before *κνησημ* is dotted.
- V. 30. *ταποψητρον* is possible. It is not certain that there is a letter between *εμον* and *η*.
69. *τατι*, and there is room for a small letter, such as *σ*, before it, but it is not necessary to supply anything.
- VI. 70. *αυται γαρ εσμεν*.
- VII. 8. End..... ν(?) *καλη*
9. End..... ψ. The number of letters missing in these two lines is not quite certain.
38. *τα εργα της τεχνης*.
40. ναν... εων.
41. ημεθ(?)ον οτ ημεων.
42. α(?)ι προ[ος].
46. *νη Zeus* probably.
50. *τ[ο]ντ ην μη νμιν ανδανη*.
52. Possibly [*λ*]εγει (or λεγεις) *ψευδεα*.
54. *ννηθειςας*.
64. *ηρας* (consequently delete note).
69. *τουτ οκνις*, probably, and possibly *ου σε ρηιδιως*.
72. *εφ ης αλωπηξ νοσσην πεποιηκεν*.
109. *εσ θεους αναπτηναι* probably; *αναστηναι* is not impossible.
129. *θαλπους ανευ δει νδον φρονουντα* (see note).

Most of these readings were in the first instance conjecturally proposed, either in print or privately, by various scholars, notably Dr. Jackson, Mr. W. G. Headlam, Profs. Diels and Bücheler. A few were independently extracted from the MS., and in one or two cases a partially right suggestion led the way to a correct decipherment. Passages in which a conjecture, though practically certain, cannot be verified from the MS. are not included in the list; nor are those in which only a redistribution of the letters is required (*e.g.* II. 29, 98; III. 76).

The facsimile of the whole MS., which is in course of preparation, will enable scholars at once to see in what passages doubt as to the MS. reading is admissible. As a general rule, it may be taken that there is not much doubt as to the MS. readings in columns 8-31, except where it is otherwise indicated in the text or stated in the notes. The defects in the earlier columns are mostly caused by rubbing, which often leaves some slight traces of letters, in the later columns chiefly by worm-holes, which destroy the writing entirely.

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In connexion with Herodas it may be interesting to observe that an inscription has lately been discovered at Ramleh, near Alexandria, in which this name occurs. It is of course impossible to affirm that the person there referred to is the poet, but Dr. Neroutsos-Bey, who has been kind enough to send a copy of the inscription to me, states that the letters are of the type of the early Ptolemies, probably not later than Euergetes. In any case the inscription is of some value towards determining the true spelling of the name. (Of course it is not impossible that Ἡρώδας might be the Coan form of the name, which was softened into Ἡρώδας or Ἡρώδης when the poet came, as he probably did, to Alexandria.)

The inscription (which Dr. Neroutsos-Bey states was found 'above the so-called Roman Tower, between the submerged ruins of the ancient Posidion and the Ramleh railway terminus of Alexandria') runs as follows:

ΘΕΑ ΚΑΛΗ
ΕΝ ΠΑΝΔΟΙΤΕΙ
ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΝΑΟΙΣ
ΘΕΟΙΣ
ΑΜΜΩΝΑΡΙΟΝ
ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΑΣΤΗ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Πάνδοις, as Dr. Neroutsos-Bey says, is another form of the more correct Πάνδυνις or Πάνδυνις (Pseudo-Callisth. I. 31). He adds 'the hypocoristical forms of proper names were generally borne by female slaves or libertinae and were followed by the name (in the genitive) of the patron who possessed or set them free, not of their father, whose name was left purposely unmentioned.' The status of Ammoniarion is tolerably evident from the inscription.

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NOTES ON HERODAS IV.

L. 46—52. Much progress has been made towards the restoration of this passage. I think it should be written:—

Kydilla (aside).

46. *λαίμαστρον οὐδ' ὀρή σε κρογγύν οὔτε
βέβηλος αἰνεῖ, πανταχῇ δέ μοι γκείσαι*

Kynno.

μαρτύρομαι Κύδιλλα τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον

ὡς ἐκ με κναίεις οὐ θέλουσαν οἰδῆσαι
(*She turns to the temple, and addresses the god.*)

50. *μαρτύρομαι φῆμ' ἐς σε· τημέλη κείνη
ἐν ᾗ τὸ βρέγμα τοῦτο τῶσυρὲς κνήσῃ;*

Alrha.

ὡς πάνθ' ἐτόμωας καρδιηβολοῦ Κυννοί

ὀρή and *τῶσυρὲς* are Blass's certain emendations. In line 49 I follow Robinson Ellis's admirable restoration. It is not necessary to assign 46 and 47 to Kydilla: I merely offer it as a suggestion. Lines 50-51 I understand as follows. Kydilla stands scratching her head. It was as impious to scratch the head in a temple or on a feast-day as to pare the nails. (Cf. Hesiod *Op.* 740 *μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντόξοιο θεῶν ἐν δαιτὶ θαλεῖν αὖτον ἀπὸ χλωροῦ τάμνειν*; and the precept of Pythagoras *ἐν ἑορτῇ μήτε κείρεσθαι μήτε ὀνυχίζεισθαι*.) Kynno says 'Does she care where (or on what occasion) she scratches her filthy head?' *τημέλη* is an Ionic form of *τημέλεια* = *φροντίς*: after *ἐν ᾗ* I understand *οἰκία* or *ἡμέρα*. The meaning of line 50 is 'Don't be so easily vexed at things.' I take *καρδιηβολεῖσθαι* to be a form of *καρδιοβολεῖσθαι* = *λυπεῖσθαι* (Hesych.).

L. 56. I do not think that 'shrine' is a good rendering of *παστός*. It may mean 'the painted stoa.' Consult Hesychius s.v. *παστάδες*; or, as the bridal *παστός* was an ornamental curtain, may *κάνειθ' ὁ παστός* mean 'the curtain is drawn up': the pictures may have been protected by curtains, like those in many churches.

L. 75-78. *οἱ* may stand for *ὅ* *οἱ*: 'But whatever came into his head he did not rest until he touched it even if it was a god.' Note that *παμφαλᾶν* is used by Hippocrax in the sense it here has, *μετὰ πτοίησεως ἐπιβλέπειν*. Can *ἐκ δίκης* mean 'critically'? This is the sense required.

L. 84. Mr. Hicks, I think, takes *ὀπνιγταί* as a *nom. plur.* from *ὀπνιγής* 'a husband.' This is what is required. Is the form possible? Hesychius gives another curious form *ὀπνιάλαι*: *οἱ γεγαμηκότες*.

The last lines of the poem remain obscure; but I think that the road to their elucidation may be pointed out. I understand *τῆς ὕγινης λῶ* to mean I want some of the *ὕγεια*: *ὕγεια* was anything (either something to eat or ointment or branches of trees) presented to the sacrificants by the god. (See especially Hesychius and the *Etym. Magnum*.) It appears to me that the same lady is speaking throughout. She says, in lines 91 and 92, 'we will eat the rest at home, and don't forget to bring something else (an *ἐπιφόρμα*) yourself.' This is addressed to Kynno. She turns to the *νεώκορος* and says 'I want some *ὕγεια*.' He gives her a little: she continues *προσδός* 'give me some more.' Now what is the meaning of the rest? It is at least evident that the *ὕγεια* is compared or contrasted with the *μοῖρα*, the sacrificant's or the priest's share of the sacrifice. At the beginning of line 95 we must restore *μέζων* or *μείων*, and it would seem that *ἀμαρτίης* must be corrected to *ἀμαρτίας*, a good comic nominative; but what is the meaning? Can we by any means arrive at something such as 'In sacrifices there is more chance of mistakes being made (*i.e.* short measure being given) as regards the *ὕγεια* than as regards the priest's portion'? *

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NOTES ON HERODAS.

II. 44. Interpreting generally with Mr. Hicks, I would read *τε Μυσός* for *τε κυσός*, which has the advantage of explaining *φασί* by bringing *λήτης* into connection with *Μυσός*. For the well-known proverb *Μυσῶν λεία* see Cope on Ar. *Rhet.* i. 12.20.

III. 19. If the conjecture *λιπαρότεραι*, which has much probability, is right, it would seem that vv. 20, 21 ought to be transposed.

III. 32. Mr. Hicks' general view of this passage is convincing. I had thought that v. 32 was a quotation, being the introduction of the *ῥῆσις*, but cf.

94 ἐρέω ἐπιμηθέως τῷ γέροντι. Both ἐπιμηθέως and γέροντι show conclusively that γέρον ἀνὴρ here is in apposition to πατήρ.

III. 39. For κείρει perhaps read τείρει.

III. 44. Neither ἴτρια nor ἰτέα is convincing. For ΙΤΙΑ perhaps we should correct ΑΙΓΙΔΙ. The boy works as much destruction among the tiles as a storm of wind.

III. 87. οὐδ' ἐκλήξαι K., οὐδ' ἂν ἐκλήξαι R. A syllable has dropped out in this line, but the correction assumes a double mistake, which is improbable, and there is no obvious reason why ἂν should have been omitted. I suggest that ΕΙΚ has dropped out before ΕΚ, i.e. οὐ δεῖ σ' ἐκλήξαι. It is noticeable that the MS. at this point has εἰ and not ι, but even if it were otherwise the corruption might have arisen in an earlier copy. For the metre cf. 69. From this point to the end of the poem Metrotime speaks throughout, and the simplest view of τὸ μῆθ' ἐν 91 is to treat it as in apposition to νιν, or rather as an exclamation 'the good for nothing!' In 91-93 R.'s punctuation is puzzling. I would put a full stop at ἀναγνῶναι, connecting the ἦν clause with what precedes. Next, ἰσσαι of the MS. surely points to ἴσσα εἰ. Metrotime turns to the boy, after addressing Lampriscus: 'you'll catch it, if you try and wash your tongue in honey.' Hence the necessity for a vocative in 94.

IV. 63. Surely Dr. Rutherford's ἦν should be ἦν.

IV. 75. On R.'s view of this line, the word required in place of ἀπηρηνηθῇ may be ἀπηκάσθη.

IV. 94, 95. Read: ἦ γὰρ ἱροῖσιν

μέζων ἁμαρτίῃ σὴ ὑγίη 'στι τῆς μοίρης.

i.e. 'for by means of sacrifices Hygieia prevails over fate in favour of thy transgression.' But the metre is very doubtful.

V. 22. Both μή and γένοιτο will require explanation. For the former see Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 685, and for the latter Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses* § 676. Or does the optative contain a wish?

V. 60. ἐπόψεθ' is corrupt. Why not ἐπόψε', i.e. ἐπόψαι?

VI. 15, 16. The words ἀλλ' οὐνεκεν πρὸς σ' ἦλθον are no doubt part of Metro's speech. But at this point some slaves are seen lingering about, in order to overhear the conversation. Here Coritto breaks in and I would suggest: ἐκποδὼν ἡμῖν φθίρεσθ' ἐν ᾧ ἦστ' ἄρ' ὤτα μοῦνον κ.τ.λ. This only involves the change of two letters and the transposition of ρ and α. It is worth noting that, judging from the facsimile plate in Mr. Kenyon's edition, β was a letter much liable to corruption.

VI. 31. The commas before and after φίλῃ in R.'s edition should be removed, for φίλῃ and τοίῃ go together.

VI. 71. The omission of accents by R. indicates doubt as to ἡ μαλακότης ὕπνος, but cf. Theoc. xv. 125.

VII. 73. The remaining letters point to ἐνθα κἄνθα κινεῖσι. His hair is as white as if a meal-tub had been shaken over his head.

VII. 88. I had thought of τὰ λῆς οἰσουσι before reading Mr. Hicks' note. οἰσουσι preserves the υ and is supported by 91.

VII. 95. ἰσκνῶσα points to ἰσχνεῖσα, which is a possible form. The omission of the second relative is not more harsh than e.g. in Hom. *Od.* ii. 114.

VII. 126. Perhaps δουλῖδ'.

A. C. PEARSON.

ARISTOPHANES, *Acharn.* 920-925.

NI. ἐνθεὺς ἂν ἐς τίφην ἀνὴρ Βοιωτίας
ἄψας ἂν ἐσπέμψειεν ἐς τὸ νεώριον
δι' ὑδρορρόας, βορέαν ἐπιτήρησας μέγαν.
κείπερ λάβοιτο τῶν νεῶν τὸ πῦρ ἅπαξ,
σελαγοῖντ' ἂν αἱ νῆς. ΔΙ. ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολούμενε,
σελαγοῖντ' ἂν ὑπὸ τίφης τε καὶ θρυαλλίδος.
924 αἱ νῆς Γ, αἱ νῆς Vr. αἱ νῆς R.

The reading of R is of course condemned by metre, that of V and the other MSS. by the dialect; while that of Γ is an unknown barbarism. This αἱ νῆς however must be our starting-point: it was evidently the archetypal reading, the others being clumsy attempts at correction. Our first step being to find the required sense, the old annotator comes to our aid with this note: Κείπερ λάβοιτο] ἔαν ἀψηται, φησὶ, μόνον, εὐθὺς καίονται. This leads us to suppose that for αἱ νῆς he read some adverb of the same meaning as εὐθὺς; while his note on 925: Σελαγοῖντ' ἂν] Αἱ ναῦς, δηλονότι, negatives the arrangement of Fritzsche, Meineke and Holden; αἱ νῆς, ὦ κάκιστ' κ.τ.λ., the only way in which that nominative can be retained. This, though bad enough, is hardly worse than Pierson's substitution of εὐθὺς for αἱ νῆς from the scholium; of which Holden justly says, 'hanc scripturam per omnes editiones propagatam esse mirum est'. A word suiting both sense and letters is at hand: Σελαγοῖντ' ἂν ΑΙΦΝΗΣ.

C. J. BRENNAN.

OVID, *Trist.* III. i. 77-78.

Di, precor, atque adeo—neque enim mihi turba roganda est—

Caesar, ades voto, maxime dive, meo.

Mr. Owen takes *adeo* = 'especially', comparing Verg. *E.* iv. 11 and *G.* i. 24, where it has this meaning. The parenthesis in line 77 shows that we must translate *atque adeo* as 'nay rather,' Ovid correcting his prayer to 'the Gods' by the substitution of 'Caesar,' as 'he must not address a crowd of deities.' For this use of *atque adeo* in corrections see Cic. *ad Att.* I. xvii. 9 (with Tyrrell's note ed. 2. pg. 218), and I have met it a dozen times in the Verrine orations. [From Act II. lib. iii. I collect the following: chap. 5. Si magna atque adeo maxima vobis videntur. 8. quam legem corrigat, iudices, atque adeo totam tollit...tot annis atque adeo saeculis tot. 13. sociis tuis atque adeo procuratoribus. 25. adducitur atque adeo attrahitur. 29. si damnatus eris atque adeo cum damnatus eris. 30. redemptorem decumarum atque adeo aratorum dominum ac regem. 46. ad Apronii quaestum sive adeo ad istius ingentem praedam. 50. quo iure atque adeo quo more. 51. unus ager desiderat atque adeo res publica. 61. si quis pudor atque adeo si qui metus. 62. nova lege atque adeo nulla lege. In the first, third and tenth instances the extensive or intensifying force of the expression is predominant, in the others the corrective force which *sive adeo* has in the instance from chap. 46.] In *Cat.* I. i. 5 *intra moenia atque adeo in senatu* it extends rather than corrects the preceding words, = 'nay more' and not 'nay rather.'

Ib. xiv. 8.

quaque potes, retine corpus in Urbe meum.

Mr. Owen takes *corpus* as 'my person'—the absent poet was present in the form of his poems. But Ovid had just written l. 5:

conficis exceptis ecquid mea carmina solis
Artibus, artificii quae nocuere suo?

'Are you getting together my poems with the exception of my *Artes Am.* which injured the artist that wrote them?' He proceeds, 'Nay I pray you do this, you who love modern poets, and by whatever means you can keep the *whole body of my poems* in Rome. Exile was decreed against me and not against my books.' We speak of a '*corpus poetarum*,' and cf. Cic. *ad Q. F.* II. xi. (xiii.) 4 and *ad Fam.* V. xii. 4 modicum quoddam *corpus confici* posse; which latter passage shows how wise it was of Mr. Owen to keep *conficis* in l. 5, the reading of most MSS., against *colligis* adopted by Heinsius from some MSS., *suscipis* read by Merkel from others, *excipis*, &c. In line 20 Ovid writes:—*cetera fac curae sit tibi furba palam.*

P. SANDFORD.

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NOTE ON JUVENAL XI 121–123.

Nil rhombus, nil dama sapit, *puterc videntur*
unguenta atque rosae, latos nisi sustinet orbes
grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu.

I do not know whether any one has pointed out the source of the words printed in italics. Nonius p. 546 16 has preserved a fragment of Cicero's *Académics* (fr. 11 Müller): quibus etiam alabaster plenus *unguenti puterc videratur*.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

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SCRUPULI.—I confess failure to understand Mr. Thomas's 'list of recorded forms of the I.E. negative *ne-*' which appears on p. 434 of the present volume. What authority is there for I.E. *ni*, and *nej*: or for the spelling *naest* (Brix on Plaut. *Trin.* 63)? How is it possible to have *a²* in an *e*-root, or to derive strong affirmatives like *vñ* and *val* from the negative *ne-*? In saying that *nām* may be a locative from a stem *no-* I suppose that Mr. Thomas is *χαρίζομενος παρεόντων*, as I have not seen such a locative elsewhere suggested. That *nām* is from the negative *ne-* is I think impossible, and is not even weakly supported by *οὐκοῦν*. *ñu* for *ñn*, *no(soc)* for *no(svc)*, and *noi(u)* for *noi(su)* are obviously misprints.

H. D. DARBISHIRE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Chester.—Mr. Benson has made known the result of his excavations in the North Wall, which proved that it was undoubtedly of Roman origin. A number of sepulchral stones were found built into the wall, belonging, as the inscriptions shewed, to the Supplementary Second Legion, *LEG II ADP*, (*Legio Secunda Adiutrix Pia Fidelis*). Up to this time only three had been found in Britain, two at Lincoln and one at Bath. The latter was of course merely a health resort, so that Lincoln was regarded as the place where this legion was quartered. But at Chester six tombstones were found belonging to soldiers of this legion, which came into Britain under Vespasian about A.D. 75, and left in the time of Domitian. It seems therefore beyond a doubt that it was quartered at Chester, and was probably left there by Agricola as a garrison when he took the 20th into Scotland against Galgacus. It would be required to defend so important a station against the turbulent Brigantes and the tribes of North Wales.

These tombstones had in all cases a rounded top, which seems to be peculiar to them; at least it is not found on monuments of the 20th. This appears to be a mark of date. A piece of distinctly Roman wall was also found on the east side of the town, similar to that on the north. Seventeen coins of Vespasian were found, but only one or two of earlier Emperors; hence it seems that it was in the time of Agricola that Chester first became a Roman station.¹

Mr. F. Haverfield has published the most interesting of the inscriptions found in these excavations. All are cut from the local red sandstone, and all but one are of a sepulchral nature.

1. C'LOVESIVS'PAPIR | CADARVS'EMERITA'MIL |
LEG'XX'V'V'AN'XXV'STIP'IX | FRONTINVS'A-
QUILO'H'F'C.

Cf. inscription no. 1 in the July record (p. 339). It is of early date; Emerita is Merida in Spain.

2. D'M | M'VLP...M'F | VLP | [A] 'IA [N] VA-
RIVS | TRAIA'S'XVIII | AN'[X]XXVII | [H]'F [C].

The colony of Ulpia Traiana is here referred to, founded A.D. 110 (Sarmizegetusa in Dacia). This M. Ulpianus Januarius cannot have died before A.D. 157; the wall was probably built some years afterwards, as this stone is slightly worn.

3. A mutilated stone of the shape of an altar, with a jug and a saucer cut in relief on the sides. The front has been levelled to fit into the wall; the inscription is now nearly illegible.

D'M | ANNIVS | CESTI | MI...LEG | V...AN'
XVIII.

4. Q'CORN | ELIVS'Q.F | ...AP...R | VIN'
AN'LXX | TIBERIA'H'F'C.

5. D'M | C'VALERI | COM...

6. Of this inscription the word *SEPVLTVS* is alone legible.

7. A fragment with relief representing a horseman killing a bearded barbarian with shield and broken spear; only traces of the lettering remain. The relief is not so conventional as usual, and the drawing is spirited.

8. Intentionally broken up to be used in the wall.
D.M | M'APRONIO | M'F'FAB... the rest unintelligible.

9. A centurial stone, ansate. > T'FLAVI | CICA-
TROI...

Besides these were found several carved and worked stones, one with a funeral relief, well preserved, representing a half-draped figure reclining on a couch, with two birds underneath, and on each side of the stone a bird plucking at a bunch of grapes. Another represents a dog chasing an animal; it is doubtful whether this is sepulchral.²

¹ *Times*, 17 and 21 October.

² *Athenaeum*, 31 October.

GREECE.

Zante.—On the promontory of Hieraka has been found a large quantity of terra-cottas, consisting of vases, lamps, reliefs, and *figurini* representing heads of men and women, figures of animals, centaurs, etc. Among the vases is a lekythos with the design of Satyrs pursued by a wild boar.¹

EGYPT.

In May a marble altar was disinterred from a cliff near Alexandria, among the remains of a building of large squared stones. One side of the altar is inscribed in Greek characters of the third or fourth century B.C., and contains a dedication by a certain Ammonarion, son or daughter of Herod, a citizen, to the fair goddess in Pandoitis. It has been conjectured that this Herod may have been the author of the newly discovered mimes.¹

Nineteenth Century, November 1891.

The Mimes of Herodas, by C. Whibley.

An interesting summary of their contents, indicating the close resemblance of the scenes to modern life. The writer regards this discovery as more important than any other of the kind, on account of the unique character of the work.

Athenaeum, 14 November, p. 654.

Professor Lanciani gives an interesting detailed account of the inscriptions found on the Tiber at Rome, relating to the Ludi Saeculares. The contents of these have been summarised *ante*, p. 340.

H. B. WALTERS.

In the list given by Pliny of the works of the painter Nikias (Plin. N. H. xxxv. 132) we find the following passage:

... 'fecit et grandis picturas, in quibus sunt Calypso, et Io, et Andromeda, Alexander quoque in Pompei porticibus praecllens, et Calypso sedens.'

The two *Calypsos* have long been felt to be a difficulty; and it has been proposed to omit either the first *Calypso*, or the *Calypso sedens*. I venture to propose as an emendation for the first *Calypso*, CALLISTO.

It seems not unlikely that the second *Calypso* caught the scribe's eye as he was writing the first; and a picture of Callisto and Io together would be a very probable subject. It will be remembered that a group of these two by Deinomenes stood on the Acropolis as mentioned by Pausanias i. 25. 1.

E. F. BENSON.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD writes with reference to the 'Macmillan lekythos' (*J.H.S.* xi. p. 167, Pl. I-II.) suggesting that the warriors in the combat scene are divided into two equal bands of victors and vanquished; since the vase was found at Thebes, the inference is 'that the combat illustrates some form of the legend—frankly followed or, as even more usually, freely modified—how the armed warriors that sprung out of the ground from the serpent's teeth sown by Cadmus, fell at once in internecine battle until only five remained.' The site of the mythical battle shown to Pausanias (ix. 10) was close to where this vase was presumably found.

Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen—von Ernst Curtius. Berlin, 1891.

In spite of its title the main object of this volume, as the author himself tells us, is topographical, and

students of so complicated a subject as the topography of Athens will feel grateful to Dr. Curtius for having systematized it to the utmost by treating it in eight sections (including an introductory chapter on the natural phenomena of the country), each corresponding to a well-defined historical period. On the Akropolis, for instance, where recent excavation has led to such interesting revelations, we are presented with a series of vivid pictures, showing the successive stages of the citadel from its prehistoric period down to the latest Imperial days.

To turn to special points, we note that for Curtius, as for Dörpfeld, the 'old temple' discovered in 1885 is the Hekatompedon of Peisistratos, but whereas Dörpfeld considers the *cella* to be of a date far anterior to the colonnade, Curtius claims the whole building for the days of the *tyrannis*. It is of importance to note that he admits its partial restoration after the Persian War, but according to him only the *opisthodomos*, i.e. the back chamber used as a treasury, was rebuilt. In it he inclines to see the *θησαυρός* decorated by Polygnotos (v. Harpocration *sub voc.*). This theory has the decided advantage of disposing of the difficulty with regard to the Caryatid porch, which would thus no longer be blocked by the wall of the old *cella*, but would command an unimpeded view of the Parthenon and the processional route. The amplex of Pelasgic walls, and of the walls and terraces by which the Akropolis was broadened and bevelled in Kimonian and Periklean times, is admirably discussed and illustrated (v. in especial the section, Fig. 23). A summary of Dörpfeld's recovery of the Mnesiklean plan for the Propylaea is given, but surely a reproduction of the drawing in the *Mittheilungen* should have accompanied it. Fig. 31 (on p. 351) gives the interesting restoration by Kawerau of the pilaster which juts out from the south-west wing of the Propylaea towards the small flights of steps cut in the Nike bastion. The uppermost slab bears the inscription of the statues of horsemen which Pausanias mentions at the entrance to the Akropolis (Inscr. publ., *Delion* 1889). Among their names are Xenophon and Lakedaimonios. The latter is identified as the son of Kimon who led the expedition to Korkyra in B.C. 432. An inscription in honour of Germanicus, on a lower slab of the pilaster, shows that the monument was re-dedicated, after the fashion of Imperial times, to the grandson of Augustus.

Less satisfactory is the treatment of the portions outside the Akropolis. Possibly no really adequate history of Athens can be written till the ground all about the Akropolis has been laid as bare as the Altis of Olympia; and so long as Dr. Dörpfeld, whose revolutionary theories on Athenian topography are now known to many from his lectures, is silent, Dr. Curtius is perhaps observing a wise conservatism in leaving the *Αἰψυαί* and the *Enneakrounos* located on the south side of the Akropolis and the *agora* on the north of the Areopagus.² Still it is, to say the least, disappointing to find that the insignificant streamlet, flowing down from the neighbourhood of Caesariani and joining the Ilissos outside the city to the east, is still identified as the Eridanos, but that the stream, whose course has been so satisfactorily made out to the north of the Akropolis and pointed to as the Eridanos of Plato and of Strabo, is not so much as alluded to (see Dörpfeld in *Athen. Mitth.* xiii. p. 211). Moreover the opening in the wall south of the Dipylon, which is merely the exit for

² For the dissentient and still unpublished views of Dörpfeld see especially Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 14 November.

this watercourse, is still given as the 'Sacred Gate.' In opposition to the majority of archaeologists from Chaudler's days to ours, Dr. Curtius maintains his view that the great basis of the Pnyx and its steps are merely an altar to *Zeus Hypsistos*, and not the *bema* of the Attic orators. Curtius' view of the agora is practically the same as that which he put forward in his former works—a rectangular piece of ground, much on the plan of the Roman forum, surrounded by the various *stoa*i and temples.

The chapter on Imperial Athens, one of the most brilliant in the book, receives a valuable addition from the plan Fig. 30 (after Dörpfeld) of the great market laid bare during this year's excavations. Its main entrance on the west was the well known Doric portico of Athene Archegetis; on the east and more to the south another gate with steps led up to the site of the Tower of the Winds; probably there was a second gate on the side more to the north. The plan which includes the adjacent buildings is peculiarly interesting, as showing the rectangular form which Dörpfeld assumes for the building, to which the arches that abut on to the Tower of the Winds on its north side belong, and which guide-books have so long misnamed an aqueduct.

The book closes appropriately with an account of the work of excavation and exploration done on Attic soil, from the expedition of Cyriacus of Ancona down to the most recent times. English readers

will appreciate Dr. Curtius' graceful tribute to the devotion shown by our countrymen in this task. The illustrations, though scarcely numerous enough, are excellent, but the seven beautifully drawn and coloured maps at the end leave nothing to be desired. A very complete list of ancient authorities for the topography of Athens, drawn up by Dr. Milchhöfer, prefaces the book, and contributes in no small degree to make the volume invaluable not only to the student but to the general traveller.

EUGÉNIE SEILERS.

Revue Numismatique. Troisième trimestre, 1891.

Prince P. de Saxe-Cobourg. 'Monnaies grecques inédites ou peu connues' (continued). Among these is a coin of Amisus, with the head of Claudius, dated '85.'—R. Mowat. 'Les prétendues figures de Pallor et de Pavor sur les deniers de L. Hostilius Saserna.' The heads are not Pallor and Pavor but those of a Gaulish man and woman doomed to death.—E. Babelon. 'Aradus.' The first instalment of a monograph on the coins of Aradus.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik. (Berlin) xviii. 1891, Heft. I.

M. Fränkel. 'Die Münzen von Pergamon mit dem Bilde der Drusilla.' The coins have been incorrectly assigned to Pergamon.

W. W.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, herausgegeben von D. Adolf Hilgenfeld. 34 Jahrgang. 1891.

I. Heft contains C. Holsten, *Die Bedeutung der Ausdrucksform ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου im Bewusstsein Jesu* (continued) p. 1-79. A complete list of the passages in the synoptist gospels in which the term *v.a.* occurs is given, followed by an exhaustive inquiry into the grammatical meaning as well as the religious significance which it bears, in connection with the Book of Daniel.

A. Hilgenfeld, *Paul Ewald's Lösung der Evangelienfrage*, p. 80-95, impugns the solution offered; H. considers this solution implies that the matter contained in the fourth gospel was in the early tradition set aside by St. Mark's book, the character of which was not understood, and by St. Matthew's work, the peculiar plan of which remained unnoticed; and that St. John corrected the narrowness thus caused of the traditional view by publishing a gospel which had been in substance originally known to everybody.

E. Egli, *Zum Polykarpstag*, p. 96-102. Having accepted (*wiss. Zeitschr.* 1882 p. 227 sq. and 1884 p. 216 sq.) Waddington's view, according to which 155 A.D. is the date of Polycarp's martyrdom, Egli here discusses the question of the day on which the letter written by the Church at Smyrna was concluded. A complete synopsis is given of the martyrologies and calendars of the Eastern and Western Churches, and the conclusion is drawn in favour of 23 February instead of 26 January.

F. Schrally, *Die Rasse der Philister*, concludes from the few records still existing of their history, language and religion that the Philistines were of Semitic descent.

Amongst works noticed are—E. Le Blaut, *Les Actes des Martyrs*. Supplém. aux Acta s. de Dom Ruinart—

by F. Görres. 'Work of some merit and value, especially cp. iii. *Du formulaire des A. M.*, but over-conservative; the conclusion on which it rests, that these narratives, if displaying historical features or containing technical terms of criminal law, are based on the authentic acts and consequently possess historical value, cannot be justified.' J. Rendel Harris and S. Keth Gifford, *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*, the original Greek text now first edited—by A. Hilgenfeld. 'The Greek MS. must not be regarded throughout as the original in comparison with the two Latin MSS. hitherto known, nor is it in all instances to be preferred to the latter.' Hilgenfeld suggests a Punic original (cp. 3, 10).

II. Heft. A. Hilgenfeld, *Th. Zahn's Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons*, Bd. I. p. 129-197. This is an important paper. Hilgenfeld brings forward against Zahn's view that the New Test. Canon was completely fixed about 200 A.D., Zahn's own admission that catholic Christians about 170 repudiated the writings of St. John, that other books, the Ep. Hebrews, the Epp. St. James and II. Peter disappeared during the second century from the use and even the memory of the Church at Rome, whilst on the other hand a work like Ep. Barnabas was introduced. Against Zahn's theory, that a 'fourfold gospel' was generally established at the close of the first century, Hilgenfeld adduces the testimony of the Church in Palestine, which acknowledged *one* gospel, καθ' Ἑβραίων, as well as of Hegesippus, and he denies Zahn's contention, that in the earliest gnostics, Basilides, Valentinus and Marcion, an acquaintance with the fourth gospel is found. Hilgenfeld next passes in review the catholic writers before the time of Irenaeus—Papias, whose 'canon' consisted of Matthew (Hebr.), Mark, Revel., I. Ep. John, and I. Ep. Peter—J. Martyr, who availed himself of apocryphal gospels (Protev. Jakobi, Ev.

Thomae, Acta Pilati, a 'fourth Synoptist'), and who never mentions St. Paul. Similar evidence is drawn from the paschal controversies of the second century. 'The general apostolical canon, that is Hilgenfeld's opinion, was forming not at the end of the first but after the middle of the second century; and it remained unsettled for a considerable time after that date.'

VII. Dr. H. Bois comments, p. 198-205, on II. Peter 1, 19-21, St. James 4, 5-6, Gal. 4, 16-20 (he suggests in v. 17 the reading ἡμᾶς instead of ὑμᾶς), also on I. Thessalon. 4, 12.

IX. A. Hilgenfeld, *Die neuesten Verteidiger des Apostel-Decrets*, p. 205-27, impugns on one hand the position taken up by F. G. Sommer and A. H. Franke, who following Ritschl (*Entstehung der altkath. Kirche*, I. Aufl. 1850, II. Aufl. 1857) maintain that the account given Acts 15, 23-29 is in agreement with Gal. 2, 12 sq. He rejects on the other hand the view of R. Steck (*Der Galaterbr. nach seiner Echtheit untersucht* 1888) and of D. Völter (*Die Compositionen der paulin. Hauptbriefe*, I. Röm. u. Gal. br. 1890) who, under the influence of B. Bauer, accepting the account in Acts, reject as incompatible that given in Gal. and consequently regard the Ep. itself as spurious. His own position is that of the Tübingen School: 'Gal. is the authentic record; the App. decree (Acts 15) is a successful attempt at the close of the apostol. age to settle the question as to the rights of citizenship, which gentiles should have in the Christian Church.'

X. A. Theun, *Locus Lucanus II. 1-7 ab Origenae graeco explanatus. E cod. gr. Monacensi 208vo nunc primum edidit*.

The original text of Origen's homilies on St. Luke has been lost except a few fragments (Migne Ser. gr. tom. XII. p. 1801 not. 96 sqq.). The Editor hopes he has added one more to their number. Comparing the fragment on St. Luke 2, 1-7 with St. Jerome's Latin version of the same (Migne tom. XIII. p. 1828 med.) he considers that it is most likely Origen's work; he points out that, if this is the case, Origen must have read Ἀνγόστου πρώτος βασιλεύσαντος Ῥωμαίων ἐξῆλθε δόγμα (St. Luke 2, 1) and that he does not make the slightest mention of ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου (v. 2).

Notes of:—

P. W. Schmiedel, I., II. *Thessalonicherbrief* (in *Handcommentar zum N. Test.* von H. J. Holtzmann etc.).

A. Klöpper, II. *Br. an die Thessalon.* (in *Theol. Stud. u. Sk. a. Ostpreussen*)—by A. Hilgenfeld. 'Schmiedel, short, clear, careful, accepts authenticity of the I. Ep., doubts that of the II. Ep. Thess., thinks that II. Ep. and Revel. St. John were composed about the same time.'

'Klöpper, thorough, upholds the authenticity of II. Ep., written before Revel.; the type of the ἀνθρώπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας II. Th. 2, 1-12, is Caius Caligula.'

K. J. Neumann, *Der röm. Staat und die allgem. Kirche bis auf Diocletian*, I. Bd. bis Decius, Leipz. 1890, by F. Görres. Highly commended. 'The sources, especially Martyr Acts, have been judiciously used; the legal aspect of the Christian persecutions, as well as the development of the hierarchy within the Church, are well set forth in this work.'

H. Usener, *Der h. Theodosios. Schriften des Theodoros und Kyrillos*. Leipz. 1890. 'Valuable contribution. Important is the letter of the emperor Anastasios (491-518) to Theod. now published for the first time. The notes contain much information regarding the festivals of the Greek Church, cf. p. 146 ἐγκαίνια.'

M. Treu, *Maximi monachi Plauridis epistulae*.

Vrat. 1890—by J. Dräseke. 'Meritorious work deserving the gratitude of all interested in Byzantine literature and history. Pl. Epp. have appeared in five yearly instalments beg. 1886, the final number of which has now appeared. The date of Pl.'s birth is now approximately settled, between 1250 and 60, he died at the beginning of the fourteenth century. His correspondence (v. exhaust. comment. p. 196-267) is of great interest as a record of eccles. policy in the thirteenth century.'

Gebhardt u. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuch. VI. Bd.*, Heft 3.—H. Stähelin, *die gnost. Quellen Hippolyts in seiner Hauptschrift geg. die Häretiker*—by A. Hilgenfeld. 'Stähelin's theory called forth by G. Salmon's suggestion (Hermathena 1885) in regard to forged reports of heretical systems palmed off on Hippolytus is not proven. The likeness of these reports to one another is due to the usus gnosticus exeunte secundo, ineunte tertio saeculo.'

E. Patzig, *de Nonnians in IV. orationes Gregorii Naz. commentarius*, Leipz. 1890—by F. Dräseke. 'Most thorough treatise on Nonno's commentary (composed in Syria or Palestine, beginning of sixth century) on Greg. Naz. sermons, will be followed by an edition of the comment. itself.'

C. MERK.

Jahresbericht des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin. July-September, 1890.

THE LITERATURE OF HORACE 1888, 1889 by G. WARTENBERG.

I. Editions. *Epistulae*, H. S. Anton, Gotha 1888. Goes no further than helping the pupil over difficulties and answers its limited object. The text mostly conservative.—*Satirae*, K. O. Breithaupt. Part I. and II. separately. Gotha, 1887. Text follows Petschenig, and interpretation mostly that of Heindorf.—*Q. Horatius Flaccus*, Adolf Kiessling. Part III. *Epistulae*. Berlin, 1889. Scholars will gratefully accept this edition. In the Text K. nearly everywhere follows the tradition and the Blandinianus. An advantage of his edition of the Satires was the thorough examination of the sources of H's philosophic expressions. This is still more apparent in the *Epistulae*.—*Satirae und Epistulae*, G. T. A. Krüger, twelfth edition by Gustav Krüger, Part I. *Satirae*. Leipz. 1889. Only slightly altered from the eleventh edition. The literary illustrations almost too plentiful.—*Oden und Epoden*, C. W. Nauck, thirteenth edition. Leipz. 1889. The twelfth edition has been thoroughly revised, but few alterations have been made.—*Q. Horatius Flaccus*, J. G. Orellius, fourth edition by G. Hirschfelder after J. G. Baiter.—Vol. I. *Odae, Carmen saeculare, Epodi*. Berlin 1886. For the text-criticism H. realizes the value of the work of Keller-Holder, but adheres to the Blandinianus. [*Cl. Rev.* II. 72]. *Ib.* Vol. II. *Satirae, Epistulae*, by W. Mewes after J. G. Baiter. Part I. (*Sat.* i. 1-ii. 1). Berlin 1889. The critical apparatus has undergone a complete reconstruction and been made shorter by using the Keller-Holder MSS. signs. The commentary is also shorter, containing 160 pages against 206 of the third edition. *The Epistles of Horace. Book i*, by E. S. Shuckburgh. Cambridge 1888. The notes scanty and seldom deal with a disputed point. Text revised with Keller and Holder. [*Cl. Rev.* II. 213].—*Q. Horatius Flaccus*. H. Schütz. Part i. *Odes and Epodes*, third edition. Berlin 1889. Notes much increased in this edition. The critical appendix consists chiefly of a comparison with Perlkamp, Lehrs, and Gruppe.

II. Dissertations. P. Albrecht, *Philologische Untersuchungen* Vol. i. Part I. Hamburg 1888. Five of the seven dissertations refer to Horace. In Ep. i. 2,

52 A. adopts *tomenta* the conj. of Bouhier. i. 5, 19 A. prefers *facundi* which has less authority.—J. K. Ammann, *Zur Erklärung Zweiten Epode des Horaz*. Progr. Bruchsal 1888. Attempts to show (1) that this poem is full of references to Tibullus and that the theoretical lover of country life is none other than Tibullus; (2) that the Epodes with the first three books of the Odes were first published 20/19 B.C. Ed. Anspach, *N. Jahr. f. kl. Phil.* 1888 answers the objections of Schulze against the genuineness of Od. iii. 30.—Ed. Anspach, *Die Horazischen Oden des ersten Buches in Bezug auf Interpolation Aufbau und Zeit der Abfassung*. Progr. Cleve 1889. It is maintained that the odes are systematically composed with similarly-sounding words in corresponding parts of the verse. Robert Black, *Cl. Rev.* III. 107, on Od. iii. 27. F. Biecheler, Rhein. Mus. 1889. In Od. iv. 2 it is maintained that the chief theme is the distinction between the Epic and the Lyric poet.—E. Chatelain, *Note sur un manuscrit d'Horace conservé jadis à Autun*. Revue de Phil. 1888. Considers that the Parisinus 10310 (Keller-Holder's π) is none other than the MS. formerly at Autun, and which vanished from there.—J. J. Cornelissen, *Lectiones Venusinae*. Mnem. 1888. Many emendations, of which the best are Od. ii. 18, 34 *regumque primis*, and iii. 24, 54 *rudi*.—O. Crusius, *Ad poetas Latinos exegetica*. Rhein. Mus. 1889. In Epod iv. 17 *ora navium* is to be compared with *πρόσωπα νεώς*. Ib. vi. 2 H. himself is not among the *lupi*, so the simile that follows involves no contradiction.—B. Dombart, *Tricesima sabbata* [Sat. i. 9, 96.] Archiv f. Lat. Lex. 1889.—neomenias (Schol.) supported by Comodian instr. I. 40 where in ls. i, 14 *tricesimas* is substituted for *numenias*.—H. Düntzer, *Zu Horatius*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1888. Falin's view that *to triumph* in Epod ix. 21 and 23 = 'wehe Triumphus!' rejected, also Probst's interpretation of *pulsat* i. 4, 13 = 'be-tritt.' [Cl. Rev. III. 91.] A. Elter, *Die Anordnung der Oden des Horaz*. Wiener Stud. X.—G. Falin, *Zu Horatius' Episteln*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1888. Against the common opinion that Ep. i. 11. 7—10 is a quotation from a letter of Bullatius and that the latter was living in banishment.—J. M. Fischer, *Ars poetica* 347—360. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1889.—C. F. Francken, *Miscella*. Mnem. 1889 on Od. ii. 16, 26. Frazer, the *Classical Review* II. 260, on *Bovarrus* comparing Od. iii. 6, 42.—A. Frigell, *Adnotationes ad Horatii carmina*. Upsala 1888. A number of places treated with acuteness and tact.—G. Gaebel, *Horatianae prioris libri epistulae quibus temporibus compositas esse videantur*. Progr. Stettin 1888. The chronological results of Franke and Kiessling subjected to an examination.—F. Gumpert, *Argumentum Satirae Horatianae* ii. 1 *enarratur ejusque loci nonnulli difficultiores accurate explicantur*. Progr. Buxtehude 1888.—F. Harder, *Ueber die Fragmente des Maccenas*. Berlin 1889. A solid piece of writing.—J. Holmbold, *Das Gastmahl des Nasidienus* (Sat. ii. 8). Progr. Mühlhausen 1888. Maintains that it is a composition modelled on a Palliata.—M. Hertz, *Admonitioncula Horatiana*. Ind. lect. Breslau 1888. A protest against unlimited conjecture, directed chiefly against Cornelissen.—A. E. Housman, *Horatiana*. Journal of Phil. xvii. and xviii. The reviewer does not agree with any of the conjectures.—E. Hübner, *Horaz in Spanien*. Nord und Süd 1888. A notice of Horacio en España (2 vols. Madrid 1885) by Menéndez y Pelayo, which traces the influence of Horace on the literature of Spain and Portugal. Chr. Hülsen, *Zu Horaz Carm.* iv. 2. Berlin Phil. W S. 1888. *Iulius* is proved by an inscription to be the correct form.—Jacob. Horaz und seine Freunde, second edition by M. Hertz, Berlin 1889.—J. B. Kan, *Ad Horatii Sat.* i. 6, 9 and

17. Mnem. 1889.—Kayser, *Des Horaz Ars poetica übersetzt und erläutert*. Progr. Stuttgart 1888.—O. Keller, *Zu Horatius' Epod.* xvii. 1. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1889. K. now writes *Janjan* in one word because of monosyllables. H. elides only *me nī tu te qui* in his lyrical poems.—G. Leuchtenberger, *Die Oden des Horaz für den Schulgebrauch disponiert*. Berlin 1889. Deserves to be read apart from its special object.—A. Luchs, *De Horati Carm.* ii. 6. *commentatio*. Erlangen 1888.—C. Macke, *Zu Horatius' Episteln*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1888. On Epist. ii. 1. J. Mähly, *Satura l.* Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. 1888. On Od. iii. 6, 22 and Sat. i. 1, 113.—K. Maier, *Darstellung des philosophischen Standpunkts des Horaz*. Progr. Kremsier 1888. Horace seems gradually to pass from Epicureanism to Stoicism.—J. May, *Der Entwicklungs-gang des Horaz in den J. 35—30 B.C.* Progr. Offenburg, 1887. Decides the chronological order by a consideration of the mutual relation of the poems.—A. Mazzolini, *Il TRANS PONDERA di Orazio* [Ep. i. 6, 51]. Rivista di fil. 1889.—H. S. McIntosh, *Cl. Rev.* III. pp. 132, 222. Rockwood ib. 222. On Od. iii. 30, 2 and Ep. i. 1, 75.—J. B. Mispoulet, *Horace et la procédure* (Sat. i. 9). Rev. de Phil. 1888. On *vadimonium* and *v. desertum*.—Th. Mommsen, *Iulius* and *Iulius*. Herm. 24. *Iulius* the original form from which *Iulius* was developed. *Iulus* (3 sylls.) is an invention of Vergil.—Th. Mommsen, *Festrede zum 27 Jan. 1889*. A luminous discussion of the Roman odes (iii. 1—6). A. Nauck, *Analecta critica*. Herm. 24. A number of conjectures to the Epistles. H. Nettle-ship, *Journ. of Phil.* 1889, on A. P. 245. Th. Oesterlen, *Komik und Humor bei Horaz*. Part II. The odes. Stuttgart 1886. 'If O. is right, then Socrates has not been so much misunderstood by the most narrow-minded of his opponents, as Horace has been for 2000 years.' T. E. Page, *Cl. Rev.* III. 75. On Od. i. 37, 4.—Palmer, *Miscellanea critica*. Hermathena 1888. On Sat. i. 2, 26 and Od. i. 12, 21. L. Pöppelmann, *Bemerkungen zu Dillenburgers Horazausgabe letzter Band*. Part. II. Progr. Münsterreif 1888. A useful aid to D's book. Postgate in d. Camb. Phil. Soc. (Acad. 1889). Upholds Lehr's conj. of *Romana* in Od. iii. 6, 22. O. Ribbeck, *Geschichte der römischen Dichtung* II. Augusteische Zeitalter. Stuttgart 1889. R's hypothesis of a piecemeal or double edition of the first three books does not seem probable. Richter, *Ἀπόρρητα Horatiana*. Progr. Nalke 1888. On Od. iii. 10, iii. 24, 5 foll., i. 3, 9, and iii. 3, 1 foll. G. Schlepss, Bl. f. d. bayer. GSW. 1888, conj. *Eduleae* in Od. iii. 4, 10.—Schlichteisen, *Zu Horaz*. WS. f. Klass. Phil. 1888. On Od. i. 14, 11, and iii. 9, 20.—Th. Stangl, *Hor. Carm.* i. 37, 24. Philol. 1888, conj. *reservavit*. J. M. Stowasser and D. Graubart, Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1889 on *tricesima sabbata* [see supra].—A. Teuber, *Die Bedeutung der Regulus-ode*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1889.—H. F. Tozer, *The native land of Horace*. Cl. Rev. II. 13 foll. On Od. iii. 4, 9 foll. Verrall in d. Camb. Philol. Soc. (Acad. 1888). Refers iii. 25 to the birth of C. Caesar in 20 B.C. Verrall, Od. iv. 8. Journ. Phil. 1888.—Walther, *Welchen Grundsatz verfolgte Horaz bei der Anordnung seiner Oden?* Gymn. 1888. Follows Elter [see supr.] but goes further. Wickham, *Cl. Rev.* II. 40. On Sat. i. 7, 10 foll.—C. A. Wilkins, *Horaz in Spanien und Portugal seit drei Jahrhunderten*. Zeitschr. f. d. öst. Gymn. 1889. [see supr.]

Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica. Ed. Comparetti, Müller and Flechia (Torino, 1891). Anno XIX. Fasc. 7—9 contains (1) G. Patroni *Intorno al mito delle Sirene*, contending, against Schrader,

that the Sirens are divinities of fair weather and connecting the name with Lat. *serenus* and root *svar*. (2) C. O. Zuretti *Studi di filologia Greca*, two papers: the first a discussion of German theories on the priority of the *Electra* of Eur. to that of Soph., the second on Plutarch's *εἰ πρεσβυτέρῳ πολιτευτέον*, contending that it is largely founded on Cic. *de Senect.* (3) E. Bolla *Notizie di codici Greci* etc. a report of a MS. of Arrian's *Anabasis* in the Ambrosian Library, E. 11. Sup. 2. (4) C. Giambelli *La dottrina d'Antiocho nel De Finibus*, continued.

Fasc. 10—12 contains (1) C. Pascal *Note di glottologia Latina*, two papers: the first maintaining that the Latin conjugations are formed by adding personal endings (*a*) to noun-stems followed by a suffix *-ja* of the agent (1st and 4th conj. and 3rd conj. *io*) or (*b*) to locatives of noun-stems in *a* (2nd conj.) or (*c*) to noun-stems in *a, o* without *ja* (3rd conj.) or (*d*) directly to consonantal stems (as in, *fer-re*): the second on Latin infinitives, chiefly to the effect that *amare* does not differ morphologically from *amari* and that *amari* differs from *legi* only in including a formative suffix *as*: the final *e* or *i* being

explained as a dative ending, lost in *rapier* and similar forms. (2) V. Costanzi *Quaestiones Chronologicae* (*a*) on the age of Hellanicus, who is said to be earlier than Herodotus and (*b*) on the expedition of Darius to Scythia, said to be much later than B.C. 513 and shortly before the revolt of Miletus. (4) C. Cristofolini *Sophocles*, a number of emendations, of which perhaps the best is O. R. 329 *ἄλλως ἀνείπω μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφῆνω κακὰ*.

Anno XX. Fasc. 1—3 contains (1) C. O. Zuretti *Iscrizioni gnostiche di Cipro in caratteri non epichorici* with a sheet of facsimiles. (2) C. Pascal *Di alcuni fenomeni dell' J greco-latino*, chiefly on *j* between two vowels. (3) S. Lo-Cascio *L'influenza ellenica nell' origine della poesia latina*, apparently a prize-essay, of great length. (4) E. Laurenti *Di Iulio Annico Floro*, contending that the epitomator of this name is identical with the poet and is also the author of the *Pervigilium Veneris*. (5) L. Levi on Cic. *in Cat.* 111. 9, 22 suggesting that the words '*jam uero illa Allobrogum—crephum*' are interpolated. (6) G. De Sanctis on the 'Αθην. πολ. chiefly on the historical statements.

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- Aristoteles.* La Poétique. Manuscrit 1741 fonds grec de la Bibliothèque nationale. Preface de H. Omont. Photolithographie de M. M. Lumière. 4to. xix, 33 pp. Paris, Leroux.
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